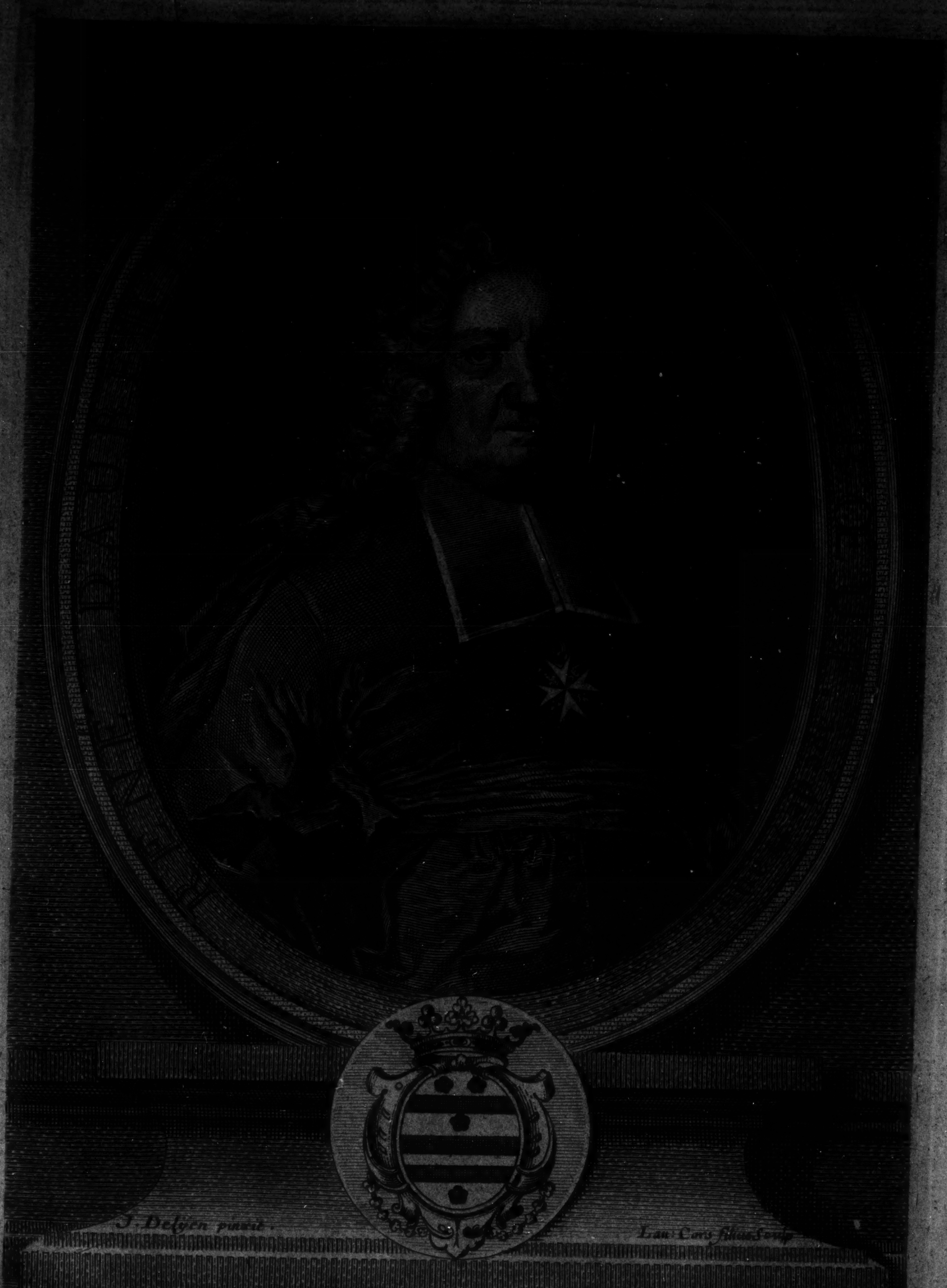
J. Delyen pinxit.
Lau. Cars filius Sculp.

THE HISTORY OF THE KNIGHTS of MALTA.

By Monſ. L'ABBÉ DE VERTOT.

ILLUSTRATED
With LXXI. Heads of the GRAND MASTERS, &c.
Engraved by the beſt Hands in *France*, from the
ORIGINAL PAINTINGS, under the Inſpection of Monſ.
Bologne, Director of the Royal Academy of PAINTING.
With MAPS by Monſ. *de Lille*, and the PLANS and
FORTIFICATIONS of *Malta* by the Chevalier *de Tigné*.
And a compleat INDEX to the whole.

In TWO VOLUMES.

RENOVANT
INCENDIA
NIDOS

LONDON:
Printed for G. STRAHAN in *Cornhil*; F. GYLES over-againſt *Grey's-Inn* in
Holborn; Meſſ. WOODMAN and LYON in *Ruſſel-ſtreet*, *Covent-Garden*;
D. BROWNE without *Temple-Bar*; Meſſ. GROENEWEGEN, PREVOST, and
VANDERHOECK, in the *Strand*; C. DAVIS in *Pater-Noſter-Row*; and T.
OSBORNE near *Grey's-Inn* Walks. MDCCXXVIII.

FH
MVSEVM
BRITANNICVM

To his moſt Eminent HIGHNESS

Don Anthony Emanuel de Vilhena,

GRAND MASTER

Of the ORDER of

S. JOHN of JERUSALEM.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to lay before your Highneſs a work, which is moſt properly yours, as it contains the hiſtory of your order. You have here an account of the glorious actions which have been wrought by your predeceſſors, in different ages, for the defence of the altars and eſtates of Chriſtendom. Thoſe great men, who fill'd the world with the reputation of their arms, and the fame of their valour, were no leſs diſtinguiſhed by their firm adherence to the obſervation of a religious diſcipline.

As you, Sir, have been juſtly raiſed to the ſame high employment, you place your ſole glory in the imitation of their virtues. Like them, you ſecure to Chriſtians the liberty of navigation, at the ſame time that you labour to make juſtice and unity, peace and piety to flouriſh in your order. 'Tis theſe qualifications which have drawn upon you the unanimous prayers of all your brethren for the long continuance of ſo happy a government. Accept, Sir, of my ardent wiſhes in particular for your preſervation, and of the profound reſpect, with which I am,

SIR,

Your Eminency's

moſt humble and

moſt obedient ſervant,

L'Abbé de Vertot.

THE

PREFACE.

I Am at a loſs to know what ſort of reception this hiſtory will meet with from the publick; for though I have been flatter'd with the hopes of ſucceſs, by the kind encouragement my friends have given me to proceed in ſo laborious an undertaking, I am but too well acquainted with my own inabilities, and the difficulties of the work it ſelf, to place any great confidence in the too goood-natur'd judgments, which have been form'd already in my favour. For to paſs by the neceſſity I have been under of looking back into ages above ſix hundred years diſtant from us, I have been farther oblig'd, even in times ſo remote, to trace out only the faint glimmerings of a dark original, which muſt of conſequence be the leſs likely to give a juſt ſatisfaction to the reader's curioſity. And beſides, after all the pains I have taken, and the many years I have been employ'd upon this ſubject, I cannot but own at laſt, that, 'till I had finiſh'd it, I was not ſenſible how far I had fallen ſhort of that perfection, which the nature of ſuch a work requires.

'Tis true indeed, that if we can ſtand the ſhock of ſo obſcure a beginning, and overlook the firſt facts, wherein we have ſo ſmall a ſhare of concern, the ſucceeding ages will furniſh us with ſuch extraordinary examples of piety and courage, as will ſufficiently make amends for the barrenneſs of the former, and abundantly ſupply by the choice of matter any defects in form, which may have aroſe from my manner of writing. We ſhall there read of an illuſtrious body of monks, confin'd at firſt to the narrow bounds of an hoſpital, who, amidſt the humilia-

tions of a careful attendance upon the ſick and proviſion for the poor, extended their zeal and their power ſo far, as to take up arms againſt the infidels, the profeſs'd enemies of the Chriſtian Religion, and united in one the differing virtues of two diſtinct profeſſions, ſo ſeemingly oppoſite in their nature.

The garb of theſe military monks was plain and modeſt; they reſerv'd magnificence for the ornament of their altars; and the poor and the pilgrim reap'd the advantage of the frugality of their tables. They never left the apartments of the ſick, but to give themſelves up to prayer, or to take the field againſt the enemies of the croſs, which was at once their ſtandard and their habit. No ambition could fire the breaſts of our noble warriors, where virtue was the only road that could lead to advancement; whilſt their charity, their firſt engagement, and the very bond of all Chriſtian virtues, did not forſake them even in their conflicts with the infidels; for notwithſtanding all the advantages they gain'd over them in battle, they were ſatisfied with diſarming the Barbarians, and, amidſt the triumphs of a victory, ſought only to convert the enemy, or at leaſt to diſable them from doing miſchief.

Such was the golden age of the order of S. John of Jeruſalem. In after-times indeed, it muſt be own'd, the knights grew more remiſs in the ſevere practice of ſo many different virtues; and 'tis but too notorious, that the religious character was often loſt in the ſoldier. The reader will eaſily obſerve, that this change of manners has caſt a ſhade upon ſome parts of my narration. And yet, notwithſtanding this effect of human frailty, unleſs I am miſled by a too partial regard for my own performance, I cannot but be of opinion, that the like ſpirit of diſintereſtedneſs and zeal, the like purity of manners and intrepidity in the midſt of the greateſt dangers, was never kept up, through ſo long a ſucceſſion of ſo many ages, in any one of the military orders, which have been diſperſed throughout the ſeveral countries of Chriſtendom; nor has there been any, where luxury and an over-earneſt purſuit after wealth and pleaſures, have obtain'd ſo late an admiſſion.

I have purpoſely omitted in this hiſtory ſome ſurprizing accounts, which are to be met with in the annals of the order; and in particular the converſion of Iſmenia, a Saracen princeſs of moſt exquiſite beauty, as are all the heroines in the ancient chronicles, whom the author has convey'd in one night from Egypt into Picardy, in company with three knights of the order, who were all of them brothers, and had each a great *ſhare in the lady's converſion; a pious fable, which may juſtly deſerve to be rejected with the reſt of the old legendary ſtories, that are rather calculated to raiſe the mirth of libertines, than promote the edification of pious and well-diſpos'd perſons.*

The firſt thirteen books of this hiſtory are wrote in the way of narrative, and conclude with the death of the grand maſter John de la Vallette in 1568. The fourteenth is drawn up in form of annals, and gives a ſuccinct account of the moſt conſiderable tranſactions from 1568. to the preſent time. And the fifteenth treats of the government of the order.

The coats of arms of the knights are no where to be found in the archives of this kingdom. And ſometimes even ſuch as have been received in particular priories are rejected at Malta by the commiſſaries of the language. Theſe conſiderations have obliged us to make ſo many neceſſary enquiries, as have retarded the publication of this work much longer, than the time, that was appointed by the bookſellers.

We have reaſon to hope, that the curious will be ſatisfied with the portraits we have inſerted in this hiſtory. They are the work of ſeveral eminent engravers, and were reviſed by M. Bologne, *director to the royal academy of painting. The pictures, from whence they were taken, were ſupplied by the embaſſador of Malta, and ſeveral private perſons, who had excellent originals in their poſſeſſion. The publick will undoubtedly be ſurpriz'd, that we ſhould be able to procure the portraits of the firſt grand maſters; but the reader will ſee, in the ſecond volume, how, by the care and liberality of the baſtard of* Bourbon, *grand prior of* France, *they have been tranſmitted to us.*

The maps, which are here given for the better underſtanding of this hiſtory, were compoſed by the late Mr. de Liſle, whoſe name alone is a ſufficient recommendation.

The plans of the iſland, and the fortifications of Malta, were drawn upon the ſpot by the chevalier Tigné, at the time he was obliged to repair thither, when it was threaten'd with a ſiege.

Directions

Directions to the Bookbinder for placing the Heads, Maps and Plans.

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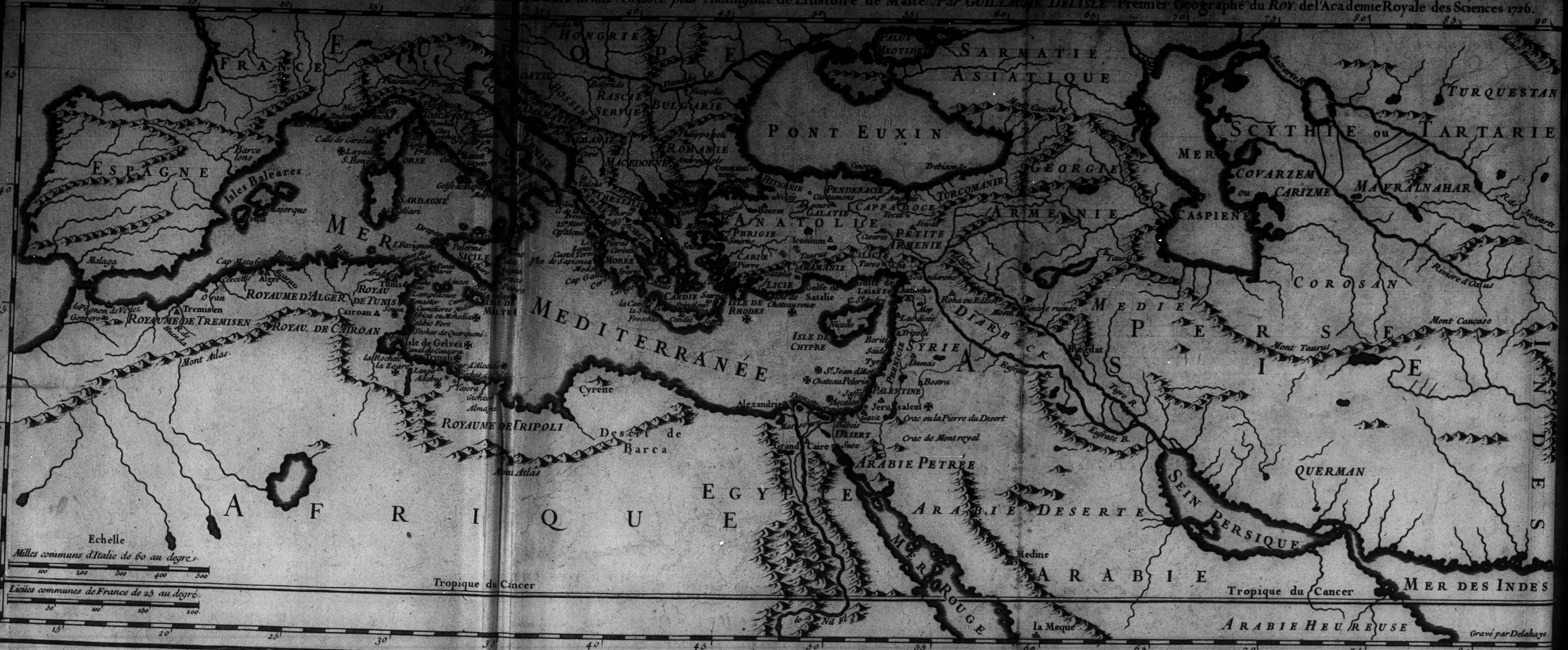
EUROPE
FRANCE
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Barcelone
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Majorque
Malaga
HONGRIE
RASCIE
SERVIE
BULGARIE
ROMANIE
MACEDOINE
SARDAGNE
SICILE
MORÉE
MER MEDITERRANÉE
CANDIE
ISLE DE RHODES
ISLE DE CHYPRE
PONT EUXIN
PALUS MEOTIDES
SARMATIE ASIATIQUE
GEORGIE
TURCOMANIE
ARMENIE
PETITE ARMENIE
CAPPADOCE
ANATOLIE
PHRIGIE
GALATIE
CILICIE
CARAMANIE
Golfe de Satalie
Golfe de Laiazzo
SYRIE
Damas
PALESTINE
Jerusalem
S.t Jean d'Acre
Chateau Pelerin
Crac ou la Pierre du Desert
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Alexandrie
Grand Caire
ARABIE PETRÉE
ARABIE DESERTE
ARABIE
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Medine
la Meque
MER ROUGE
EGYPTE
DIARBECK
Bagdat
MEDIE
PERSE
ASIE
SEIN PERSIQUE
QUERMAN
COROSAN
MER CASPIENE
COVARZEM ou CARIZME
SCYTHIE ou TARTARIE
TURQUESTAN
MAVRALNAHAR
INDES
MER DES INDES
Mont Caucase
Mont Taurus
Eufrate R.
Tigre R.
AFRIQUE
Mont Atlas
ROYAUME D'ALGER
ROYAUME DE TREMISEN
ROYAU. DE CAIROAN
ROYAU DE TUNIS
ROYAUME DE TRIPOLI
Tunis
Alger
Oran
Tripoli
Isle de Gelves
MALTE
Cyrene
Desert de Barca
Tropique du Cancer
Echelle
Milles communs d'Italie de 60 au degré
100 200 300 400 500
Lieües communes de France de 25 au degré
50 100 150 200
Gravé par Delahaye

THE HISTORY OF THE Knights Hoſpitallers OF S. JOHN of JERUSALEM,

Styled afterwards,

The KNIGHTS of Rhodes,

And at preſent,

The KNIGHTS of MALTA.

BOOK I.

THE hiſtory I have taken upon me to write is that of a fraternity of Hoſpitallers, which afterwards became a military ſociety, and at laſt a ſovereign order; inſtituted upon the motives of charity, and prompted by a zeal for the defence of the holy land, to take up arms againſt the infidels; an order, which, amidſt the noiſe and claſhing of ſwords, and with a continual war upon their hands, was capable of joyning the peaceable virtues of religion with the moſt diſtinguiſhing courage in the field.

THIS union of two profeſſions ſo remote and diſtant from each other, 'till then unknown to the world, the piety and bravery of theſe military Friars, their zeal for the defence of the Chriſtians, the numerous fights and battels, in which they have been engaged for near ſeven hundred years, and the various ſucceſs of their arms; all theſe particulars ſeem to me an object worthy the regard and conſideration of mankind; and poſſibly the publick will not look upon the hiſtory of theſe ſoldiers of Jeſus Chriſt without ſurprize and admiration, who, like a ſecond race of Maccabees, have conſtantly oppoſed

opposed the arms of the infidels with a faith as firm as their courage had been invincible.

But before we enter upon the inſtitution of this order, I think it neceſſary to acquaint the reader with the ſtate of Aſia at that time; to inform him from what countrey the firſt infidels they made war upon came; to lay before him the religion, the power and the forces of thoſe Barbarians, and eſpecially their declared hatred to the Chriſtians: all which cirumſtances, tho' indeed prior to the foundation of this order, yet ſeem to have ſome connexion with the hiſtory, as a preliminary and introduction to it, and the knowledge of which will ſerve to clear up the particulars related to the courſe of it.

That part of Aſia, which lyes between the Euxine or Black ſea and the Euphrates, was, in the beginning of the ſeventh century, ſtill under the dominion of the Romans, whoſe vaſt empire had ſwallowed up the moſt puiſſant ſtates of our continent. But after the death of Theodoſius the Great, 395. this formidable empire began to decline, being weaken'd, either by the incurſions of the Barbarians, or perhaps likewiſe by the diviſion and diſmembring of it by his ſons the emperors Arcadius and Honorius, princes of a weak and unenterprizing ſpirit, who only lent their names to the tranſactions of their reigns, and were both governed by imperious miniſters, who had made themſelves the tyrants and lords of their maſters.

Most of the eaſtern emperors that ſucceeded Arcadius, either for fear of being dethroned by uſurpers, or being ſuch themſelves, were leſs ſolicitous of a military name and reputation, and of putting a ſtop to the inroads of the Barbarians, than of maintaining themſelves upon the throne. Being always upon their guard againſt their own ſubjects, they durſt not turn their backs upon the capital of the empire, or venture beyond the bounds of their palace, for fear ſome rebel ſhould ſeize them; and the utmoſt happineſs they aim'd at, was to enjoy the charms of ſovereign power in a ſlothful and unactive magnificence. Thoſe famous Ceſars, the maſters of the world, were no more to be found under the imperial purple: theſe later emperors had nothing but the name; and the majeſty of the empire was now no more to be ſeen, but in the vain ornaments, with which they covered their weakneſs and cowardice.

Religion was no leſs a ſufferer than the ſtate by ſo wretched an adminiſtration. The eaſt was at that time infected with ſeveral hereſies, the offſpring and effect of the warm imagination and too refining diſpoſition of the Greeks. Some biſhops and monks, attempting to explain the various myſteries of the incarnation after a manner too much adapted to humane capacity, had involved themſelves in error; and to compleat the misfortune, they had found out means to engage ſeveral emperors in their party, who, inſtead of oppoſing the incurſions of the Barbarians, thought they had no other enemies, but ſuch as declared againſt their errors.

The empire however, in the midſt of all theſe confuſions, ſtill ſupported itſelf by the weight of its own grandeur, and about the beginning of the ſeventh century, the emperor Heraclius had gain'd ſome advantages over the Scythians and Perſians. But while that prince was engaged with theſe Barbarians, and employed in revenging the ravages they had committed upon the empire, there appeared in the deſerts of Arabia, one of thoſe reſtleſs and ambitious mortals, which ſeem to be born only to change the face of the univerſe; and whoſe followers having wreſted the moſt beautiful provinces of the eaſt out of the hands of the Greeks, at length gave the laſt and fatal blow to this empire, and buried it in its own ruins.

The reader will eaſily perceive that I am ſpeaking of Mahomet, the moſt crafty and dangerous impoſtor, that had ever appeared in Aſia. He was born at Mecca, a city of Arabia Petræa, about the end of the ſixth century, of idolatrous parents of the tribe of the Coraſhites or Coriſians, the beſt family in the nation; and who, according to the uſual vaunt of moſt of the Arabians, boaſted themſelves to be the progeny of Abraham, by Kedar, the ſon of Iſhmael. By his father's death, Mahomet became an orphan in his early years, and was left without any patrimony or ſubſiſtence. However, one of his uncles took upon himſelf the care of his education, and for ſeveral years employed him in trade and commerce. From him he went into the ſervice of a rich widow, named Cadigha, who at firſt took him for her factor, and afterwards made him her husband: a match ſo greatly to his advantage, and ſo much above his hopes, the plentiful eſtate of his wife, and the improvements made to it by his own induſtry, filled his mind with the thoughts of grandeur and independency. His ambition increaſed with his fortune, and ſcarce was he free from a ſtate of baſeneſs and ſervitude, when riches without dominion were too little to ſatisfie his vaſt deſires, and he carried his aims to ſo daring a pitch, as to aſpire to the ſovereign authority over his countrey.

568 or 571.

Abdollah.

Abu-taleb.

Of the various methods he pitched upon for the accompliſhment of this great deſign, none appeared more feaſible to him than the eſtabliſhment of a new religion; an engine, which many of his predeceſſors in impoſture had already made uſe of. Arabia was at that time peopled by idolaters, Jews and Chriſtians, by catholicks and ſchiſmaticks. The inhabitants of Mecca were all idolaters; and ſo very ignorant, that, excepting one ſingle man, that had travelled, they could none of them either read or write. This ignorance and diverſity of worſhip ſeemed a favourable circumſtance to Mahomet; and though he was no better a ſcholar than his neighbours, though he could neither write nor read, and was beſides eſteemed a man of bad morals, yet he had the aſſurance to form a deſign of ſetting up for a prophet in his own countrey, and in the very face of thoſe who were eye-witneſſes of his incontinence.

Waraka.

But as this tranſition, from a voluptuous life to ſo intimate a communication with heaven, would not eaſily find credit in the world, he quitted the companions and miniſters of his pleaſures, under the pretence of an entire change in his manners; and to put a better countenance upon his pretended reformation, for two years together the hypocrite frequently retired to a cave in mount Hira, about a league from Mecca, where he only meditated upon ways and means to bring his project to execution. At the end of this term, and under colour of being wearied with the preſſing inſtances of his wife, to diſſuade him from ſo melancholy a way of living, he pretended to intruſt her with the fictitious revelations, which he ſaid he had received from heaven by the miniſtry of one of the higheſt order of ſpirits, whom he called the angel Gabriel. And being ſubject to the falling ſickneſs, he interpreted the fits of that diſtemper as extaſies, cauſed, as he ſaid, by the apparition of the celeſtial miniſter, whoſe preſence he was not able to endure; and to ſpread the fame of theſe revelations inſenſibly among the people, he imparted the ſecret, as a matter of the utmoſt privacy, to his wife. To be the wife of a prophet was a privilege too great for her vanity to conceal. Cadigha ſoon run to acquaint her beſt friends with it, and the matter was no longer a ſecret, as Mahomet had plainly foreſeen. After this, he opened himſelf to ſome citizens of Mecca, whom he thought credulous enough to be perſuaded into it, and whom he actually ſeduced by his art and addreſs.

If we may believe Elmacin, the Arabian hiſtoriographer, Mahomet had a noble air and deportment, a ſweet and modeſt countenance, a docile and

L. 1. c. 1.
Hotting. hiſt. orient. l. 2. c. 4.

ready wit, a courteous and obliging manner, and an inſinuating converſation. Beſides, he had all the neceſſary qualifications for the head of a party; profuſely liberal, ready in diſcerning, and exact in diſpoſing of men according to their talents. He had all the art and reſerve for acting without umbrage or diſcovery; and in the management and conduct of his deſigns afterwards, he ſhewed a conſtancy and courage ſuperior to the greateſt dangers. Having ſoon got ſome diſciples to countenance and ſupport him, he made a ſecret of his doctrine no longer, and taking his miſſion from himſelf, he ſet up for a preacher; though he was a man of no learning, yet he gained acceſs to the ears of his countrey-men, by the purity of his language, and the noble tour of his expreſſions. He excelled eſpecially in a certain oriental eloquence, conſiſting in parables and allegories, with which he cloathed and involved his diſcourſes.

BUT as he was by no means ignorant, that every appearance of novelty in religion is always ſuſpected, he declared that his deſign was not ſo much to found a new religion, as to revive the ancient laws, which God had given to men, and to purge them from the fables and ſuperſtitions, with which they had been blended afterwards. He added, that Moſes and Jeſus, the ſon of Mary, had ſucceſſively preached a doctrine, truly holy to the world; a doctrine, ſays he, which theſe two great prophets confirmed by notable and ſignal miracles, but that the Jews and Chriſtians had equally altered and corrupted it by humane traditions; and laſtly, that God had ſent him as his laſt and greateſt prophet, even greater than Moſes and Jeſus, to purifie religion from the fables, which, under the notion of myſteries, men had obtruded upon it, and, if poſſible, to reduce all mankind to an agreement in opinion, and to the profeſſion of one and the ſame faith. The cunning impoſtor, having, by ſuch diſcourſes as theſe, prepared the minds of the people, proceeded to form his ſyſtem upon two different models, which he borrowed from the Jewiſh and Chriſtian religion; and to proceed with the better ſucceſs, he had privately, in his retreat, called in the aſſiſtance of a † Perſian Jew, and a ‡ Neſtorian monk, both apoſtates, very well skilled in their reſpective religions, and who had ſeveral times read over to him the Old and New Teſtament, out of * which, he afterwards took ſeveral paſſages, and adapted them to his new plan; and when, by the help of theſe two renegadoes, he had finiſhed any article, he cloathed it in a pompous and figurative ſtyle, endeavouring to imitate, ſometimes the ſublime in the beginning of Geneſis, and ſometimes the pathetick in the true prophets. Then he declared that he had received that article from heaven; and under pretence of being only the meſſenger and herald of this celeſtial doctrine, he referred his objectors to the pretended author of his revelations, and appealed even to his ignorance itſelf, as a proof of the little ſhare he had in this new religion.

† Abdias Benſalon.
‡ Sergius, aliter Bahira.

FROM the Jews he borrowed the principle relating to the exiſtence and unity of one only God, without multiplication of the divine perſons; and at the ſame time he preſſed the belief of a reſurrection, of the univerſal judgment, and of the rewards and puniſhments of another life. The Chriſtians furniſhed him with the example of a lent-faſt, which he preſcribed to his followers, of the frequent uſe of prayer, which he fixed to five times in a day, of charity towards the poor, and the forgiveneſs of enemies. And in regard to the Pagans, he admitted an odd kind of predeſtination, which the ancient idolaters generally called deſtiny, a decree, which they believed eternal and uncontroulable, even by the will of their gods.

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* See the diſcourſe upon the author of the Alcoran at the end of this firſt volume, and at the head of the proofs.

THIS medley of different religions, in which every one imagined he ſaw the traces of his former belief, miſled ſeveral citizens of Mecca; and ſuch was the art and contrivance of the impoſtor, that he endeavoured to eſtabliſh his errors by the profeſſion of ſome great truths, and the ſeeming practice of as great virtues. The magiſtrate of Mecca being alarmed at the progreſs of this ſect, proſcribed the author and all that adhered to him; upon which, the falſe prophet fled to another city of Arabia Petræa, called Yatrib, which he afterwards named Medina-al-nabi, or the city of the prophet. This flight, ſo famous among the Mahometans, and called in their language the Hegira, ſerved their hiſtorians afterwards for the æra of their chronology. And the firſt year of the * Muſulman period, according to the moſt received opinion, falls upon the twenty ſecond year of the ſeventh century. Anno 622. Hegir. 1.

MAHOMET being convinced, by the riſk he had run at Mecca, that perſuaſion alone was not the way to accompliſh his ambitious deſigns, reſolved to have recourſe to arms. The impoſtor did not fail to ſummon heaven to his aſſiſtance; and it was not long before he gave out, that the angel Gabriel had brought him a ſword from God, with orders to ſubdue all ſuch as ſhould refuſe to embrace his new religion.

WE are not to look elſewhere for the cauſe of that aſtoniſhing progreſs, which, in ſo ſhort a time, this impious ſect made in Arabia, and afterwards in the greateſt part of the leſſer Aſia. And it is highly probable, that if Mahomet could have foreſeen as much, he would have ſpared himſelf the pains of forging ſo many revelations, and adjuſting ſo great a number of materials, borrowed from other religions. This armed apoſtle began this new kind of miſſion with invading his neighbours. The lure of plunder, which has ſo many charms in the eyes of the Arabians, drew a great number to his ſtandard. No caravan could paſs near his quarters without being expoſed to pillage; and by acting the robber, he inſenſibly attained to the fortune of a conqueror. Of his ſoldiers and vanquiſhed enemies he made new diſciples, whom he called Muſulmen, that is to ſay, believers, or ſuch as are entered into the way of ſalvation. Being now as great a ſoldier, as he was an eloquent preacher, he ſoon made himſelf maſter of Mecca, and moſt of the fortified towns and caſtles of Arabia yielded to the force of his arms. Alc. c. 4. Cantacuzeni orat. 1. ſect. 12. He was ſeconded in theſe wars by Abubekre his father-in-law, by Aly his couſin and ſon-in-law, and by Omar and Otman, all four his apoſtles and principal officers, fanaticks in good earneſt, and who became the willing ſubjects of an impoſtor, to whom they had at firſt been only diſciples. Mahomet, by his courage and conduct, was enabled to unite the ſacerdotal with the imperial authority in his own perſon, and in the ſpace of twenty three years of his pretended apoſtolate, others ſay in ten, almoſt all Arabia was reduced under his dominion, and at the ſame time had embraced his new religion. 633 or 632.

THE falſe prophet, at his death, had nominated Aly, his daughter Fatima's huſband, for his ſucceſſor: But Mahomet's ſon-in-law found, by experience, that the laſt wills of the moſt abſolute princes are generally buried in their graves. Abubekre, being much older than Aly, was preferred before him by the intereſt of Omar and Otman, who, by making choice of a man in years, opened themſelves a paſſage in their turn to the ſame dignity. This election of Abubekre gave riſe afterwards to ſchiſms and civil wars among the Mahometans. The ſucceſſors of Mahomet took the title of Caliphs, i. e. vicars of the prophet, or of Almoumenians, i. e. princes or com-

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* Note, the Muſulman year conſiſts of twelve lunar months, which is only three hundred and fifty four days; ſo that thirty three of our years is very near thirty four of theirs.

manders of the faithful. These firſt ſucceſſors, full of that fire and zeal which a new religion always inſpires, ſpread the doctrine of their maſter, and extended their own dominion into different countries, the one not advancing a ſtep without the other. It was not long before they finiſhed the conqueſt of Arabia, and drove out the Perſians and Greeks. From the latter, they afterwards took Damaſcus, Antioch, and all Syria, invaded Paleſtine, carried Jeruſalem, marched into Egypt and ſubdued it, abſolutely deſtroyed the Perſian monarchy, and made themſelves maſters of Media, Coraſſan or Bactriana, Diarbeick or Meſopotamia. Then they carried the war into Africa, where they made as ſurprizing a progreſs as ever, and ſubdued all the country that lies weſt of Egypt.

Not to mention the iſles of Cyprus, Rhodes, Candia, Sicily, Malta and Goza, which they either ravaged or made themſelves maſters of, nor Spain, where the Arabians, in the beinning of the eighth century, founded a new empire upon the ruins of the Gothick monarchy; great provinces of France, ſituated beyond the Loire, were expoſed to the fury of their arms; and if it had not been for the incomparable bravery and valour of Charles Martel, the fate and fortune of this kingdom would have been no better than that of Spain. In a word, they threatened the whole world, with their chains. And the miſerable remains of the Greek empire would not at that time have been able to hold out againſt ſo formidable a power, if the heads of that nation had not quarrelled among themſelves. But the governors of provinces being too powerful for private men, aſſumed a ſovereign authority over them. We have ſeen, in different parts of Aſia and Africa, and at different times, no leſs than five caliphs, all pretending to be the offſpring of Mahomet, and the genuine interpreters of the law. Again, moſt of theſe caliphs being buried afterwards in luxury and effeminacy, left the civil and military government of their ſtates to emirs or ſultans, a ſort of mayors of the palace, who, in a ſhort time, made themſelves abſolute maſters of them, and for the moſt part left the caliphs nothing but the inſpection of religious affairs, the privilege of being named firſt in the publick prayers, and ſome other ceremonial honours, without any power or authority.

Of all the conqueſts gained by theſe infidels, none more ſenſibly affected the Chriſtians, than that of the Holy Land and the city of Jeruſalem. From the time of Conſtantine the Great, when chriſtianity became the religion of the empire, that was the moſt noted pilgrimage of all chriſtendom. The Greek and Latin Chriſtians, out of a pious perſuaſion that their greateſt ſins would be remitted at the feet of Chriſt's tomb, were, with equal eagerneſs, continually flocking to Jeruſalem; and the rather, in that there was till then a ſecure and eaſy acceſs to it through the territories of the empire. The revolution which had lately happened altered the caſe exceedingly; and the infidels, though they reverenced Jeſus Chriſt as a great prophet, yet, to raiſe their revenues, they laid a ſort of tribute upon all foreign pilgrims, that came out of devotion to the holy ſepulchre. But this oppreſſion was not ſufficient to cool the zeal of the Chriſtians of that age: there was for near three hundred years the ſame reſort of the Chriſtian nations, even from the remoteſt parts of the weſt. Towards the middle of the eleventh century, the caliphs or ſultans of Egypt, who were then maſters of Paleſtine, allowed the Greek Chriſtians, who were their ſubjects, to ſettle in Jeruſalem; and that they might not be intermixed with the Muſulmen, the governor of that capital of Judea aſſigned them the quarter neareſt the holy ſepulchre for their abode.

The renown of the emperor Charlemagne's conqueſt and power ſpreading from Europe into Aſia, the caliph Aaron Raſchid, one of the moſt potent princes of the eaſt, permitted the French, out of regard to him, to have a houſe of their own in the holy city for the entertainment of ſuch pilgrims as were of that nation. Eginard relates, that the patriarch of Jeruſalem ſent that great prince, in the caliph's name, the keys of the holy ſepulchre, and of the church of mount Calvary, with a ſtandard, which the famous Abbe Fleury, the late writer of eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, is of opinion was meant as a mark of the power and authority, which Aaron had reſigned to that chriſtian prince. Another modern writer, learned in our antiquities, in the Dom. Mabillon. thirty ſeventh book of the annals of his order, tells us of one Bernard, a French monk, who lived in A. D. 870, and who, in his account of a voyage made to Jeruſalem, relates, that he found there an hoſpital for the Latins, and that in the ſame houſe was a library, collected by the care and at the expence of the emperor Charlemagne.

But after the death of the caliph Aaron and his firſt ſucceſſors, as thoſe of Charlemagne did not come up to him either in power or reputation, the French loſt the regard that had been formerly paid them in Paleſtine. They were no longer allowed to have any houſe of entertainment in Jeruſalem; and though, like the other nations of Europe, they had, by virtue of their money, admittance into the holy city, and in the day-time made their ſtations in all the places anciently honoured with the preſence and myſteries of our divine Saviour, yet, in the evening and night-time, it was not without great difficulty as well as danger, that they could find any place to retire to in the city. The Muſulmen had naturally too great an averſion for the Chriſtians to receive them into their houſes: and ſome diſputes that had ſtarted up in relation to doctrines not rightly underſtood, as well as ſome differences in point of diſcipline, having, in a manner, put an end to all union between the Greek and Latin Churches, our European Chriſtians were ſcarce leſs odious to the Greeks than they were to the Arabians and Sarazens of the eaſt.

In the middle of the eleventh century, ſome Italian merchants, who had Proof I. experienced the inhumanity of both the one and the other, undertook to procure an aſylum for the European pilgrims, in the very city of Jeruſalem, where they might have nothing to fear either from the falſe zeal of the Mahometans, or the enmity and averſion of the ſchiſmatical Greeks. Theſe pious merchants were of Amalphy, a city in the kingdom of Naples, but at that time ſubject to the Greek emperors of Conſtantinople. Their affairs, in regard to trade and commerce, called them almoſt every year into Egypt, where, by means of their rich merchandizes, as well as ſome curious pieces of workmanſhip, which they brought thither from Europe, they were introduced to the court of the caliph Monſtaſer-billah; and diſtributing ſome conſiderable preſents among his domeſticks and miniſters, they obtained leave for the Latin Chriſtians to build a houſe of entertainment near the holy ſepulchre in Jeruſalem.

The governor, by that prince's order, aſſigned them a piece of ground, 1048. on which they built a chapel, and dedicated it to the bleſſed virgin, by the name of S. Mary ad Latinos, to diſtinguiſh is from the churches where divine ſervice was celebrated, according to the Greek ritual: ſome monks of the Benedictine order officiated in it. Near their convent they built two houſes of entertainment for the reception of pilgrims of both ſexes, whether in health or ſickneſs, which was the chief view in this foundation; and each houſe had afterwards a chapel in it, the one dedicated to S. John the Almoner, and the other to S. Magdalen.

Some lay-perſons from Europe, full of zeal and charity, renouncing the thoughts of returning into their own countrey, devoted themſelves in this religious houſe to the ſervice of the poor and pilgrims, and were ſubſiſted by the monks above-mentioned: and the merchants of Amalphy, out of the alms, which they collected in Italy, and either brought or ſent regularly every year to the holy land, ſupplied the wants of the pilgrims or ſick. That ſacred truſt of the charity of the faithful they remitted into the hands of perſons, conſecrated, as we have ſaid, to the ſervice of the Chriſtians of the weſt. This holy houſe, governed by the Benedictine monks, and which may be looked upon as the cradle of the order of St. John, ſerved afterwards for a place of ſecurity and retreat for pilgrims. The Latin Chriſtians were there entertained and provided for, without any diſtinction of nation or condition. There they cloathed again ſuch as had been ſtripped by robbers; there the ſick were treated with care, and every kind of miſery found in the charity of theſe Hoſpitallers, a new kind of mercy to relieve it.

Will. Tyr. hiſt. l. 1. 1065. YET this pious and uſeful foundation had like to have been ruined in its very infancy, and it had hardly ſubſiſted ſeventeen years, when the Turcomans conquered Paleſtine, ſurprized the city of Jeruſalem, and cut the caliph of Egypt's garriſon in pieces.

THESE Barbarians came out of the heart of Tartary. 'Tis ſaid that they were originally inhabitants of that part of the Aſiatick Sarmatia, which lies between mount Caucaſus, the river Tanais, the Palus Mæotis, and the Caſpian ſea. They afterwards croſſed the Wolga, traverſed all the northern coaſt of the Caſpian ſea, and ſettled in that part of Tartary which runs between ſeveral branches of mount Imaus and along the ſide of the river Iaxartes; a countrey ſtill called from them Turqueſtan. Hiſtorians are not agreed whether it was the Greek emperors, or the kings of Perſia, that firſt brought them into that part of Aſia, and called them into their aſſiſtance. What appears more certain is, that ſome officers of that nation entered afterwards into the pay of the Arabians or Sarazens, who, to keep them in their ſervice, after they had made themſelves maſters of Perſia, aſſigned them lands in thoſe great provinces, where they ſettled from that time with their families. It ſeems, they had ſcarce any religion, beſides a confuſed notion of a firſt being, creator of heaven and earth, author, as they ſaid, of life and death, who ſent health or ſickneſs to men according to his own good pleaſure. No ſuch thing as divine worſhip was known among them, only in their ſickneſs they had recourſe to ſome magicians, a ſort of prieſts, who, after exacting preſents from them, and uſing ſome ſenſeleſs conjuring tricks, perſuaded them that they appeaſed the angry deity for them. This colony, out of complaiſance to their new maſters, turned afterwards Mahometans, and in time multiplying exceedingly, they ſhook off the yoke of the Arabians, but without quitting their religion, in which the greateſt part of them had been bred. Other tribes and people of the ſame nation paſſing the Iaxartes, and traverſing the Mauralnahar, joined themſelves to theſe firſt comers, made their way to the banks of the Oxus, and advanced even into Coroſan.

1050. ALL theſe Turcomans thus re-united together, levied vaſt armies, and choſe three generals to command them, all taken out of the ſame family, and deſcended from one Salguez, whoſe memory they held in ſingular veneration. The firſt of theſe generals was Togrulbeg, ſprung as he was out of the midſt of a ſavage nation; he had nothing of the Barbarian in him, but boldneſs and ignorance, or a contempt of dangers. He was profuſe in his recompences to his ſoldiers, cruel in his puniſhments of thoſe who had ſhewed a want of courage, and was therefore revered by a nation, among whom the art of making ones ſelf dreaded was of more weight than all the virtues put together. This was the prince, who in 1055, under the title of chief of the emirs or ſultan, made himſelf maſter of Bagdat, and of the great empire of the Arabian caliphs. Jaſer-bei or Jaſer-beg his couſin, chief of the ſecond branch, ſeized on his ſide upon Quirman and the vaſt tracts of countrey which lye towards the Perſian ſea and the Indies. Cultumiſes, another couſin of Togrul-beg and Jaſer, had advanced before them, and A. D. 1050. had made the greateſt part of the leſſer Aſia or Anatolia acknowledge him for their ſovereign, and fixed the ſeat of his empire at Iconium. Togrulbeg dying without iſſue about A. D. 1063, Alubarſlan, his nephew and ſucceſſor, kept up the dignity of ſultan with no leſs valour than his uncle. This prince gaining a ſignal victory over the Greeks, took the emperor Diogenes priſoner upon that occaſion. It is ſaid, that the ſon of Alubarſlan, called Gelaleddin, was the moſt powerful of theſe Selgeucidian princes, and that his empire extended from the fartheſt provinces of Turqueſtan to Jeruſalem, and even to the borders of Arabia Felix: a new revolution this in Aſia carried on with a rapidity not inferior or leſs ſurprizing than that which the Arabians had brought about four hundred years before. It was the lieutenants of Gelaleddin, ſurnamed Maleſcha, who, after reducing Syria, chaſed the Sarazens out of Paleſtine, and in 1065 ſeized on the city of Jeruſalem.

Selzuccian.

No deſcription can reach all the cruelties which they committed there: the garriſon of the caliph of Egypt was cut in pieces, as I ſaid before. The inhabitants and the Chriſtians ſcarce met with a better fate: numbers of them were butchered; the hoſpital of S. John was plundered, and theſe Barbarians, fierce and cruel in their nature, would have deſtroyed the holy ſepulchre, had not their avarice reſtrained their impiety. The fear of loſing the revenues raiſed upon the pilgrims of the weſt, preſerved the tomb of our Saviour *. But theſe infidels, to gratify at once their avarice and their hatred to every thing that bore the name of Chriſtian, loaded them with heavier tributes; ſo that the pilgrims, after having ſpent all their money in the courſe of ſo long a voyage, or being ſtripped by robbers, and worn out with hunger and miſeries of all ſorts, at laſt, for want of ability to diſcharge ſuch exceſſive tributes, periſhed at the gates of Jeruſalem, without being able to obtain of theſe Barbarians the conſolation only of ſeeing, before they expired, the holy ſepulchre, the only object of their vows, and the end of ſo tedious a pilgrimage.

SUCH as eſcaped from under theſe cruel oppreſſions, did not fail at their return to Europe to give ſad deſcriptions of them. They repreſented in the moſt moving colours the indignity of ſuffering the holy places to remain under the dominion of infidels. But the power of theſe Barbarians was ſo formidable, the Greek empire ſo weakened, and moreover the princes of Europe ſo remote and diſunited among themſelves, that the delivery of Jeruſalem was looked upon as an impracticable attempt.

YET a ſingle man, called Peter the hermit, of the dioceſs of Amiens, who had himſelf experienced part of the miſeries before-mentioned, formed the bold deſign of recovering the Holy Land into the hands of the Chriſtian princes. He firſt addreſſed himſelf to Simeon the Greek patriarch, a prelate of great piety. And as the hermit founded part of his views upon the eaſtern Chriſtians, and the power of the Greek empire, the patriarch replied, he ſaw plainly that he ſpoke of the forces of that empire as a ſtranger, and without knowing them; adding, that nothing was now left of that great title but an empty name, and a dignity without power; that the Turcomans, taking advantage of the weakneſs of the emperors, and of the diviſions and inteſtine wars that were continually breaking out in the empire, had lately ſeized on moſt of the pro-

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* Soli etiam dominici ſepulcri templo, ejuſque cultoribus chriſtianis parcebant propter tributa quæ ex oblatione fidelium aſſiduè eis fideliterque ſolvebantur, unà cum eccleſia ſanctæ Mariæ, ad Latinos quæ etiam tributaria erat. Alb. Aquenſ. l. 6. p. 281.

Selzuccians.

vinces ſituated upon the coaſt of the Euxine ſea, and, as a monument of their victories, had given them the name of Turcomania; that the other provinces of the empire were ravaged in their turns, ſometimes by the inroads of Barbarians, and frequently for want of pay, by the very Chriſtian troops placed there for their defence; that the grandees of the empire, in hopes of mounting the throne, had moſt of them no other thought than how to raiſe ſeditions in the imperial city, or debauch the armies into rebellion; that the empereſſes, who never reckoned chaſtity among the virtues, had often made the imperial dignity ſerve as a recompence to their adulterers; that even the eunuchs of the palace, monſters that are neither men nor women, had, by their intereſt and intrigues, a great ſhare in theſe revolutions, and that within thirty years paſt they had ſeen no leſs than ten emperors upon the throne of the great Conſtantine, moſt of whom ended their reign by a tragical death, or at leaſt with the loſs of their eyes; and if any were ſuffered to live or enjoy the uſe of their ſight, it was only becauſe they were deſpiſed to ſuch a degree, that being ſent to a monaſtery, they were not reckoned any longer in the number of the living; that the emperor Michael Ducat, ſurnamed Parapinaces, had been dethroned by Nicephorus Botoniates; and the uſurper, to ſecure the crown to himſelf, had made prince Conſtantine Ducas (eldeſt ſon of Michael, and husband to Helena, daughter of Guiſcard the Norman) an eunuch; that the emperor Alexis Comnenus, who was then upon the throne, had made his way to it by the like treacheries, and by rebelling againſt Botoniates, whom he had depoſed in his turn; that this new emperor was indeed a man of capacity, but more feared by his ſubjects than by his neighbours; and that, after all, ſo far was any one from having reaſon to flatter himſelf with the ſufficiency of this prince's power to ſettle the Chriſtians again in Jeruſalem, that he was hard put to it to ſtop the progreſs of the arms of the Turcomans, who had lately ſeized on Nice, which the Selgeucidians of the third dynaſty had made the capital of that particular monarchy; that in another quarter Alexis was engaged in war with Robert Guiſcard, count or duke of Calabria, and Bohemund his ſon, Norman princes, and irreconcileable enemies to the Greeks; that they had taken the field and ravaged the territories of the empire to revenge themſelves on Alexis for his impriſonment and cruel uſage of the princeſs Helena, daughter to Guiſcard, and wife to Conſtantine Ducas; that theſe two Norman princes, enraged at his perfidiouſneſs, and for the delivery of the princeſs, had invaded Thrace, cut Alexis's armies in pieces, and would have dethroned him in his turn, had not other affairs, which they were obliged to attend, called them back for a time into Italy; but that the emperor was in continual apprehenſions that the thunderbolt to hurl him from his throne would be lanced from that houſe.

The patriarch, from this diſcourſe, concluded, that in order to deliver the Holy Land out of the hands of the infidels, no aſſiſtance was to be expected from the Greeks, and that nothing but a league of the Latin princes could make ſo difficult an enterprize ſucceed. This propoſal ſtartled the hermit; but far from abating his zeal, though he foreſaw all the difficulties attending it, he ſtill flattered himſelf that they might be got over with the aſſiſtance and protection of the pope: the patriarch by his advice wrote to the head of the church in the moſt moving terms. The hermit undertook to deliver his letters, took ſhipping at the port of Joppa or Jafa, arrived in Italy, preſented the patriarch's letters to the pope, and laid before him, with tears in his eyes, the miſerable condition that the Chriſtians of Jeruſalem were reduced to. He added, that the Arabians or Sarazens had built a moſque upon the old ruins of the famous temple of Solomon; that the venerable church of the holy ſepulchre, under the dominion of the Turcomans, was every moment in danger of the like profanation; that the Chriſtian women and virgins were often expoſed to the brutality of thoſe Barbarians; and if any youths fell into their power, they had reaſon to be afraid of infamies more inſupportable than death it ſelf; in fine, that the Holy Land, watered formerly with the precious blood of the Saviour of mankind, was entirely reduced under their tyranny; yet it was not impoſſible to reſcue it from that ſcandalous ſlavery, would he but vouchſafe to engage moſt of the European princes in an enterprize ſo worthy of his zeal and piety.

The pope that the hermit applied to was Urban II. a Frenchman by birth, and born at Chatillon on the Marne. Though the air and habit of a ſingle hermit did not prepoſſeſs him in his favour; yet his holineſs heard him out with much humanity, and was the leſs ſurprized at the greatneſs of his project, becauſe pope Gregory VII. a pontiff who imagined himſelf to be the ſovereign of kings, and whoſe vaſt attempts had no bounds, had likewiſe formed a deſign of obliging all the Chriſtian princes by his authority to take up arms againſt the Mahometans. Urban, who, upon the death of Victor III. had juſt ſucceeded him, had no leſs zeal than he, but being more regular in his views, he did not think it proper to declare himſelf, till he had firſt ſounded the diſpoſition, and examined into the forces of the princes of Europe. This prudent conduct was founded upon the general diſcontent which the emperors and monarchs of Chriſtendom had ſhewn at the odious pretenſions of Gregory, who, under colour of a ſpiritual authority, which they could not diſpute, had attempted to reduce all ſovereign princes to the condition of his tributaries and vaſſals. Urban, it is likely, was very ſenſible that at a time of ſo much uneaſineſs and diſcontent, when every thing that came from the court of Rome might be ſuſpected of a ſecret ambition, it was not proper to make uſe of his own name and authority openly to oblige the Chriſtian princes to take up arms, for fear the deſign ſhould miſcarry. He reſolved therefore firſt to have only the neceſſity and merit of it recommended from the pulpit. With this view, calling the hermit, and extolling highly his zeal, he exhorted him to travel over moſt of the provinces of Chriſtendom, and ſtir up ſovereigns and their ſubjects to arm for reſcuing the Holy Land from the dominion of the infidels; and the pope, at taking leave, gave him to underſtand, that if his miſſion ſucceeded well, they might depend on the ſpiritual treaſures of the church, and even powerful ſuccours of men, and money ſhould not be wanting to thoſe who would engage in ſo holy an enterprize.

The hermit, diſmiſſed with his holineſs's bleſſing, traverſed all Europe in leſs than a year's time. Wherever he went he put every thing in motion: the tragical deſcriptions that he gave of the profanation of the holy places; his lively and pathetick exhortations; his long and uncouth beard; his walking barefoot; his auſtere life; his exceſſive abſtinence, and even the money which he received only to give away immediately to the poor; all this made him be regarded as a ſaint and a prophet, and the great world as well as the populace burnt with impatience to go to the Holy Land to revenge the outrages of the infidels upon Jeſus Chriſt.

The pope having notice of this ſurprizing ſucceſs, reſolved to declare himſelf: he called two councils the ſame year, one at Placentia in Italy, the other at Clermont in Auvergne. At the council of Placentia there were no leſs than four thouſand eccleſiaſticks, and more than thirty thouſand laity of different conditions; but what was ſtill more extraordinary, was to ſee (during the ſchiſm) ſome Greek embaſſadors there. The emperor *Alexis* Comnenus had ſent them to implore the aſſiſtance of the Latins againſt the Turcomans, who, after ſeizing on the city of Nice, threatned Calcedon, and even Conſtantinople 1095.

it ſelf, with a ſiege. The pope took occaſion from this embaſſy to bewail the miſeries of the eaſt, and eſpecially of Paleſtine, which was fallen under the ſlavery of thoſe Barbarians. At the account given by theſe embaſſadors of their cruelties, the whole aſſembly rang with indignation and rage: a thouſand confuſed voices were heard, crying out that they muſt go and defend their brethren in Chriſt Jeſus. The pope exhorted them to remember this their generous reſolution when the proper time came for putting it in execution.

The ſame zeal diſtinguiſhed it ſelf in the council of Clermont: there were preſent a great number of prelates, princes and nobility, moſt of them French, or vaſſals of the crown of France. After a diſcourſe infinitely moving, made by the pope to perſuade the Chriſtians to an expedition for delivering the Holy Land out of the hands of the Mahometans, the whole aſſembly cried out as it were by concert, Dieu le veut, Dieu le veut *; and theſe three words ſerved afterwards for a deviſe and ſhout of war in the army; and, for the diſtinguiſhing of ſuch as engaged in this holy enterprize, it was ordered, that they ſhould wear a red croſs on their right ſhoulder.

As ſoon as the council was broke up, the biſhops who had aſſiſted at it, returning to their dioceſes, began to preach the croiſade, and did it with ſuch ſucceſs, that all the world was for taking the voyage of Aſia. It looked as if there had been no other way to heaven but this: they ſtrove who ſhould ſet out firſt; princes, lords, gentlemen, citizens and peaſants, every one quitted with joy what he held moſt dear, wiſe, children and parents; ſo true is it that men ſeem only made to imitate one another.

In truth all that took upon them the cruſade were not led by the ſame motives: ſeveral went into the eaſt only out of intereſted views, and in hopes of ſettling there; ſome enrolled themſelves in this holy militia, only to avoid the imputation of cowardice; others engaged in it out of levity, for company, and becauſe they would not part with their relations and friends. The very women did the ſame, that they might not be ſeparated from their lovers; in a word, the monk and the recluſe tired out with their cells, the peaſant weary of his labour, all blinded by the feeble glittering of a falſe zeal, abandoned their ſtation and former calling; all which in truth formed a prodigious number of cruſaders. But amidſt this multitude of people of various conditions, there were men indeed in abundance, yet but few ſoldiers; and ſuch an enterprize would have miſcarried in its very infancy, even before the militia of the cruſade had got out of Europe, had they not been ſuſtained by great bodies of regular troops, commanded by princes and lords of conſummate valour and experience, and animated by a pure zeal for delivering the Holy Land out of the hands of the infidels.

Baldric. Among theſe lords were reckoned up, Raiment of St. Giles, count of Thoulouſe, the firſt who took the croſs, and who had already ſignalized himſelf in Spain, at the head of the armies of Alphonſo VI. againſt the Arabians and Sarazens of Africa; Hugh ſurnamed the Great, brother to Philip I. king of France, and count of Vermandois in right of his wife; Robert, duke of Normandy, brother to William Rufus, king of England; Robert, count of Flanders; Stephen, count of Chartres and Blois; Godfrey of Boulogne, count of the lower Lorain or Brabant, with his brothers Euſtace and Baldwin; Baldwin du Bourg their couſin, and ſon to the count of Retel, beſides a great number of other lords and gentlemen, moſt of them ſubjects or vaſſals of the crown of France, who ſold their cattel and lands on that occaſion to furniſh the expence of this armament.

None of the kings of Europe appeared in this firſt expedition. Henry IV. ſon of Conrad II. ſurnamed the Salique, was at that time emperor of Ger-

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* God will have it, God will have it ſo.

many: and whether we conſider his dignity, or reflect upon his ſingular bravery, his great experience in the command of his armies and forces, there was not in all Chriſtendom a prince more worthy to be at the head of the cruſade. But in all appearance he was detained in his own dominions by the differences which had broke out between the popes and emperors, and had for more than fifty years been tearing the church and the empire in pieces. The form of giving inveſtiture of the great eccleſiaſtical dignities was the pretence, but the ſovereinty of Rome and Italy was the true reaſon of theſe differences. The popes, placed in that high degree of temporal power, to which the liberality of the kings of France had raiſed them, could not bear to hear ſpeak of the rights which the kings of the Romans and the emperors of the weſt had exerciſed formerly in Rome, and over the reſt of Italy. Hence aroſe ſchiſms, wars and inſurrections, which hindered the emperor from leaving Germany and the center of his dominions. The effeminacy and a criminal attachment which Philip I. king of France, had for Bertrade, wife of Fulk le Rechin, count of Anjou, detained him in his kingdom. To ſay nothing of William Rufus, king of England, ſon of William the Baſtard, duke of Normandy, who had conquered the Engliſh, a haughty and reſtleſs nation, jealous of their liberty, and impatient of any government, more eſpecially of a foreign one; ſo that to be abſent at ſuch a diſtance, in the beginning of a new reign, would have been contrary to all the rules of prudence. As for the kings of Caſtile, Arragon and Navarre, they were too much taken up in defending their own dominions from the Arabians and Sarazens of Spain, to dream of any other enterprizes.

Spain, ſince the invaſion of the Sarazens, was become as it were the theater of a continual cruſade; and the braveſt of all the European nobility repaired ordinarily thither to make their firſt eſſay in arms againſt thoſe infidels. In this armament therefore for the Holy Land, there were ſcarce any but private princes and French lords, whoſe fathers, or at moſt their grandfathers, taking advantage of the decline of the houſe of Charlemagne, and, by virtue of their feoffments, had, from private governors of cities or provinces, erected themſelves inſenſibly into ſovereigns of their governments: Such was the origin of the many principalities, which at the end of the ſecond, and beginning of the third race, had diſmembered this powerful monarchy.

In the mean time, the princes who had taken the croſs began their march 1096. from all parts. The Venetians, Genoeſe and Piſans, commonwealths powerful at ſea, tranſported part of them into Greece. The general rendezvous was in the plains near Conſtantinople. The famous Bohemund, who had already made war with ſuch glorious ſucceſs upon the Sarazens, and even upon the emperor Alexis, was at that time beſieging a caſtle in the Terra di Lavoro with count Roger his uncle. No ſooner did he receive the firſt news of the croiſade, with the number and quality of the principal Lords engaged in it, than, tranſported with zeal and ſeized as it were with a pious rage, he cut in pieces his coat of arms, and made it into croſſes, taking the firſt himſelf, and diſtributing the reſt to his principal officers. Among theſe lords were the brave Tancred his nephew, the counts Ranulph and Richard his couſins, Herman de Cani, Humfrey ſon of Rodolph, Robert de Sourdeval, and a great number of other gentlemen, all Normans by birth or deſcent, whoſe fathers or themſelves had, at the expence of the Sarazens and Greeks, made conſiderable ſettlements in Apulia, Calabria and Sicily. As theſe illuſtrious adventurers or their deſcendants will bear a great part in the courſe of this hiſtory, we think our ſelves obliged to give a ſhort account, on what occaſion they tranſported themſelves from the heart of Normandy, and ſettled in the lower Italy.

1003. About the year 1000 or 1003, forty Norman gentlemen, all warriours, who had ſignalized themſelves in the armies of the dukes of Normandy, returning from the pilgrimage of the Holy Land, arrived in Italy without arms, and only with their ſtaff and chaplet, the uſual equipage of pilgrims, and which our kings themſelves in the following cruſades went to receive at St. Dennis. Theſe Norman pilgrims hearing that the town of Salerno was beſieged by the Sarazens, were prompted by a religious zeal to throw themſelves into the place. Guimard was prince of it and inveſted in it: He furniſhed them with arms and horſes, and theſe ſtrangers made ſo many unexpected and vigorous ſallies upon the infidels, that they obliged them to raiſe the ſiege. The prince of Salerno admiring the bravery of theſe Normans, and their ſkill in the art of war, offered them rich preſents, and made a propoſal of conſiderable ſettlements, in order to retain them in his ſervice. But thoſe gentlemen, called home by the love we naturally bear to our countrey, refuſed every thing that was offered them; and told him, they had no other view in taking up arms but the glory of God and the defence of religion. Upon their departure, Guimard is ſaid to have ſent deputies after them, who, to excite the zeal and courage of the Norman gentry, and to engage them to come and ſettle in Italy, carried into that province ſtuffs of great value, magnificent furniture for horſes, and even pomegranates, oranges, lemons and almonds, which they preſented to ſeveral gentlemen, as a proof of the mildneſs of their climate, and the goodneſs of the ſoil, wherein they had the offer of lands and caſtles.

Guil'. Gemet l. 7.

A great number of the Normans tempted, by the promiſes of theſe envoys, took their wives and children, and bid adieu to their countrey; and during this whole century, ſome or other of that nation were continually paſſing into Italy. The moſt conſiderable of them were the ſons of Tancred de Hauteville, a gentleman in the neighbourhood of Coutance in the lower Normandy. He had twelve ſons, all bearing arms: The eldeſt, who ſerved as a leader to theſe adventurers, was called William, and ſurnamed Bras de fer, or Iron arm, on account of his great ſtrength and valour: Drogon or Dreux was the ſecond; Humfrey the third; Herman, Robert and Roger were the three laſt. Hiſtory has not conveyed to us the names of the other ſons of Tancred, and we do not ſo much as know whether they paſſed into Italy.

There were in this countrey three ſorts of governments, that of ſome little princes, the old remains of the Lombards and independent one of another: A ſecond canton was ſubject to the Greek emperors, but the Sarazens had uſurped the greater part of it. The ſons of Hauteville ſoon formed a third power, which ſwallowed up all the reſt; the Italians and Greeks were, as we have obſerved, the people who had called them in to their ſuccour againſt the Sarazens.

The Normans of Italy, united together under the banner of the ſons of Hauteville, entered into the ſervice of the Greeks, carried towns, won battels, and, by their heroick actions, drove the infidels out of moſt of the places which they were poſſeſſed of. But they were ill recompenſed for it: the Greeks, who had called them in to their ſuccour, inconſtant and jealous of the power, they inſenſibly acquired in the countrey, made uſe of the worſt of treacheries to deſtroy the leaders of that nation. The ſons of Hauteville were under a neceſſity of ſtanding upon their defence againſt ſuch ſcoundrel enemies, and did it with their uſual valour, and ſuch a train of ſucceſs, that after numberleſs fatigues, dangers and engagements, they took Calabria, Apulia and Sicily from the Greeks; and perhaps were not ſorry to have been furniſhed with the pretence of an advantageous vengeance, and the opportunity of ſeizing on thoſe rich countries. Upon this they divided thoſe great provinces between them: Robert Guiſcard had the county of Calabria, and was afterwards the moſt powerful of all the brothers: He was called Guiſcard, on account of

Proof II.

his dexterity, and the ſtratagems that he uſed in war; and we are now going to ſee prince Bohemund his eldeſt ſon, ſo formidable already to the Greeks for his valour, diſtinguiſh himſelf as much againſt the infidels by his conduct and management, and acquire a new glory in the eaſt.

THIS prince, before his departure, and in view of making a powerful acquiſition in Aſia, reſigned his rights of primogeniture to his younger brother, named Roger after his uncle; reſerving to himſelf no other reſſource but the city of Tarento, and the hopes of making new conqueſts in the eaſt. After this he croſſed the ſea, at the head of ten thouſand horſe, and a great body of foot, and upon his landing, advanced toward Conſtantinople, in order to join the other troops of the cruſade. The pope wrote at the ſame time to the emperor of Conſtantinople, that above three hundred thouſand men were marching to his ſuccour, and to deliver the holy places out of the hands of the infidels. He mentioned to him the principal chieftains of the cruſade, and exhorted him to be expeditious in giving the neceſſary orders for the ſubſiſtence of theſe troops. They arrived in rank and file ſucceſſively from different places; and at a general review, made in the plains of Conſtantinople, they muſtered an hundred thouſand horſe, and no leſs than ſix hundred thouſand foot, including prieſts, monks, and an infinite number of women in mens cloaths, moſt of which, to the ſcandal of Chriſtianity, proſtituted themſelves to the ſoldiers.

THE Greek emperor, inſtead of a competent ſuccour which he had asked, was ſtrangely ſurprized to ſee his dominions over-run with ſuch innumerable troops, as were in a condition to preſcribe to him in the very capital of his own empire. Alexis was more particularly afraid of Bohemund, whoſe valour and conduct he had felt; and to get rid of theſe allies, more terrible to him than open enemies, he reſolved to gain the chiefs by careſſes and preſents, and at the ſame time to leave no ſtone untryed to cut off proviſions from the ſoldiers, and deſtroy ſuch as ſtrolled from their colours in ſearch of them. By this artful conduct, without declaring himſelf openly, he did the Latins more miſchief, than all the forces of the Turcomans put together.

BY his orders, they carried every day preſents and refreſhments to the princes of the cruſade; nay, to remove all kind of ſuſpicion, he would needs engage himſelf in it: he took the badge with great ſolemnity, and, by a treaty with the European princes, obliged himſelf to join his fleet with that of the Latins; to furniſh them with proviſions as far as Jeruſalem, and to repair in perſon to the main body of the army at the head of his troops, in order to act in concert againſt the infidels, whether Turcomans, Arabians or Sarazens.

THOSE of the cruſade, blinded by theſe fine promiſes, agreed, on the other hand, to reſtore him Nice, which the Turcomans had lately ſeized, and ſuch other places belonging to the empire, as they ſhould recover from the Barbarians: or at leaſt, in caſe the Latins were for keeping them, it was agreed that they ſhould do homage to him for them. In purſuance of this treaty, ſeveral weſtern lords, hoping to make themſelves maſters of ſome principalities in the eaſt, took the oath of fidelity to him beforehand.

THE emperor, notwithſtanding theſe precautions, being ſtill uneaſy to ſee a formidable army at the gates of his capital, and in a condition to preſcribe to him what terms they pleaſed even in his own palace, was continually preſſing the chiefs to loſe no time in entering Bithynia, that, as he pretended, they might ſurprize and get the ſtart of the infidels, he even furniſhed them with a great number of tranſports for that purpoſe. The princes, deceived by this appearance of zeal for the common cauſe, paſſed the Boſphorus, and, after ſome days march, inveſted Nice. Soliman the Turcoman of the Selgeucidian race, a relation of Togrul-beg and ſultan of Iconium, had thrown a ſtrong garriſon into Nice. The attack was briſk, and the defence very obſtinate; the

1097.
May 14.
Bibl. orient.
p. 822.

Turcomans diſputed the ground inch by inch, and only yielded to a formidable power, which no place ſeemed able to hold out againſt. The governor, after a ſiege of thirty four days, ſurrendered Nice to the Latin Chriſtians, who, purſuant to their treaty with the Greek emperor, fairly delivered it up to the officers of that prince, with the wife and children of Soliman, who, by the capitulation, remained priſoners of war.

June 20.

ALEXIS was not ſo much affected with the taking of Nice, as he was alarmed at the valour and courage which thoſe of the cruſade had ſhewn in the attack. He made no queſtion but they would ſoon ſubdue the greater part of Aſia; and were he to chuſe his neighbours, he was for thoſe that he thought the weakeſt, and no longer dreamed of any thing but making a ſecret alliance with the infidels to traverſe the conqueſts of the Latin Chriſtians, which now appeared to him the more formidable of the two.

WITH this view he reſtored Soliman his wife and children, as an earneſt of the friendſhip he was deſirous to contract with him. They entered into a ſtrict alliance; and the perfidious Greek, in execution of this ſecret treaty, far from going in perſon to the Chriſtian army, ſupplying it with proviſions, or joining his fleet to that of the Latins, according to his engagements in the treaty of Conſtantinople, gave private orders to the generals of his army to coaſt that of the Latins; and his troops, in concert with thoſe of Soliman, cut in pieces the ſoldiers that ſtraggled, either to ſeek proviſions, or to go a forraging.

THE ſultan did not rely ſo entirely on the treaty he had juſt made with the emperor, but that he thought at the ſame time of procuring ſuch ſuccours as were more to be depended on. For this purpoſe he made application to the ſultans of Antioch, Aleppo, Bagdat and Perſia, all princes of his own nation, of the ſame houſe, and intereſted as neighbours to prevent his ruin. Theſe princes immediately levied vaſt armies; and if, on the one hand, all France in a manner had paſſed into the eaſt with thoſe of the cruſade, it looked, on the other hand, as if the greateſt part of Aſia had taken up arms on this occaſion.

So general and vaſt an armament alarmed the caliph of Egypt, whoſe empire extended into Syria, and as far as Laodicea. This prince, an Arabian by deſcent, and chief of the ſect of Ali, fearing leſt the Turcomans, who acknowledged the caliph of Bagdat for their head in ſpirituals, ſhould, under pretence of oppoſing the Latin Chriſtians, turn their arms againſt him, ſent embaſſadors to the princes of the cruſade, to propoſe a league againſt all the Turcomans. And as he was ſenſible that the conqueſt of Jeruſalem was the main view of the Chriſtian army, it was ſtipulated by a treaty, that he ſhould declare himſelf againſt their common enemies; that each of them ſhould ſeparately attack the Turcomans; that the capital of Judea ſhould, with all its dependencies, be put into the hands of the Latin Chriſtians; that for his part he ſhould reſume the poſſeſſion of the other places which the Turcomans had taken from him; and if they extended their conqueſts to the territories of the enemy, they ſhould be divided equally between them.

Raymond d'Agil.

THE Chriſtian princes having ſigned this treaty, ſent it back to the caliph by his embaſſadors, together with others from themſelves, to aſſiſt in their name at the ratification of it.

BUT the politick caliph, who was for regulating his conduct by events, detained the embaſſadors at his court upon various pretences, to ſee, before he declared himſelf more openly, on which ſide the victory would turn.

BY the treaty between the princes of the cruſade and the emperor Alexis, they were obliged, as we have ſaid, to put into his hands all ſuch imperial towns as they ſhould take from the infidels, or elſe to hold them of him as his vaſſals: And the emperor for his part was to ſend his troops to the main body of the army, and ſupply the Latins with proviſions till the taking of Jeruſalem.

But as the Greek prince openly broke his word, the princes of the cruſade thought themſelves diſcharged of their engagements. Theſe princes, after the taking of Nice, continued their march and their conqueſts, dividing their troops for their more eaſy ſubſiſtence. Thoſe who commanded theſe different bodies, ſeized on moſt of the towns in Anatolia. All Cilicia fell before them: Baldwin, brother to Godfrey, made himſelf maſter of the county of Edeſſa, the people whereof, though ſubject to the Turcomans, were moſt of them Chriſtians; and, to ſtrengthen himſelf againſt the infidels, he ſtruck up an alliance with an Armenian prince, and married his niece.

The main army of the Latins advancing into Syria, marched up to An- Oct. 21.
tioch and inveſted it. There was in the city a compleat army for a garriſon, and ſeveral bodies of Turks, coming up to relieve the place, kept the Chriſtians themſelves in a manner beſieged. The ſiege of Antioch at the end of ſeven months was ſcarce farther advanced than it was the firſt day, and they would have been obliged to riſe up, had it not been for the contrivance of Bohemund, who gained one of the chief inhabitants. By means of this intelligence, one of the gates were opened to him, and this prince, at the head of the troops which he commanded, firſt entered the place, and planted his ſtandards on the towers of Antioch. The princes of the cruſade in re- Proof III.
quital, granted him the ſovereinty of it, and he preſerved afterwards, by his valour, a principality that he had acquired by his management; a prince young and handſome, of a ready capacity and inſinuating behaviour, as great a politician as he was a ſoldier, and of whom the princeſs Anna, in the hiſtory of her father the emperor Alexis, ſays ſo many good things, and at the ſame time ſo many bad ones; both perhaps becauſe ſhe liked him too well.

The taking of Antioch, and a ſignal victory gained by Bohemund over 1098.
Querbouca, general of Berearuc, ſultan of Perſia and ſon of Gellaleden, open- June 28.
ed a free paſſage to the conqueſt of Jeruſalem: But the caliph of Egypt was beforehand with the Chriſtians; that infidel prince taking advantage of the confuſion the Selgeucidians were in, took the field, and recovered the capital of Judea, which the Turcomans had ſeized about thirty eight years before.

The caliph of Egypt, ſeeing the Chriſtians and Turcomans equally weakened by ſuch a number of ſieges and engagements, found his intereſts had changed with his fortune. He ſent their embaſſadors back to the princes of the cruſade, without thinking fit to ratify the treaty concluded with his miniſters; and charged the Chriſtian embaſſadors to tell their maſters, that having been happy enough to recover with his own forces alone a place which his predeceſſors were in poſſeſſon of more than four hundred years, he knew very well how to keep it without any foreign ſuccour; but the gates of it ſhould be always open to Chriſtian pilgrims, provided they came thither but in ſmall numbers, and without arms.

The princes of the cruſade reſenting his breach of faith, and giving themſelves little diſturbance about his power, ſent him word, that with the ſame keys with which they had opened the gates of Nice, Antioch, Tarſus and Edeſſa, they knew how to open thoſe of Jeruſalem: And after refreſhing their
troops during the winter-ſeaſon and part of the ſpring, they marched ſtraight 1099.
to Jeruſalem, and arrived there the ſeventh of June, A. D. 1099. June 7.

Of that infinite number of the cruſade which ſet out from Europe, and amounted to near ſeven hundred thouſand men, the greateſt part had either periſhed in the field or were carried off by ſickneſs, or had deſerted their colours, without reckoning the garriſons they were obliged to leave in Cilicia, the county of Edeſſa, and principality of Antioch; ſo that there hardly remained twenty thouſand foot and fifteen hundred horſe fit for ſervice.

The caliph, or rather Aladin, ſultan and general of the caliph, had thrown forty thouſand regular troops into the place, beſides twenty thouſand inhabitants, Mahometans by religion, whom he had obliged to take up arms. The governor of the city ſhut up the Chriſtians he ſuſpected in different priſons, and among the reſt, the adminiſtrator of the hoſpital of S. John of Jeruſalem.

Hiſtoire de Provence par Bouche, t. 1. p. 32.
Proof IV.

He was a Frenchman, and named Gerard, born, as ſome hiſtorians relate, in the iſland of Martigues in Provence: A deſire of viſiting the holy places had brought him to Jeruſalem, where ſeeing the charity exerciſed in the hoſpital of S. John, and being moved with ſo eminent an example, he had devoted himſelf long before to the ſervice of the pilgrims, at the ſame time that Agnes, a Roman lady of illuſtrious birth, governed the houſe appointed for the reception of perſons of her ſex.

All pilgrims were admitted into the hoſpital of S. John, without diſtinction of Greek and Latin; the very infidels received alms there; and the inhabitants in general, of what religion ſoever they were, looked upon the adminiſtrator of the hoſpital, as the common father of all the poor of the city.

'Twas this general eſteem, and the fear leſt he ſhould make uſe of it in favour of the beſieged, that induced the governor to have him taken into cuſtody. That commander, to render the ſiege more difficult, cauſed all the wells and ciſterns for five or ſix miles round the city to be filled up: At the ſame time he demoliſhed the ſuburbs, and burnt all ſuch timber belonging to the houſes as might ſerve for making military engines. But all theſe precautions, the fortifications of the place, and a numerous garriſon did not hinder the Chriſtians from ſitting down before it.

This city, one of the fineſt in the eaſt, and ever famous for the myſteries of our redemption therein accompliſhed, had undergone ſeveral revolutions. No body can be ignorant of all the horrors of the ſiege laid to it by Titus Veſpaſian, who, without any ſuch deſign, fulfilled the prophecies concerning it. The temple was entirely demoliſhed, even in ſpite of the conqueror himſelf. The emperor Adrian, after deſtroying it a ſecond time, rebuilt it again; but then he made it of leſs compaſs, and changed its name to Ælia, becauſe he himſelf was called Ælius. Jeruſalem recovered its name and its former glory under Conſtantine the firſt Chriſtian emperor. Coſroes, grandſon of another Coſroes king of Perſia, in the time of the emperor Phocas, laid the Holy City again deſolate; thirty thouſand inhabitants were put to the ſword, and the famous church of St. Sepulchre was deſtroyed. Heraclius, ſucceſſor to Phocas, recovered Jeruſalem, and cauſed the churches to be rebuilt. About the middle of the ſeventh century, it was taken, as we obſerved before, by the caliph Omar; and the Sarazen Mahometans had been maſters of it for near four hundred years, when the Turcomans drove them thence. The ſultan of Egypt had retaken it during the ſiege of Antioch. That which the princes of the cruſade laid to it laſted only five weeks; Godfrey of Bouillon threw himſelf firſt into the city by means of a wooden tower which he clapped to the walls. The count of Tholouſe, who commanded at another attack, 1099. July 15. had the ſame advantage; the whole army crowded into the place; they put all that made any reſiſtance to the ſword; and not only ſo, but ſuch alſo as threw down their arms. Above ten thouſand inhabitants, who had been promiſed quarter, were maſſacred afterwards in cold blood; infants were inhumanely butchered at the breaſt and in the arms of their mother; every * thing ſwam

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* Chriſtiani cum paganis quinto bello conſerto, tanta in eos cæde debacchati ſunt, ut in ſanguine occiſorum equitârint uſque ad genua equorum. Sig. Gemblac. p. 611.

in blood, and the conquerors, tired at laſt with ſlaughter, looked on it themſelves with horror.

THIS military rage ceaſed at length, and gave way to more Chriſtian ſentiments; the chieftains, after the neceſſary precautions for the ſecurity of their conqueſt, laid aſide their arms, and went barefoot, with their ſoldiers after them, to proſtrate themſelves before the holy ſepulchre. Nothing was to be heard in that ſacred place but ſighs and groans: 'Twas a moving ſpectacle indeed to ſee with what devotion theſe ſoldiers of the cruſade viſited and kiſſed the memorials of our Saviour's ſufferings; and, what is ſtill more ſurprizing, theſe tears and ſentiments of piety came from thoſe very ſoldiers, who but a moment before had abandoned themſelves to the moſt ſhocking cruelties: So true is it, that men are often led by principles entirely oppoſite.

THE next day the biſhops and prieſts offered the holy ſacrifice in the churches to return thanks to God for their happy ſucceſs. They gave immediate advice of it to pope Paſchal II. who then filled the chair of St. Peter, and ordered the day of its reduction to be annually obſerved as a ſolemn feſtival for ever. PROOF V.

FROM theſe duties of religion, they paſſed next to the cares of government. The princes and lords aſſembled to determine who ſhould be inveſted with the ſovereinty of this conqueſt. Every one, according to his inclination or intereſts, propoſed different perſons to fill that great dignity. Some named Raimond, count of Tholouſe; others Robert, Duke of Normandy; but at laſt all their votes united in favour of Godfrey of Bouillon, a prince ſtill more illuſtrious for his piety, than for his ſingular valour. The heads of the cruſade conducted him in a ſolemn manner to the church of the holy ſepulchre in order to crown him there. But while the ceremony of inauguration was performing, the religious prince refuſed a crown of gold which they offered him, proteſting loudly that they ſhould never ſee ſo magnificent a crown upon his head in a place where the Saviour of the world was crowned with one of thorns. He likewiſe abſolutely refuſed the auguſt name of king, and took only the ſimple title of protector, or defender of the holy ſepulchre.

IN the mean time the caliph of Egypt's general, knowing nothing of the taking of Jeruſalem, was marching at the head of his army to raiſe the ſiege, but Godfrey prevented him. He advanced to meet him, attacked him on the edge of the deſerts which divide Paleſtine from Egypt, beat and routed his army. In acknowledgment, and for a memorial of this new victory, he founded a chapter of Latin canons in the church of the holy ſepulchre: he founded alſo another ſome time after in the church of the temple, which ſerved before for a moſque to the infidels, and theſe canons in both churches followed the rule of S. Auguſtin, as cardinal James de Vitri, biſhop of Acre, relates in his Hiſtory; an Author, who, in reſpect of the affairs of the eaſt, ought to be regarded as the original hiſtorian. Chap. 50.

THE prince viſited next the houſe of the hoſpitallers of S. John, the firſt which the Latin Chriſtians ever had in the city of Jeruſalem. He was received there by the pious Gerard and the other adminiſtrators of the ſame fraternity; and there he found a great number of the ſoldiers of the cruſade, who had been wounded in the ſiege and carried thither after the taking of the place: all of them agreed in extolling the great charity of our hoſpitallers, who ſpared no pains for their relief.

THE cardinal de Vitri relates that the bread of theſe hoſpitallers was made only of bran and the coarſeſt flower, whilſt they reſerved the fineſt part for the ſuſtenance of the ſick and wounded; a circumſtance indeed inconſiderable enough, if any thing can be ſo that proceeds from an eminent fund of charity.

SEVERAL young gentlemen, who had juſt an happy experience of it, renounced all thoughts of returning into their own countrey, and devoted themſelves in the houſe of S. John to the ſervice of the poor and pilgrims. Among the illuſtrious perſons of the cruſade, who took the habit of hoſpitallers, were Raimond, deputy of the province of Dauphiny; Dudon de Comps, of the ſame province; Gaſtus or Caſtus, of the city of Berdeiz; Canon de Montaigu of the province of Auvergne, and a great number beſides.

THOUGH Godfrey by this means loſt ſome gallant men who had done him great ſervices, he could not but look upon their change with joy, and perhaps with a pious emulation. But if the intereſt and preſervation of Jeruſalem kept him ſtill at the head of the army, he would at leaſt contribute to the ſupport of the houſe of S. John, and therefore annexed to it the lordſhip of Montboire with all its dependencies, which was formerly part of his own demeſne in Brabant.

MOST of the princes and lords of the cruſade followed his example. The hoſpital was in a little time enriched with a great number of lands and manors, as well in Europe as in Paleſtine. This was in the hands of the pious Gerard, a ſacred truſt and certain fund for the relief of all the diſtreſſed. The holy man was as yet only a mere ſecular adminiſtrator; but after the taking of Jeruſalem, the deſire of greater perfection induced him to propoſe to the brothers and ſiſters of the hoſpital to take a regular habit, and dedicate their life in the hoſpital to the ſervice of the poor and pilgrims.

GERARD, Rector of the hoſpital of S. John of Jeruſalem.

THE brothers and ſiſters of the fraternity of hoſpitallers, by his advice and example, renounced the world, and took the regular habit, which is a plain black robe, having a white linen croſs of eight points faſtened to it on the left ſide near the heart: And the patriarch of Jeruſalem, after firſt cloathing them with it, received from them three ſolemn vows of the order, which they made publickly at the foot of the holy ſepulchre.

Gerard.

PROOF VI.

POPE Paſchal II. ſome years after, confirmed this new inſtitution, exempted the houſe of Jeruſalem, and ſuch as were dependent on it, from the payment of tythes, confirmed all endowments made or to be made in favour of the hoſpital, and granted, by a ſpecial order, that after the death of Gerard, the hoſpitallers ſhould have the ſole right of electing a new ſuperior, without the interpoſition of any power, either ſecular or eccleſiaſtical.

IN the mean time the ſoldiers of the cruſade, having reſcued the Holy City from ſlavery, moſt of them prepared for their return to Europe. Of all that prodigious number that ſet out from thence and entered Aſia, there ſtayed only with Godfrey two thouſand foot and three hundred horſe that were attached to his fortune, beſides the brave Tancred, who would never abandon him. Baldwin, brother to Godfrey, retired to Edeſſa in Meſopotamia, of which he had made himſelf maſter; Euſtace, another brother of Godfrey's, returned back to France; and Bohemund being made prince of Antioch, fixed his reſidence there.

EVERY one of theſe princes was attended with the lords, gentlemen, officers and ſoldiers, who had come to the Holy Land under their banner, and in order to keep theſe gallant gentlemen with them, they procured them conſiderable ſettlements in their territories, as a teſtimony and recompenſe of their valour; and theſe ſeveral principalities may be ſaid to be all inhabited by a nation of conquerors.

THE reſt of the cruſade, who the love of their countrey called back into Europe, returning home, publiſhed their conqueſts and the wonders God had vouchſafed to work by their arms. There is no expreſſing the tranſport of the people, and the effect this extraordinary news had upon their minds. Of all the nations of chriſtendom, and of all profeſſions indifferently, there were forming continually as it were new brigades of pilgrims, who quitted their all to have the ſatisfaction of ſeeing the Holy City delivered from the tyranny of the infidels. They were entertained in the houſe of S. John, and found there a certain, and even an agreeable ſubſiſtence.

THIS

FR. GERARD TUM FONDATEUR DE L'ORDRE DE S. JEAN DE JERUSALEM 1090
POUR LA FOY
J. F. Cars sc.

THIS flux and reflux of pilgrims, all of whom carried back into their countrey teſtimonies of the charity of the hoſpitallers, occaſioned them new benefactions from moſt of the princes of the weſt; ſo that there was ſcarce a province in Chriſtendom, where the houſe of S. John had not large eſtates, and very conſiderable ſettlements.

IT was not long before the pious Gerard cauſed a magnificent temple to be erected in honour of S. John the Baptiſt, and in a place which, according to ancient tradition, had ſerved for a retreat to Zacharias, father to that great ſaint. Near this church were built various apartments and vaſt buildings, ſome for the hoſpitallers to dwell in, and others to entertain the pilgrims and lodge the poor and ſick. The hoſpitallers treated them all with equal charity; they waſhed with pleaſure the feet of the pilgrims, dreſſed the ſores of the wounded, and attended the ſick, whilſt the holy prieſts belonging to the houſe adminiſtred to them the ſacraments of the church.

THE zeal of the hoſpitallers was not confined within the city or territory of Jeruſalem; the head and ſuperior of this growing ſociety extended his cares even into the weſt: Out of the eſtates, which he poſſeſſed by the liberality of Chriſtian princes, he founded hoſpitals in the principal maritime provinces of Europe; and theſe houſes, which were a ſort of daughters to that of Jeruſalem, and may be looked upon as the firſt commanderies of this order, ſerved to collect the pilgrims in a body, who had devoted themſelves to the voyage of the Holy Land. Care was there taken for their imbarkation; they found ſhips, guides and convoys; at the ſame time that other care was taken of ſuch as fell ſick, and were not in a condition to continue ſo long a voyage.

SUCH were the houſes of S. Giles in Provence, Sevil in Andaluſia, of Tarento in Apulia, Meſſina in Sicily, and abundance of others, which pope Paſchal II. took afterwards like that of Jeruſalem under the particular protection of the holy ſee, and which his ſucceſſors honoured with various privileges.

WHILST this new order was thus recommending it ſelf no leſs in Europe than in Aſia, Godfrey of Bouillon, to reduce a confuſed military government to ſome form and regularity, called a kind of aſſembly of the eſtates of the kingdom, where he enacted new laws, the collection of which, commonly called the aſſize of Jeruſalem, was ſigned by that prince, and ſealed with his coat of arms; and becauſe this collection was lodged in the church of the holy ſepulchre, it was generally called the writings of the holy ſepulchre. The prince, after cares ſo worthy of a ſovereign, took the field again, and made himſelf maſter of Tiberias, and the other towns ſituated on the lake of Genneſareth, and of the greateſt part of Galilee, the government of which he gave to Tancred.

GODFREY would have reduced all Paleſtine, if a contagious ſickneſs had not ſtopped the progreſs of his arms. He died with the ſame ſentiments of 1100.
piety that had brought him to the Holy Land; and by his death the Sarazens July 18.
were rid of a formidable enemy, and the Chriſtians loſt a noble champion and a great commander. He left two brothers behind him, whoſe names were Euſtace and Baldwin; but as the eldeſt was returned into Europe, the younger then, count of Edeſſa, was ſent for to ſucceed him; and this prince, before he went to Jeruſalem, reſigned that large territory to the count du Bourg his couſin.

BALDWIN aſſumed the majeſtick title of king, which Godfrey of Bouillon, out of a ſpirit of piety had refuſed to accept. Baldwin was not perhaps inferior to his brother in valour; but his courage was not ſupported by an equal capacity in the conduct of an army. He was more a ſoldier than a general, not very ſcrupulous likewiſe in converſing with women, and this new ſucceſſor of David had his great defect too.

GERARD. THIS prince who is reckoned the firſt king of Jeruſalem, was in war all his reign, and engaged with various ſucceſs, often victorious, ſometimes beaten, but never diſcouraged from fighting. After a defeat, he returned the next day to attack the infidels, and never let either his own ſoldiers or his enemies reſt; he beſieged and took Ptolemais or Acre, a famous city and harbour.

1101. DURING his reign the city of Triopoli in Syria after a ſiege of four
years, ſurrendered to Sourdain nephew to Raimond count of Tholouſe, who
delivered it up afterwards to Bertrand, the count's natural ſon. The king
on his ſide took Sidon and Berytus; and all the places along the coaſt yielded
to the force of his arms, except Tyre alone, which he was deſigning to
1118. beſiege; when after a reign of eighteen years, a dyſentery occaſioned by the
fatigues of war, carried him to his grave.

BALDWIN du Bourg, or Baldwin II. his couſin, count of Edeſſa, ſucceeded
him in the crown of Jeruſalem, as he had done before in that county,
which he reſign'd likewiſe in his turn to Joſceline de Courtenay his kinſman.
Baldwin, following the ſteps of the two princes his predeceſſors, thought only
of preſerving by new conqueſts the crown which they had acquired for
him. But whilſt this prince by his valour kept the infidels at a diſtance
1118. from the capital of Judea, the hoſpitallers loſt the bleſſed Gerard, the father
of the poor and pilgrims. That virtuous man, after having arrived to an
exceeding old age, expired in the arms of his brethren almoſt without any
ſickneſs, and fell as we may ſay like a fruit ripe for eternity.

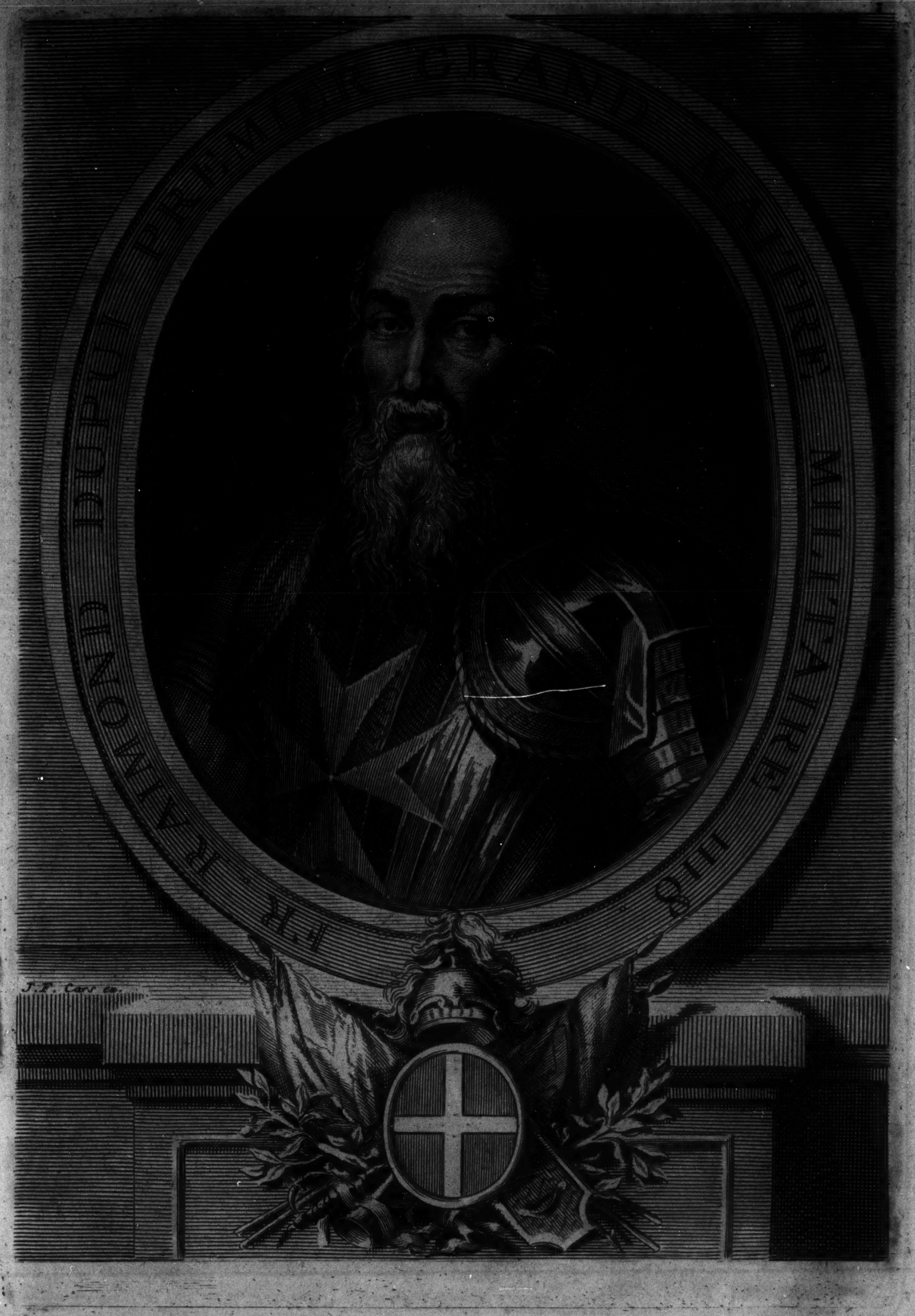
THE hoſpitallers aſſembled after his death to chuſe him a ſucceſſor purſuant
to the bull of pope Paſchal II. there was no diviſion upon the point;
1118. all their votes united in favour of brother Raymond Dupuy, a gentleman
of the province of Dauphiny, of an illuſtrious houſe, which after ſo many
RAIMOND DUPUY. ages, is ſtill ſubſiſting at this day under the name of Dupuy Montbrun.

THE bleſſed Gerard to engage the hoſpitallers in the ſervice of the poor
and pilgrims, contented himſelf with inſpiring into them ſentiments of charity
and humility. His ſucceſſor thought it neceſſary to enforce the duty
PROOF. VII. by particular ſtatutes; and with the conſent of the whole chapter drew
'em up in ſuch a manner that they ſeemed to have been made only to
ſecure in that holy houſe a more ſure and ſtrict obſervance of the ſolemn
vows of their profeſſion.

THE new maſter of the hoſpitallers formed a deſign of adding to theſe and the duties of hoſpitality, an obligation to take up arms for defence of the holy places; and he reſolved to draw out of his houſe a military body and a ſort of perpetual cruſade, who were to be ſubject to the orders of the kings of Jeruſalem, and to make a particular profeſſion of fighting againſt the infidels.

FOR the clearing up of a fact ſo important to the order whoſe hiſtory we write, it muſt be obſerved that what was called at that time the kingdom of Jeruſalem, conſiſted only of that capital, and ſome other cities, ſeparated for the moſt part by places ſtill in poſſeſſion of the infidels, ſo that the Latins could not paſs from one to the other without danger or a large guard. The countrey too about theſe chriſtian towns was ſtill inhabited by Mahometan peaſants, who looking on the Chriſtians as enemies to their religion aſſaſſinated and robbed them, whenever they could ſurpriſe them with advantage and without danger of diſcovery. The Latins were ſcarce more ſecure in the boroughs and towns that were not walled; robbers entered 'em by night and cut the throats of the inhabitants; and what was yet more grievous, this little ſtate was ſtill in a manner beſieged on all ſides, either by the Turcomans or by the Sarazens of Egypt, two formidable

powers


FR. RAIMOND DUPUI PREMIER GRAND MAITRE MILITAIRE 1118
J.F. Cars sc.

powers, who without acting in concert, had yet neither of them any other view but to drive the Chriſtians out of Syria and Paleſtine. Thus were the Latins obliged to maintain an almoſt continual war: And in the winter ſeaſon, when the armies were no longer able to keep the field, different parties of infidels were perpetually harraſſing the countrey, deſtroying all before them with fire and ſword, maſſacring the men, and carrying the women and children away into an odious ſlavery.

The maſter of the hoſpital touched with theſe calamities, and ſeeing himſelf at the head of a great body of hoſpitallers, formed the moſt noble, and withal the moſt extraordinary deſign, that ever enter'd into the mind of a monk, tyed down by his profeſſion to the ſervice of the poor and ſick.

God, who had inſpired Raimond with this noble project, had given him all the qualities proper to make it ſucceed, an illuſtrious birth, exalted ſentiments, large and extended views, and an ardent zeal, which made him wiſh for an opportunity of ſacrificing his own life to ſave that of a Chriſtian.

He was every moment repreſenting to himſelf the great number of the inhabitants of Paleſtine ſurpized and murdered by the infidels, others of them groaning in irons, the women and virgins expoſed to the brutality of robbers, and the debauches of theſe Barbarians yet more inſupportable than their cruelties; in a word the Chriſtians in general, either to avoid torments, or to ſave their life or honour, expoſed to the temptation of renouncing Jeſus Chriſt. Theſe diſmal reflections, and the deſire of preſerving to the ſaviour of the world, the ſouls which he had purchaſed with his blood, continually perplexed the maſter of the hoſpital: it was the ordinary ſubject of his meditations, he conſulted every day at the foot of the altar the author and inſpirer of this pious deſign; preſſed at laſt by a particular call, he ſummoned a chapter, and propoſed to his brethren of the order, to reſume, as being ſoldiers of Jeſus Chriſt, the arms which moſt of them had quitted to ſerve him in the perſon of the poor, and in the hoſpital of St. John.

Raimond owed his dignity merely to the luſtre of his virtues: his friars looked upon this propoſal as a new inſtance of his zeal; and though it appeared not very compatible with their firſt engagement, and the functions of hoſpitality, yet the laudable deſire of defending the holy places made them look over the difficulties that might ariſe in the exerciſe of two ſo different profeſſions. The hoſpitallers, moſt of them the companions or ſoldiers of Godfrey de Bouillon, generouſly reſumed their arms with the patriarch's permiſſion. However they agreed, never to make uſe of them but againſt the infidels; and it was reſolved, that without abandoning their firſt engagements, or the care of ſuch as were ſick or in poverty, part of theſe monks ſhould be ready to mount on horſeback whenever there was occaſion to oppoſe the incurſions of the infidels. Beſides, the order was by this time rich and powerful enough to hire forces upon preſſing occaſions: and it was afterwards by this ſuccour that they ſupported with ſo much bravery the tottering throne of the kings of Jeruſalem.

Raimond having brought his brethren of the order into his project, is ſaid to have diſtributed the whole body of the hoſpitallers into three claſſes. The firſt conſiſting of ſuch as by their birth and the rank they formerly held in the army, were appointed to bear arms; in the ſecond claſs were the prieſts and chaplains, who beſides the ordinary functions of their character, either in the church or in attendance upon the ſick, were likewiſe obliged to ſerve by turns as chaplains in the camp: and as to ſuch as were neither of noble families, nor eccleſiaſticks, they were called freres ſervans

RAIMOND DUPUY.

ſervans, i. e. ſerving brothers, from the office aſſigned them by the knights as well with regard to the ſick as in the army, and they were diſtinguiſhed afterwards by a coat of arms differing in colour from that of the knights. Notwithſtanding this diſtinction all theſe monks formed but one body, and ſhared equally in moſt of the rights and privileges of the order, as we ſhall ſhew in a particular treatiſe at the end of this work.

As this new order multiplied exceedingly in a little time, and moſt of the young gentry flocked from different parts of Europe to enrol themſelves under its banner, they made a new diſtinction according to the countrey and nation of each knight, and divided them into ſeven languages, viz. theſe of Provence, Auvergne, France, Italy, Arragon, Germany and England. This diviſion is at this day ſtill ſubſiſting in the ſame manner, excepting that in the firſt ages of the order, the priories, bayliwicks and commandaries were common to all the knights indifferently; whereas thoſe dignities have been ſince annexed to each particular language and nation: The Engliſh are no longer reckoned among theſe languages, ſince hereſy has infected that kingdom, and to that of Arragon they have added the languages of Caſtile and Portugal.

THE regular habit conſiſted of a black robe with a pointed mantle of the ſame colour, upon which was ſowed a pointed cowl. This ſort of garment was called manteau a bec, and had upon the left ſide a croſs of white linen with eight points; a dreſs which in thoſe firſt times was, as well as the name of hoſpitallers, common to all the monks of the order.

BUT after theſe hoſpitallers had taken upon them the military badge; perſons of high birth being out of an idle punctilio ſhy of entring into an order where they were blended with ſerving brothers; Alexander IV. to remove this obſtacle, thought fit to ſettle a proper diſtinction between the ſerving brothers, and the knights. With this view he ordered that for the future none but the latter ſhould wear in the houſe the black mantle, and in the camp a ſopra veſte, or coat of arms with a white croſs upon a red field like the arms upon the ſtandard of the order, which are Gueules à la croix pleine d'argent; and by a particular ſtatute, it was provided that ſuch knights, as ſhould in battel deſert their rank and fly, ſhould be deprived of the habit and croſs of the order.

THE form of government in this order ſeems to have been at that time, as it is now, purely ariſtocratical; the ſupreme authority was veſted in the council, of which the maſter of the hoſpitallers was preſident, and as ſuch, he had two votes in caſe of a diviſion. This council had the management of the great eſtates poſſeſs'd by the order both in Aſia and Europe.

TO take care of theſe eſtates, they ſent thither ſome old hoſpitallers with the title of preceptors, whoſe commiſſion laſted only ſo long as the maſter and council thought fit; ſo that theſe preceptors were look'd upon at that time only as ſtewards and mere adminiſtrators of part of the eſtate of the order, for which they were accomptable to the treaſury.

'TWAS from theſe funds, which were every day improving by a wiſe œconomy, that they furniſhed the neceſſary ſuccours for maintenance of the houſe of Jeruſalem, and particularly for the charges of the war and the pay of ſuch ſecular ſoldiers, as the order took into their ſervice.

ALMOST all theſe revenues were remitted from the weſt to Paleſtine; the preceptors reſerved but a very ſmall part for their own ſubſiſtence. Thoſe true friars obſerved the ſame auſterity under the privileges of their commiſſion as in the convent; they lived in a collegiate way many together, and formed a ſociety. Charity to the poor and pilgrims diſtinguiſhed it ſelf as much in theſe particular houſes as in the head of the order and in the hoſpital of S. John. Their purity of life was no leſs remarkable than their diſintereſted temper of not appropriating any thing to themſelves; and after the order had taken up arms in the eaſt againſt the Sarazens and Turcomans, the hoſpitallers, who were in the weſt, and in the houſes of the order, to act agreeably to their profeſſion and diſcharge the obligations they lay under, never failed in their turn, and purſuant to the orders they received from the maſter, to repair either to the army of Paleſtine, or to thoſe that were ſent againſt the Moors in Spain, and afterwards againſt the Albigenſes in France. But none of them were ever known to engage in the wars raiſed between Chriſtian princes. A knight hoſpitaller was only a ſoldier of Jeſus Chriſt; and when the intereſts of religion did not oblige him to take up arms, he was never ſeen employed but in the care of the poor and ſick: This was the ſpirit of the order, and the uniform practice of all the hoſpitallers.

RAIMOND Dupuy having got his deſign approved by the patriarch of Jeruſalem, his natural ſuperior, and having received his bleſſing, went at the head of his brethren, all armed, to offer their ſervice to Baldwin du Bourg, the ſecond king of Jeruſalem. That prince was agreeably ſurprized at it, and looked upon that body of gentlemen, as a ſuccour ſent him from heaven.

'TIS aſtoniſhing that none of the hiſtorians of that time take any notice of the year in which theſe hoſpitallers had recourſe to arms, and that thoſe writers have kept the ſame ſilence with regard to their exploits, or at leaſt have ſpoken of them only by the bye and very ſuperficially. However, we learn from a bull of pope Innocent II. bearing date A. D. 1130. that they talked PROOF IX. of nothing in all Europe but of the important ſervices done the kings of Jeruſalem by the hoſpitallers againſt the infidels; which ſuppoſes, that they had been ſome time before in arms, and yet there is no carrying the epocha we are in ſearch of higher than A. D. 1118, when Raimond Dupuy was dignified with the maſterſhip of this new militia.

THE king of Jeruſalem had great need of this ſuccour: he was obliged to defend againſt formidable enemies as well his own kingdom, as the counties of Edeſſa and Tripoli which held of it, without reckoning the principality of Antioch, which was united in one common intereſt with the crown of Jeruſalem, though the princes of Antioch pretended to be independent of it.

THE county of Edeſſa comprehended almoſt all Meſopotamia, and extended it ſelf between the Euphrates and the Tigris. Baldwin I. had made a conqueſt of it, and, after his acceſſion to the throne of Jeruſalem, had reſigned it to Baldwin du Bourg his couſin, who in like manner, upon his advancement to the crown of Jeruſalem, inveſted his kinſman Joſceline de Courtenay with his county. The county of Tripoli comprehended ſeveral places ſituated along the ſea of Phænicia from Maraclea as far as the river Adonis, where began what Thamiras. was then called the kingdom of Jeruſalem, which ſoon extended its frontiers as far as the deſert, which divides Paleſtine from Egypt. Bertrand ſon of Raimond count of Tholouſe, was count of Tripoli; and Bohemund II. prince of Antioch, had ſucceeded the famous Bohemund his father, who died in Apulia on his return from France, where he had married the princeſs Conſtance, daughter of Philip I. king of France.

BOHEMUND II. the iſſue of this marriage was firſt put under the guardianſhip of the brave Tancred his couſin; but that prince dying ſoon after, the regency was conferred upon Roger ſon of Richard, of the ſame houſe, a prince of great valour, but ambitious, and who having the ſovereign authority only in truſt, gave reaſon from his conduct to ſuſpect, that he aſpired to the principality it ſelf.

WHILST Roger, guardian to young Bohemund, governed this great prin- 1119.
cipality, Gaſi, one of the Turcoman princes, dol of Kuvin of the ſame nation,

king of Damaſcus, and Debeis chief of a powerful tribe among the Mahometan Arabians, joined their forces to drive all the Latin Chriſtians out of Syria. Theſe infidels entered the territories of the principality at the head of a formidable army, carried ſeveral ſmall towns, and put all to fire and ſword in the countrey. The regent, ſurprized at this invaſion, ſent immediately to give advice of it to the king of Jeruſalem, to Joſceline de Courtenay, lord of Edeſſa, and to Ponce count of Tripoli, and ſucceſſor to count Bertrand. All theſe princes ſent him word, that they would advance without loſs of time to his ſuccour. Roger, in expectation of their coming up, threw himſelf into the city of Antioch with what troops he had, and at the ſame time cauſed the inhabitants to arm. The infidels, not caring to engage in a ſiege, which they foreſaw muſt be long and bloody, endeavoured to draw the regent out of the town by ravaging the countrey. And accordingly Roger, who from his palace ſaw with anguiſh the villages in a flame, could no longer govern his reſentment, but tranſported with courage, ſallied out of the city; and, contrary to the advice of his principal officers, advanced againſt the enemy. His whole force was but about ſeven hundred horſe and three thouſand foot; yet with this handful of troops, and without ſo much as conſidering the forces of his enemies, he ventured to attack them. The Turcomans to flatter his confidence gave way at firſt, feined a retreat, and drew him inſenſibly into an ambuſcade. He then ſaw himſelf ſurrounded in a moment; a multitude of Barbarians fell upon him from all ſides. In vain did the Chriſtian prince endeavour to open himſelf a way through the ſquadrons of the infidels, what effort ſoever he could make, his troops overwhelmed with numbers, were cut in pieces, and the regent's precipitation coſt him his life and the greateſt part of his little army.

The victorious infidels, flattering themſelves that they ſhould gain as eaſy a triumph over the troops which the king was bringing up, marched to ſurprize him. They had no difficulty to meet with an enemy that ſought them; both armies came in ſight even before their commanders expected it, there was a neceſſity of engaging. This was the firſt occaſion upon which the knights of S. John ſignalized their zeal againſt the infidels. The action was long and bloody; they fought on both ſides with that averſion, which is uſually ſeen between nations that are enemies, and of different religions. Baldwin, a prince full of courage, at the head of his nobles, and followed by Raimond and the hoſpitallers, throws himſelf into the midſt of the thickeſt battalions; he puſhes, preſſes and breaks through every thing that oppoſed him. The ſoldiers, animated by his example, follow the way that he had opened for them; they enter ſword in hand into thoſe ſhrinking battalions, and, in ſpight of all reſiſtance, force them to ſeek for ſafety in flying. In vain did the emirs uſe menaces to rally them, whatever they could do, their whole force diſbanded, and the terrified ſoldiers ſhewed manifeſtly, that in a rout they fear nothing but the enemy and death.

The king of Jeruſalem entered victorious into Antioch, where he regulated every thing that related to the defence of the place, and the civil government; and leaving a ſtrong garriſon in it, returned to Jeruſalem, where he was received by his ſubjects with that applauſe which always attends a favourable fortune.

This prince thought of nothing now but enjoying a little reſt, as the moſt agreeable fruit of his victory, when he heard that Joſceline de Courtenay, count of Edeſſa, had been ſurprized in an ambuſcade by Balac, one of the moſt powerful emirs of the Turcomans, and was taken priſoner by that infidel prince. 1122. Baldwin, for fear the emir ſhould take advantage of Courtenay's misfortune, and beſiege Edeſſa, ſet out immediately with what troops he had, made great marches, croſſed the Jordan, and advanced into the countrey. But going in perſon to reconnoitre the camp of the infidels, whether he was betrayed, or too much expoſed, he ſaw himſelf in a moment ſurrounded by a party ſuperior to his guard; which being cut in pieces before his face, he was obliged, with Galleran his couſin, to ſurrender himſelf to the enemy, and undergo the ſame fate with the prince of Edeſſa.

'Tis impoſſible to expreſs the conſternation of Baldwin's troops, when they heard of his captivity: A great number of the ſoldiers, as if the war had been at an end, or becauſe they deſpaired of being able to reſiſt the infidels, disbanded themſelves. The hoſpitallers, in conjunction with what troops remained, unable to keep the field or ſtop the progreſs of the enemy, threw themſelves into Edeſſa and other places of that county, which they preſerved for Courtenay.

1123. The caliph of Egypt, to make his advantage of the king of Jeruſalem's miſfortune, cauſed one of his generals to enter Judea on that ſide next Aſcalon: the general advanced to Jaffa and inveſted it by land, whilſt a fleet of the ſame nation blocked up the place by ſea.

In ſo melancholy a juncture, it could not be imagined that the Latins could at one and the ſame time make head againſt the Turcomans and Sarazens, who attacked them on different ſides. The Sarazens had formed the ſiege of Jaffa both by land and ſea. Euſtace Garnier, lord of Sydon or Scyde, and Ceſarea, and conſtable of Paleſtine, though in an age far advanced, gathered a body of about ſeven thouſand men, which made the main forces of that little ſtate, and with what knights he could muſter in the houſe of Jeruſalem, marched directly againſt the enemy. He made ſuch expedition, that he ſurprized them, forced their lines, and cut in pieces all thoſe that in this confuſion were unable to recover their veſſels, their fleet having ſtood off to ſea and ſailed towards Alexandria. The Chriſtian general, upon advice that the garriſon of Aſcalon was ravaging the countrey, without allowing his ſoldiers any time to reſt, led them immediately up thither. He found part of the ſoldiers of the garriſon diſperſed and buſy in pillaging. The conſtable, at the head of his troops, fell upon theſe pillagers, who were off their guard, killed all that endeavoured to rally, took a great number of priſoners, and none eſcaped but ſuch as were fortunate enough to get back into Aſcalon.

These two victories were ſoon followed by a third, and by a new diſaſter for the Sarazens. We have obſerved that their ſhips, upon the defeat of their land army, had ſet ſail. Theſe ſhips in their retreat, as they were ſailing off the coaſt of Aſcalon, fell into a fleet of Venetians, commanded by the noble Henry Michieli, duke or doge of Venice, who, after an obſtinate engagement, ſunk part of them, and made himſelf maſter of the reſt.

William des Barres, lord of Tiberias, had juſt ſucceeded count Garnier, who died during this expedition, in the command of the land army: The new general ſent to congratulate the doge of Venice upon the happy ſucceſs of his arms, and propoſed an interview. The Venetian fleet entered into the port of Jaffa; others ſay into that of Acre or Ptolemais. The duke was received there with all the honours and marks of acknowledgment, that were due to ſo important a victory; they loaded his chief officers with preſents; the fleet received refreſhments and proviſions in abundance, and the duke went to pay his devotions at Jeruſalem, where he paſſed the chriſtmas. The patriarch of that city, Desbarres, and the principal lords of the countrey, laying hold of the opportunity, while he was thus piouſly diſpoſed, made a propoſal to Michieli, blocking up the port of Tyre with his fleet whilſt the land army beſieged the place. The enterprize was great and very difficult to be executed, yet Desbarres made him ſenſible of the importance and uſefulneſs of his project.

But as the Venetian was not to be ſatisfied with a barren glory and aggravated the charges of the enterprize, he declared that if the ſucceſs of their arms was favourable, he inſiſted on ſharing the conqueſt with the king of Jeruſalem, and to have a moiety of it in entire ſovereignty. He did not ſtick here; but as he knew they could not do without his fleet, he demanded for the Venetians a church, a ſtreet, a † common oven, baths, and a particular exerciſe of juriſdiction in Jeruſalem, and in all towns depending on that kingdom. This was in a manner to ſhare the ſovereignty of it: But as after all it was of the laſt conſequence to the Chriſtians of Paleſtine to drive the infidels out of Tyre, and there was no doing without a fleet for a ſiege of that importance, they agreed, after ſeveral conferences, that the Venetians ſhould have a third part of the city; they even complyed with moſt of the other conditions, hard and extraordinary as they were, and ſigned a treaty, which would have been ſcandalous, if it had not been in a manner neceſſary. Among the names of the prelates and principal lords of the kingdom which ſubſcribed the treaty, we do not find that of Raimond Dupuy, whether he ſtaid at Edeſſa for

PROOF X.

defence of the county, or did not care to ſubſcribe a treaty which intrenched on the ſovereignty of the king. However this be, the treaty was no ſooner ſigned than every thing was in motion; the fleet on one ſide and the land army on the other, came before Tyre and begirt the place cloſe. They opened the trenches, the ſiege was long and bloody, and the hoſpitallers acquired a great deal of glory in different attacks; in fine, the beſieged preſſed at the ſame time by ſea and land, and ſeeing no hope of ſuccours, deſired to capitulate.

1124.
July 30.

The conditions were agreed on, and the treaty executed punctually on both ſides, as was alſo that with the Venetians; and in concert with their doge, they eſtabliſhed afterwards in the city an Archbiſhop, named William, by nation an Engliſhman, and prior of the holy ſepulchre, who was conſecrated by Guarimond, patriarch of Jeruſalem.

During the ſiege of Tyre, Joſceline de Courtenay, eſcaping out of Balac's priſon, came back to his dominions, muſtered up all the force he could, brought a ſmall body of an army into the field, marched againſt his enemy, gave him battel, and killed him with his own hand. This victory and the emir's death

Wil. Tyr. l. 13. c. 26.

were the occaſion of the king of Jeruſalem's liberty. Balac's widow, either affected with the merit of her priſoner, or afraid that he ſhould make his eſcape and ſhe loſe his ranſom, made a truce with him, and fixed a price for his liberty. Baldwin agreed to pay her an hundred thouſand pieces of ſilver money, of what they called michelins: he paid half of it down, and for the reſt he gave her in hoſtage one of the princeſſes his daughters, that was five years old.

1124.

This prince's return into his dominions brought joy, and afterwards plenty thither. Baldwin, convinced that the true riches of a ſovereign conſiſts in the wealth of his ſubjects, publiſhed a general ſafe conduct for all perſons, of what religion and party ſoever they were, that ſhould bring corn and merchandize into his ports, with an exemption from all cuſtoms. This liberty drew thither merchants from all nations, re-eſtabliſhed commerce, and rendered this prince at the ſame time more powerful and formidable to his neighbours.

Borsequin and Doldekuvin, thoſe two Turcoman princes always raging againſt the Chriſtians, made freſh incurſions into the principality of Antioch. That ſtate, though a ſovereign one, was during the minority of young Bohemund, under the protection of the king of Jeruſalem. Baldwin, on the firſt news of this enterprize of the infidels, took the field, and marched with ſo much ſecreſy and expedition, that he ſurprized the enemy, forced their camp, and took ſo great a number of priſoners, that their ranſom ſerved to redeem the princeſs his daughter, whom he had given in hoſtage to Balac's widow. From Syria he marched back into Paleſtine, where he repreſſed the incurſions of the garriſon of Aſcalon, which raiſed contributions as far as the gates of Jaffa.

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† Four banal ſignifies a common oven for all the inhabitants of the juriſdiction wherein it ſtands. Cotgrave.

THIS prince opened the following campagne with a new victory, which he gained over Doldekuvin. It was follow'd by the taking of Rapha, a ſtrong place in the county of Tripoli. The hoſpitallers attended the king in all theſe expeditions, but no body acquired more glory than Fulk, count of Anjou, one of the greateſt ſoldiers of the age. The pilgrimage of Jeruſalem ſo uſual at that time, had brought him to the Holy Land: he was ſon of Fulk, ſurnamed le Rechin, or the ill humoured, and of Bertrade de Montfort, afterwards wife or concubine of Philip I. king of France.

THIS Fulk had married Eremburge, onely daughter of Helie, count of Maine, by whom he had two ſons and two daughters. The count and counteſs lived very happily together, till death parted them: the counteſs died, and the earl full of grief for her loſs, travelled to the Holy Land, where for a year he maintained an hundred knights at his own expence. This prince at their head ſignalized himſelf on various occaſions againſt the infidels. Time having wrought its ordinary effect upon grief, and the term he had fixed for his pilgrimage being expired, he was ſeized with an impatience of returning into his own dominions. King Baldwin, who had been witneſs of his valour, could not ſee him in this diſpoſition without great concern; and therefore to keep him if poſſible, and engage him more particularly in the defence of the Holy Land, he offered him the princeſs Meleſinda his eldeſt daughter in marriage, with the promiſe of appointing him his ſucceſſor and making him be acknowledged as ſuch; and to leave him no manner of uneaſineſs on account of the princeſs Alice his ſecond daughter, he married her to young Bohemund, prince of Antioch. Fulk accepted the kings propoſal with great ſatisfaction, but the care he owed to his children obliged him before he married to take a voyage into France. 1126. He ſet out ſome time afterwards, leaving the king and all his court in much grief for his abſence, and impatient of his return. The departure of this prince was luckily recompenſed by a new and unexpected ſuccour, which a zeal like that of the hoſpitallers produced in favour of the pilgrims and Chriſtians of Paleſtine.

1118. PROOF XI.

HUGH de Payens, Geoffrey de St. Aldemar, and ſeven other gentlemen, all Frenchmen, whoſe names are not preſerved in hiſtory, moved with the dangers to which Pilgrims in Jeruſalem were expoſed in going and coming from, formed among them a little ſociety, to ſerve as a guard to conduct and bring them back afterwards beyond the defiles of the mountains and the paſſages of greateſt danger. 'Twas at firſt only a meer aſſociation of ſome private perſons, who without obliging themſelves to any rule or taking the monaſtick habit, went to meet the Pilgrims, when they were requeſted to do ſo. Brompton, an hiſtorian almoſt contemporary with them, relates that in his time theſe gentlemen were ſuppoſed to be pupils of the hoſpitallers, and to have ſubſiſted ſeveral years only by relief from them. They retired into an houſe near the temple, which occaſioned their having afterwards the name of templars, or knights of the temple. The king of Jeruſalem having made choice of Hugh de Payens to ſend him to Rome to ſollicit for ſuccour, and if poſſible a new cruſade, this pious gentleman after acquitting himſelf worthily of his commiſſion to pope Honorius II. who was then in the chair of St. Peter, preſented his aſſociates to him, entertained him with their zeal for the ſecurity of pilgrims, and deſired his permiſſion to form a religious and military order, in imitation of that of the hoſpitallers.

Chronic. Joan. Brompton. hiſt. Ang. ſcrip. p. 1008. Lond. 1652. See Guil. Tyr. 1118 1. L. 12. c. 11. p. 891. Jac. Vitr. c. 64.

THE ſovereign pontif referred them to the fathers of the council which was then ſitting at Troyes in Champagne. Hugh and his companions went thither, and he that ſpoke in their name laid before the aſſembly their vocation and the project they had formed of taking a religious habit, and founding a military order, which ſhould devote itſelf to the defence of the Holy Land and of the pilgrims who ſhould travel thither. The fathers approved the holy undertaking, and referred the care of preſcribing a rule and form of regular habit for this infant order to S. Bernard, who was preſent at the council. We have the rule ſtill remaining, or at leaſt an extract of it, in which, among other articles, St. Bernard order'd them inſtead of prayers and offices to ſay over every day a certain number of pater noſters: which would make one imagine, that theſe warriours at that time knew not how to read. Another ſtatute requires that they ſhould not eat fleſh above three days in a week, but then it allows them three diſhes on days of abſtinence. The holy abbot with regard to their military ſervice, declared that each templar might have one eſquire or ſerving brother at arms, and three ſaddle horſes †: But he forbade all gilding and ſuperfluous ornaments in their equipage. He ordered that their habit ſhould be white, and as a mark of their poſeſſion, pope Eugenius III. added afterwards a red croſs placed over the heart.

HUGH and his companions having obtain'd the councils approbation, returned to Rome to get both the rule of their order, and the order itſelf eſtabliſhed by the pope's authority; which being effected, they prepared to return into the eaſt; but before their departure, a great number of gentlemen of the beſt families in France, Germany and Italy, preſented themſelves to enter into their order. Hugh, who was the head of it, gave them the religious habit, which he had taken himſelf, and with this fine body of youth he arrived in Paleſtine. This new militia increaſed conſiderably in a ſhort time; Princes of ſovereign houſes, and lords of the moſt illuſtrious families in chriſtendome, were eager to fight under the habit and banner of the templars. Out of a falſe nicety and punctilio, which ſcarce ever leaves great men, even at their devotions, this profeſſion which was altogether military, was often preferred to the troubleſome and humbling ſervices which the hoſpitallers, though ſoldiers, rendered to the poor and ſick. Theſe princes and lords, entring into the order of the templars, brought immenſe riches to it; beſides the very fame of their exploits procured them vaſt benefactions; and Brompton, whom we have juſt mentioned, adds, that this growing ſociety, this daughter of the houſe of S. John, became in a ſhort time ſo rich and powerful, that the daughter, ſays he, eclipſed her mother, and looked as if ſhe would bury her in obſcurity *. But whether that which this antient hiſtorian advances be true or not, it muſt be owned, that the two orders were the ſureſt ſupports of Jeruſalem; that Baldwin and the kings his ſucceſſors, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, never undertook any thing conſiderable without the aſſiſtance of their arms; that the ſuperiors too of the order had often a great ſhare in the government; ſo that to relate the various events of that monarchy, is in a manner to write the hiſtory of theſe two orders.

THE king, though he had not ſucceeded in his application for a cruſade, yet ſaw with pleaſure inſtead of it, theſe recruits as it were of gentry and nobility arriving every day from Europe to enrol themſelves in one of theſe orders; but nothing gave him more ſatisfaction than the return of the count of Anjou, who having provided for the ſettlement of his children, and appointed their portions, came back into the eaſt at the head of a great body of gentlemen his vaſſals; married the princeſs Meleſinda the kings eldeſt daughter, and was jointly with her acknowledged preſumptive heir of the crown.

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† Solum autem armigerum ſingulis militibus eadem cauſa concedimus.

* Hi namque, ſecundum quoſdam, ex infimis hoſpitaliorum congregati, & ex reliquiis eorum, ex cibis & armis ſuſtentati, ad tantam rerum opulentiam devenerunt, ut filia ditata matrem ſuffocare & ſupergredi videretur. Chronicon Joan. Brompton. hiſt. angl. ſcript. pag. 1008. Ed. Lond. 1652.

WHILST the court was entirely taken up with feaſts and diverſions, the king received with great ſurprize and concern the news of young Bohemund his other ſon in Law's being killed in an engagement againſt the infidels; and that there was reaſon to fear, the capital of the principality, now left without a ſovereign, would be beſieged by theſe Barbarians. Bohemund left no other iſſue of his marriage with Alice, but an infant princeſs, named Conſtance.

THE king her grandfather ſet out with all expedition to take upon him the regency of her dominions; but upon his arrival at Antioch he was ſurprized to find the gates ſhut, and eſpecially when he heard that it was by order of the princeſs dowager his own daughter. This haughty and ambitious princeſs, vexed and jealous that her father had diſpoſed of the crown of Jeruſalem entirely to her ſiſter, without giving her any ſhare of it, was reſolved to eſtabliſh her own authority in the city of Antioch, as mother and guardian of young Conſtance, and perhaps to ſeize upon the principality, in order to marry again afterwards with greater advantage to her ſelf, and to the prejudice of her daughter. But the moſt diſcerning of the inhabitants, knowing the need they had of the king's aſſiſtance againſt the continual invaſions of the Turcomans, ſecretly without the knowledge of the princeſs dowager, introduced the king her father by night into the place. Baldwin exerted his authority there, put a governour into the place, whoſe fidelity he was well aſſured of, obliged the princeſs Dowager, though his daughter, to depart thence and retire to Laodicea, which was aſſigned her for her dowry, and ſettling every thing in good order in the principality, returned to his own dominions.

1131.
Williel. Tyrienſis l. 13.

SCARCE was he arrived at Jeruſalem but he was ſeized with a violent illneſs, occaſioned in all appearance by the vexation which his daughter's ambitious deſigns gave him; and being ſenſible that he was near his end, he again declared the count of Anjou, and the princeſs of Meleſinda his eldeſt daughter, for his ſucceſſors in the throne of Jeruſalem. He recommended to them the intereſts of young Conſtance and the preſervation of her principality, which ſerved for a bulwark to the kingdom of Jeruſalem on that ſide next Syria. This prince expired preſently after, and the real grief and ſincere tears of his ſubjects ſhewed the greatneſs as well of the affection they bore him as of the loſs they had ſuffered by his death.

THE count and counteſs of Anjou were crowned with great ſolemnity, and received letters afterwards from pope Innocent II. who having congratulated them on their acceſſion to the crown, exhorted them in the moſt moving terms to take all poſſible care for the defence of the Holy Land, and the preſervation of a ſtate of ſuch conſequence to all chriſtendom. The holy pontif, who well knew that the hoſpitallers were the ſtrongeſt ſupport of the throne of Jeruſalem, had publiſhed a little before a bull in form of a conſtitution, addreſſed to the arch-biſhops, biſhops, and all the prelates of the church univerſal; wherein, among other articles, after an encomium on the charity exerciſed by the hoſpitallers at their own expence towards the ſick and pilgrims, he paſſes to the important ſervices which they had rendered to chriſtianity by their arms: " The hoſpitallers, ſays the pope, make
" no difficulty to expoſe daily their own lives to defend thoſe of their bre-
" thren, they are the firmeſt ſupport of the chriſtian church in the eaſt, and

“ are fighting every day with diſtinguiſhed courage againſt the infidels. But “ as their ſubſtance is not ſufficient to maintain an almoſt continual war, we “ exhort you to ſupply them out of your abundance, and recommend them “ to the charity of the people committed to your paſtoral care. Moreover, “ we declare to you that we have taken the houſe of the hoſpitallers of S. John “ and the whole order into S. Peter's and our own protection.

But this protection and the ſpecial privileges which this pope and his predeceſſors had granted to the hoſpitallers, raiſed afterwards the jealouſly and complaints of moſt of the biſhops of Paleſtine, who could not bear that the holy ſee ſhould exempt theſe monks from their juriſdiction, and that the popes ſhould declare themſelves the only immediate biſhops of the whole order. We ſhall have occaſion afterwards to ſpeak of theſe differences, which made ſo much noiſe at the court of Rome, and all over the church.

Will. Tyr. l. 14. c. 4.

Scarce were king Baldwin's eyes cloſed, when two different conſpiracies were formed in Antioch againſt the rights of the minor princeſs, which had liked to have kindled a civil war between the Latin princes of the eaſt. The dowager of Antioch, like moſt ſovereigns who ſeem to think they have no relations, and as unnatural a mother as ſhe had been an ungrateful daughter, no ſooner ſaw the king her father in the grave, than ſhe was contriving continually, to the prejudice of her own child, how to make herſelf miſtreſs of the principality. Ponce, count of Tripoli, and the young Courtenay, who had juſt ſucceeded count Joſceline his father, ſecretly eſpouſed her intereſts; and a great number of the inhabitants of Antioch engaged to let the troops of thoſe two princes into the city.

Unknown to this firſt party, was formed another cabal, not leſs dangerous. Roger, duke and afterwards king of Sicily, couſin to the young princeſs, and of the ſame houſe, either pretending that the principality of Antioch was a male fief, or, after the example of ambitious princes, believing all means juſt and lawful that lead to a throne, endeavoured to ſupplant the minor princeſs. He had his partiſans in the city; and theſe different plots were carrying on with great artifice and ſecreſy. But ſome of the inhabitants, who entered into neither of the ſchemes, diſcovered this double conſpiracy; they gave immediate advice of it to the governor placed there by Baldwin before his death. This commander, though ſupported by the garriſon, did not find himſelf ſtrong enough to cope with the numerous inhabitants of ſo great a city; he diſpatched therefore courier after courier to the king of Jeruſalem, preſſing him to come immediately in perſon to Antioch, if he would preſerve the principality to the heireſs.

Fulk, upon the receipt of this bad news, ſet out immediately with as many knights as he could find in a condition to follow him, and was accompanied by Anſelin de Brie and brother Joubert an hoſpitaller, who ſhared his favour, and were admitted to the moſt intimate correſpondence and familiarity with him. To go to Antioch by land, the king of Jeruſalem was obliged to paſs through the territory of the count of Tripoli his vaſſal; but this count and that of Edeſſa at the head of their troops oppoſed his paſſage. The king ſeeing a rebellion ſo openly declared, concluded that there was a ſtrong party formed againſt his niece, and that the ſafety of the young princeſs depended upon his getting the ſtart of the princes, and arriving firſt at Antioch. But as he had not troops enough with him to open himſelf a paſſage ſword in hand, he made a feint of giving way to force, turned back again, and to blind their ſpies, cauſed his guard to take the road of Jeruſalem, as if he had been in the midſt of that body of cavalry. But he withdrew privately from them, and in the night, attended only with his two favourites, reached the ſea coaſt, embarked in a ſmall veſſel, and arrived at the mouth of the river Orontes, and

RAIMOND DUPUY.

in the port of S. Simeon within five leagues of Antioch: From hence he went with great privacy to the gates of the City, and was let in by the governor and his adherents.

This prince, full of ſpirit and courage, ſoon made them ſenſible of his authority; his preſence and reſolution terrified the conſpirators; he impriſoned the moſt mutinous, and, to prevent ſuch attempts for the future, reſolved, in concert with the patriarch and moſt conſiderable lords of the principality, to marry the young princeſs out of hand, though ſhe was not yet of an age for marriage, and to chuſe her ſuch a prince as might ſerve for a tutor and a father to her, and be capable of defending her dominions.

The princeſs of Antioch's inheritance was too ſplendid a fortune to fear ſhe ſhould fail of an husband; but the ſituation of her dominions ſurrounded on all ſides by infidels, required a prince of eminent capacity and courage, that could keep the ſeditious in their duty, and at the ſame time make head againſt the continual incurſions of the infidels.

The king of Jeruſalem caſt his eyes on Raimond, brother to William the laſt count of Poictiers and Auvergne, and duke of Aquitain, a prince of great courage, and who had given diſtinguiſhing proofs of it in all the wars wherein he had been engaged. They had had ſeveral quarrels whilſt Fulk was in Europe, but the king generouſly ſacificed his reſentment to the intereſts of his niece, and the count's bravery and merit made him eaſily forget their former diſputes.

The patriarch and moſt conſiderable lords of the principality approving the king's choice, that prince pitch'd upon Joubert the hoſpitaller for this negotiation. He was very well qualified for it by the wiſdom of his conduct, which raiſed him afterwards to the firſt dignity of his order. This hoſpitaller embarked immediately, paſſed into France, and from thence to London, to the court of Henry I. king of England, where he heard the count of Poictiers, who was related to that prince, was gone. The embaſſador ſaw the count, and perſuaded him, as well by motives drawn from religion as by the important offer he made him to paſs into Syria. The prince and the embaſſador left England, arrived in France, and went down into Provence to embark. The ſucceſs of this great affair depended entirely upon ſecreſy, and upon getting the ſtart of a mighty armament, which Roger duke of Calabria, afterwards king of Sicily, was ſending into Syria, to ſupport his adherents. Unluckily for the count and the embaſſador, there were not in all the ports of Provence any veſſels bound for the eaſt, and they heard with great concern that there was no way of embarking but on board the very fleet of Roger. Whatever precaution the embaſſador had taken to conceal his commiſſion and deſigns, that duke had notice that the count and embaſſador were endeavouring to procure a paſſage into the eaſt, and had iſſued orders for arreſting them, if they were found in any of his ports. His ſpies that were planted in every quarter examined very ſtrictly all that offered themſelves for paſſengers: Yet the hoſpitaller was too cunning for them; the count and he parted in diſguiſe, went into Calabria, and were received as merchants on board two different ſhips that were ready to ſail: Theſe were Roger's own veſſels, and they carried both the count and embaſſador into the neareſt port to the town of Antioch. The patriarch a few days after married the count to the young princeſs in the king's preſence, and in a general aſſembly of the eſtates, the count was ſolemnly acknowledged prince of Antioch, and the great men of the principality took the uſual oath of fidelity to him.

But whilſt Fulk was thus taken up with ſecuring the count's authority, the frontiers of his own kingdom were ravaged by various incurſions of the Arabians and Sarazens of Aſcalon. This city, with regard to the Sarazens of Egypt, was the key as it were of Paleſtine. The caliphs had neglected none of the fortifications then in uſe, and beſides a numerous garriſon which they maintained there, and changed every three months, theſe princes, to engage the inhabitants in the defence of the place, allowed them all pay, not excepting their very children, if males, who became entituled to it, as ſoon as they were born, ſo that all were ſoldiers at Aſcalon, and they hardly knew any other profeſſion. It ſerved the Sarazens of Egypt for a ſchool, where their young men learned the art of war; they were every day out in parties, and lying in ambuſcade to ſurprize the countrey people, and even the weſtern pilgrims, who landing at Jaffa, travelled from thence to Jeruſalem.

QUEEN Meleſinda, whom the king, during his abſence, had left regent of the kingdom, held ſeveral councils upon this occaſion; and after ſeveral methods propoſed for repreſſing the inroads of the infidels, none was found ſo proper as to rebuild the walls of the old city of Beerſheba. This place, anciently of the tribe of Simeon, is but two leagues from the mountains of Seir, which ſeparate the land of promiſe from Arabia Petræa, and ſix leagues from Aſcalon. 'Twas reſolved, after fortifying it, always to maintain there a ſtanding body of troops, able to make head againſt the inroads of the Arabians, and the parties which ſallied frequently out of Aſcalon. The queen cauſed the work to be carried on with great expedition; and when it was made defenſible, committed the guard of it to the hoſpitallers, who put a ſtrong garriſon drawn out of their order into it: And theſe monaſtick ſoldiers *, full of the firſt ſpirit of their inſtitution, made it a place of arms, and at the ſame time an aſylum for all the Chriſtians of that canton.

Williel. Tyr. l. 14. c. 22.

THESE knights and the templars in different brigades, never ſtirred from the frontiers, and made head on all ſides againſt the enterprizes of the infidels. This little kingdom was in a manner blocked up and beſieged, either by the ſeveral Turcoman princes, or by the Arabians of the deſert, or the Sarazens of Egypt. The zeal of theſe knights, their valour, and the renown of their exploits, rendered them ſoon as dear to all the Chriſtians as they were terrible to the Barbarians; eſpecially in an age when mens ſalvation ſeemed annexed to the preſervation of the Holy Land. Every thing that paſſed there drew the attention of popes, princes and people, even at the remoteſt diſtance. 'Twas the concern of private perſons as well as ſovereigns; they had no notion of meriting for the pardon of their ſins by any more effectual way, than that of contributing to the defence of the holy places: There was ſcarce a will made without an article in it in favour of the military orders; many princes would needs be buried in the habit of one or the other of them; and this ſort of devotion was carried ſo far in the age we are ſpeaking of, that we have ſeen ſome ſovereigns enter themſelves in this holy militia, quitting the government of their ſtates, and others by an unprecedented diſpoſal bequeath at their death even their dominions themſelves to the hoſpitallers and templars.

THUS Raimond Berenger, count of Barcelona and Provence, though already advanced in age, entred into the order of the templars, and his infirmities not allowing him to go in perſon to the chief houſe of the order in Jeruſalem, he ſent conſiderable ſums thither for carrying on the war againſt the infidels; and we have ſeen this ſovereign at laſt quit his authority, and the enſigns of it to bury himſelf alive in the temple at Barcelona, where he died in the continual exerciſe of his new profeſſion.

PROOF XII.

Girom. zurita. t. 1. l. 1. c. 52. fol. 49. col. 4.

ALPHONSUS I. king of Navarre and Arragon, who alſo aſſumed the title of emperor of Spain, carried his zeal and devotion ſtill further. This prince, who was one of the greateſt generals of his age, had gained twenty nine battels in his wars againſt the Moors, ſeeing himſelf old and without children,

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* De communi conſilio traditur fratribus domûs hoſpitalis quæ eſt Hieroſolymis, qui uſque in præſens debita cuſtodierunt diligentia.

declared

Mariana l. 10. c. 15. p. 511.

declared the hoſpitallers of S. John, the templars, and the canons or knights of the holy ſepulchre, his heirs and ſucceſſors in the crowns of Navarre and Arragon, by his laſt will and teſtament made A. D. 1131. this he did to engage thoſe renowned warriours in the ſupport of his deſigns againſt the Sarazens and Moors of Spain: He renewed this will a few days before his death, and moſt of the grandees of both his kingdoms, ſigned it out of complaiſance to their ſovereign.

1133. July 19.

ALPHONSUS, who never knew what danger was, attacking the infidels afterwards near Fraga with forces much inferiour to thoſe of his enemies, was overwhelm'd with their vaſt numbers, had his army cut in pieces, and periſhed himſelf in the action; nor could his body be found after the battel was over, either becauſe the Moors had interred it, or it was ſo disfigured by his wounds, as not to be known. The people who idolized him, and are always fond of every thing that appears extraordinary, maintained for a long time, that he was not killed in the battel; but that overwhelm'd with ſhame and grief for having occaſioned the loſs of ſo many Chriſtians as had been ſlain upon that occaſion, he was gone in diſguiſe on a pilgrimage to Jeruſalem, and that they ſhould ſee him return and reſume the reins of government, when he had by that penance expiated the fault which exceſs of courage had made him commit.

BUT the grandees of the two kingdoms were not to be blinded by this illuſion, and therefore to prevent the claim of the military orders, they reſolved, without loſs of time, to chuſe a new ſovereign. For this purpoſe ſeveral aſſemblies were held between thoſe of Navarre and Arragon, but the lords and deputies of the two nations could not agree upon a prince to fill the throne of the great Alphonſus, each was for a prince of their own nation. This competition, and the natural jealouſy between people that are neighbours, broke the union which had ſubſiſted near ſixty years between the two kingdoms; a ſeparation enſued, the Navarreſe elected for their ſovereign Don Ramyre a prince of the blood of their ancient kings; and the Arragoneſe, on the other hand, offered their crown to another prince of the ſame name, brother to the great Alphonſus, though this prince was a prieſt, and had above forty years before profeſſed himſelf a monk in the abbey of S. Pons de Thomiers in Languedoc, and had been afterwards abbot of Sahagun, and even elected ſucceſſively biſhop of Burgos, Pampeluna and Barbaſtro.

THIS prince having obtained a diſpenſation from Anacletus, others ſay from Innocent II. married Agnes, ſiſter to William count of Poictiers and Raimond count of Antioch. He had by her a daughter, named Petronilla; and the queen, that princeſs's mother, dying ſoon after, this king, at once a monk a prieſt and a married man[*], finding in himſelf none of the great qualities neceſſary for a throne, and perhaps touched with a juſt remorſe of conſcience, reſolved to retire again into his convent. He made a treaty with Raimond Berenger, count of Barcelona, and ſon to the templar above mentioned, that he ſhould marry his daughter when ſhe was grown up; and in conſequence of this treaty, he reſigned to him immediately the government of the kingdom, which Raimond Berenger took upon him by the title of prince of Arragon.

THE news of the choice made by theſe two nations in prejudice of Alphonſo's will, being brought to Paleſtine [†], the patriarch of Jeruſalem, ſuperior of the canons of the holy ſepulchre; and the maſters of the two military orders held ſeveral councils with the principal perſons of each houſe to conſider of this grand affair, and came to a reſolution to ſend deputies into Spain, to demand the execution of the late king's will, or at leaſt to make ſuch a treaty with regard to the ſucceſſion as ſhould be moſt for the intereſt of the legatees.

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[*] Romani pontificis venia (ſic credimus) ut rex, conjux & ſacerdos idem eſſet impetratum: Agnes Guillelmi Pictavorum & Aquitaniæ principis connubio juncta. Mariana l. 10. c. 15. p. 512.

[†] Patriarchalis ſiquidem eccleſia, quæ eſt dominici ſepulchri ſub monte Calvariæ, canonicos habet regulares ſecundum habitum & regulam ſancti Auguſtini viventes; habent autem priorem ad quem, cum prædictis canonicis pertinet eligere patriarcham, qui eſt eis loco abbatis. Jacob. Vitri hiſt. Hieroſol. c. 58. p. 1098.

RAIMOND Dupuy was charged with this negociation; he undertook it readily, and ſet out in company with ſome old hoſpitallers choſen for that purpoſe by the council of the order. William, patriarch of Jeruſalem, and the templars likewiſe, named their own deputies: They arrived all happily in Spain, but met with inſurmountable difficulties in the purſuit of ſo nice an affair.

THE lords of Navarre and Arragon had already choſen new ſovereigns in prejudice of the will of king Alphonſus. Theſe princes were in poſſeſſion of the throne when the deputies of the Holy Land arrived in Spain; and there was no great likelihood of their abdicating it voluntarily to make way for foreigners. They entered however at firſt into ſome negociations upon the matter; but as pretenſions of this nature, without force to back them, are generally little regarded, they went no farther than to offer the deputies ſome ſort of amends, if any amends can be made for crowns, and embaraſſed them every day in a labyrinth of propoſals, which had no meaning, and of which they ſaw no end. The negociation flagged inſenſibly; and at laſt the king of Navarre taking off the mask, aſſerted that the late king could not diſpoſe of the crown to the prejudice of his lawful heirs, or of that natural right which, in default of heirs, the people have to chuſe themſelves a ſovereign; and by this declaration put an end to all hopes of any further treating with him. Raimond, count of Barcelona and prince of Arragon, acted more generouſly, and reſolved to do ſome juſtice to the legatees of king Alphonſus.

IT was agreed, that if the count and the young queen Petronilla, whom he was to marry, ſhould dye without iſſue, the crown of Arragon ſhould revert to the military orders and the canons of the holy ſepulchre; that in the mean time both parties ſhould have a certain number of vaſſals in ſuch places as they ſhould afterwards recover from the Moors, and that theſe vaſſals ſhould be obliged to bear arms, and follow the military friars of Spain, whenever they took the field againſt the infidels.

1134.
Quarita t. 1. l. 2. c. 4. f. 40.
Mariana l. 10. c. 18.

BESIDES theſe conditions, ſome lands and caſtles, conſiderable for their dependencies, and able to maintain a great number of knights, were yielded to theſe legatees of the ſovereignty. And to theſe lands and lordſhips were added a tenth part of all the cuſtoms and duties levied throughout the kingdom, and the fifth of all the contributions raiſed on the lands of the Moors; and it was reſolved that the kings of Arragon ſhould never make peace with the infidels without firſt acquainting the patriarch of Jeruſalem and the two military orders. This treaty was ſigned and ratified in September A. D. 1141. and pope Adrian IV. and Fulk king of Jeruſalem confirmed it afterwards.

1141.

RAIMOND Dupuy having brought this important affair to an end, embarked with other deputies, ſailed for Paleſtine, and arrived happily at Jeruſalem. He was received with that real joy and hearty reſpect which his ſingular virtue inſpired. Brompton and Roger Hoveden, two Engliſh hiſtorians, who flouriſhed in the ſame age, call him from this time the grand maſter; and 'tis by this title that I ſhall for the future ſpeak of this illuſtrious head of the hoſpitallers and his ſucceſſors, moſt of which ſacrificed their lives in defence of the Holy Land.

THAT ancient kingdom of David, or rather the inheritance of Jeſus Chriſt, loſt at this time its king in the perſon of Fulk of Anjou. That prince being a hunting in the plains of Acre, was killed by a fall from his horſe, and found in an exerciſe of peace the death which he had dared ſo often in war. He left two ſons very young, Baldwin the eldeſt of thirteen, and Amaury of but ſeven years of age.

1142. The king's death gave birth to cabals, which moſt minorities are expoſed to, and opened afterwards a way to the invaſions of the Turcomans and Saracens. Queen Meleſinda, mother of the young princes, not only pretended to the regency which no body diſputed with her, but would moreover be acknowledged as queen in her own right, and ſole ſovereign of the kingdom as being daughter to Baldwin Dubourg. The grandees on the contrary, ſeeing themſelves ſurrounded by formidable enemies, were for a captain and king at their head. Theſe conteſts ſupported by different parties had like to have degenerated into a civil war; at laſt it was agreed to refer the deciſion of this great difference to the majority of Baldwin. But it was not long before the nobility cauſed him to be crowned without the knowledge of the queen his mother, to whom nevertheleſs they were obliged, for peace ſake, to yield up half of the kingdom.

In the interval between the death of Fulk and the coronation of Baldwin III. his ſon, the Latin Chriſtians loſt the county of Edeſſa, called at that time Rouha or Rohais. We have obſerved before that Baldwin Dubourg at his acceſſion to the crown had reſigned this principality to Joſceline de Courtenay his couſin, following herein the example of Godfrey de Bouillon and his brother, who, to engage the princes and great lords of the cruſade in the defence of the Holy Land, had given them the principal lordſhips and territories of it in fief. Hence aroſe the counts of Edeſſa, Tripoli, Joppa, or Jaffa, and afterwards of Aſcalon, and Galilee, and the lords of Yblim, Montroyal, Thoron, Sidon, Tyre, Acre and Cæſarea, all lords of the firſt nobility of this new Kingdom.

Joſceline de Courtenay, whom we have juſt mentioned, had maintained himſelf in his principality by a thouſand brave actions againſt the enterprizes of the infidels, but that prince dying, the ſon whom he left heir to his dominions, did by no means inherit his virtues. The young Courtenay, educated in the pleaſures and luxury of the eaſt, ſpent his life in debauch; and that he might have the fewer witneſſes of his irregularities, quitted Edeſſa, and retired with the miniſters of his pleaſures to Turbeſſel, a town ſituated twenty four miles from the Euphrates on this ſide the river with regard to Paleſtine.

1143. Omadeddin Zenghi, a Turcoman of the Selgeucidian race, ſultan of Moſul and Aleppo, and the moſt potent prince in all the eaſt, being informed of the effeminate manner in which young Courtenay paſſed his life, entered his countrey and laid ſiege to Edeſſa. Courtenay who was attended by none but poltroon and effeminate favourites, had not the courage to throw himſelf into his capital, and either defend it or bury himſelf in its ruines; he even looked on whilſt the ſiege was advancing without making the leaſt motion to reinforce the place, and Zenghi would have ſtripped him of the reſt of his dominions with the ſame eaſe, if that prince, harſh and cruel in his nature, had not, in the moment he was preparing to purſue his conqueſts, been aſſaſſinated in his tent by his own ſervants. He left two ſons behind him, Cotelédin and Noradin. The eldeſt reigned at Moſul, and the principality of Aleppo fell to the ſhare of Noradin the younger, a prince of much wiſdom, capacity, and juſtice, a good ſoldier, an excellent officer, and a great general, an enemy to the Chriſtians by a principle of religion, and often engaged in the field againſt the hoſpitallers and templars.

After the loſs of Edeſſa, the affairs of the Latin Chriſtians began to decline in the eaſt. Godfrey de Bouillon, the two Baldwins, Fulk of Anjou, the renowned Bohemund, the brave Tancred, the old Courtenay and the count of Tholouſe were now no more; and their deſcendents ſoften'd and emaſculated with the pleaſures of Aſia, occupied indeed their places, but did not fill 'em: there was none but the young king Baldwin and the two military orders that bravely oppoſed the enterprizes of the infidels. But as their forces no ways anſwered their valour, they reſolved to have recourſe to the princes of Europe, and ſolicit a new cruſade that might drive the infidels entirely out of the Holy Land. With this view the biſhop of Zabulon was diſpatch'd into Europe, and landed at Marſeilles: the firſt cruſade having been rais'd in France, he came thither to ſolicite a ſecond.

1143. LOUIS VII. was then upon the throne, a prince young and handſome, full of courage but uneven in his conduct, more ſcrupulous, than devout, and utterly ignorant of the great art of reigning. Baldwin's deputy could not have arrived at court in a more favourable juncture. The king being at war with Thibaut, count of Champagne and Blois, his vaſſal, met with ſuch oppoſition at the ſiege of Vitrey in Parthois, that being exaſperated againſt the inhabitants, and having carried the place by ſtorm, he put all before him to fire and ſword, inſomuch that it is ſaid thirteen hundred perſons of both ſexes, men, women and children who had taken refuge in the great church, all periſhed in the flames of it. A juſt remorſe ſucceeding ſo terrible an execution, this prince * reſolved to expiate his fault by an expedition to Jeruſalem, the common reſource and refuge at that time of the greateſt ſinners. He communicated his deſign to pope Eugenius III. who was then in the chair of S. Peter, and that he might perform this pilgrimage in the moſt ſerviceable manner to the Chriſtians of the Holy Land, he intreated the pontif to cauſe a new cruſade, after the example of Urban II. to be recommended from the pulpit.

1144. Preuves de l'hiſtoire des comptes de Poitou. pag. 483.

THIS pontif, who from a monk of the order of Clairvaux and a diſciple of S. Bernard, had been advanced to the chair of S. Peter, very much commended the pious deſign of Louis, and to concur with his Intentions, ſent his briefs through all chriſtendom to exhort princes and their ſubjects to take up arms; he appointed S. Bernard alſo, who was the oracle of his age, to preach up the cruſade in France and Germany; and to engage the faithfull to take the croſs, he opened the treaſures of the church, and granted a plenary indulgence to all that did ſo.

1143. Gaufrid. vita ſancti Bernardi.

THE holy abbot of Clairvaux upon the pope's orders quits his retreat, he paſſes ſucceſſively to the courts of the king of France and the emperor Conrad, he mounts the pulpit, he preaches, thunders, and, full of fire and indignation, repreſents how great ſcandal it was for Chriſtians to ſuffer the heritage of Jeſus Chriſt, in the land that was watered with his precious blood, to be on the brink of falling again under the tyranny of the infidels. He omits nothing proper to move his auditors and engage them to take up arms, and it is affirm'd, that, tranſported with zeal, he openly foretold a certain victory and entire defeat of the infidels. The charms of his eloquence, his moving and pathetick expreſſions, the reputation of his ſanctity, the happy ſucceſs which, as we ſaid before, he is reported to have proclaimed with ſo much aſſurance, and ſome ſhining miracles alſo, which the writers of his life aſcribe to him on this occaſion, and which may be regarded as the ſureſt credentials of a prophet, all this induced the emperor, the king of France and moſt of the princes and lords their vaſſals to take up arms.

A LAME child being preſented to St. Bernard in the emperor's preſence, the holy abbot made the ſign of the croſs, took up the child and ordered

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* Ludovicus rex Vitriacum caſtrum comitis Theobaldi capit, ubi igne admoto, eccleſiâ incenſâ, & in eâ mille trecentæ animæ diverſi ſexûs & ætatis ſunt igne conſumptæ, ſuper quo rex Ludovicus miſericordiâ motus plorâſſe dicitur, & hac de cauſa peregrinationem Hieroſolymitanam aggreſſus à quibuſdam æſtimatur. Rob. de monte appendix ad Sigeb. ad annum 1143.

it, before the whole aſſembly, to walk, and then turning to Conrad, "This "was wrought for you, ſays he, that you might be aſſured that God is "indeed with you, and that your enterpriſe is pleaſing in his ſight."

SEVERAL French and German lords, verily perſuaded that S. Bernard was entruſted with the power of heaven, and that like another Moſes he would work miracles to bring the people of God into the land of promiſe, propoſed with great importunity, in a council held at Chartres, that he might be obliged to take upon him the general command * of the army; but the man of God, whoſe prudence was no ways inferior to his zeal, contented himſelf with being the herald and trumpeter of it. Having accompliſhed his miſſion, he retired into his abbey, and left to warlike princes the honour and perils of the execution.

The emperor and the king of France levied each of them a prodigious number of troops; each army was computed at no leſs than ſeventy thouſand men of arms, beſides the light horſe and infantry: it looked as if the French and Germans had reſolved by concert to abandon their countrey; and if any capable of bearing arms were upon other accounts detained at home, theſe new ſoldiers of the cruſade by way of inſult, and as it were to reproach them with their cowardice, ſent them a ſpindle and a diſtaff. The very women reviving the hiſtory or fable of the Amazons, appeared at a review, on horſeback and in arms, and formed ſeveral ſquadrons.

ELEANOR queen of France, and wife to Louis VII. was at the head of theſe heroines; a princeſs of ſingular beauty, who by her marriage brought the king the provinces of Guienne and Poitou, and who would have been the delight of that prince, if in her purſuit of pleaſures ſhe had ſuffer'd her ſelf to be leſs tranſported by the warmth of her conſtitution, or had not been ſuſpected to ſhare 'em with other perſons beſides the king her husband.

THOUGH it looked as if Germany and France had undertaken to ſubdue all Aſia, (at leaſt theſe numerous armies, with two great princes at their head, and commanded by brave officers, were but too capable of making that conqueſt) yet the perfidiouſneſs of the Greeks, ever uneaſy and jealous of theſe great armaments, their ignorance of the roads, the treachery of their guides, the want of proviſions, and the numerous and formidable troops which oppoſed their paſſage, ruined both theſe Chriſtian armies, even before they arrived in Paleſtine. They attempted the ſiege of Damaſcus, but in vain, and the miſcarriage was owing even to ſome Chriſtians themſelves.

CONRAD ſet out firſt, and arrived at Conſtantinople towards the end of March, A. D. 1147. He was brother in law to Emanuel Comnenus, who then governed the empire of the eaſt. Theſe two princes had married the two daughters of Berenger the elder, count of Luxemberg. This alliance made the German prince preſume he ſhould be well received; the perfidious Greek treated him as his ally, with reſpect to his private perſon; but in regard to his troops, as a mortal enemy. By his order, the wells and ciſterns were poiſon'd in all the places which the Germans paſſed through; and theſe ſtrangers were forced to give an exceſſive price for bread mixed with lime and plaiſter. His brother in law furniſhed him with guides, who, after leading him out of his way through by-roads and endleſs windings, in the mountains and rocks of Cappadocia, delivered his army half dead with hunger, ſtarved and ſpent into the hands of the infidels, who cut it in pieces.

THE king of France was ſcarce more fortunate, and though at the paſſage of the river Meander, he gained a conſiderable victory over the infidels,

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* De cætero, verbum illud, quod jam, ni fallor, audiſtis, quomodo videlicet in conventu Carnotenſi, quonam judicio ſatis miror, me quaſi ducem & principem militiæ elegerant. Divi Bernardi Ep. 256. ad Eug. Pap.

yet upon his arrival at Antioch he met with a misfortune, which perhaps more ſenſibly affected him than even the loſs of a battel.

RAIMOND of Poictiers, uncle by the father's ſide to the queen of France, was then, in right of his wife, ſovereign of that great principality. This prince, by birth a Frenchman and the king's ſubject, received Louis and the queen his niece with all the marks of honour, and all the magnificence due to his ſovereign. There was nothing to be ſeen for the firſt days of their arrival, but feaſting, balls and turnaments. Raimond, who hoped to draw ſome ſolid advantages from the arrival of the French in his dominions, added to all theſe demonſtrations of the ſincereſt joy, magnificent preſents which he made to the king and the chief officers of his army. His view was to engage Louis, before he advanced into Paleſtine, to turn his arms againſt the Mahometan princes his neighbours, with whom he was actually in war. The queen his niece at his requeſt mentioned it to the king, and uſed the moſt preſſing inſtances to induce him to a compliance. The intereſt of the prince her uncle was not the only motive upon which ſhe acted. It is ſaid that this princeſs who was not over ſcrupulous in point of duty, and was fallen in love with a young baptized Turk, named Saladin, could not think of parting from him. She paſſionately wiſhed, that whilſt the king was marching againſt her uncle's enemies, he would leave her at Antioch. The king, who began to have ſome ſuſpicions of this ſcandalous correſpondence, had no other way to avoid the conſequences of it, but by taking her by night out of Antioch, and carrying her to Jeruſalem. As ſoon as he arrived there, the emperor of Germany came to join him with the broken remains of his army. Theſe two princes formed the ſiege of Damaſcus, and thought themſelves ſo ſure of ſucceſs, that they agreed and promiſed to confer the ſovereignty of the place and the countrey belonging to it, upon Thierry count of Flanders. But the news of their deſign coming to the ears of ſome Latin lords, whoſe fathers had, from the time of the firſt cruſade, been ſettled in Syria, they were ſo exaſperated, that the count of Flanders, whom they treated as a ſtranger and new comer in reſpect of themſelves, ſhould be preferred before them, that by an abominable treaſon, and a criminal correſpondence with the infidels, they cauſed the enterprize to miſcarry. Louis and Conrad deteſting their villany returned into Europe with the miſerable remains of their great armies, and both of them with more chagrin than glory.

1148.

IF we may believe the greateſt part of hiſtorians, there were not fewer than two hundred thouſand men that periſhed in this unhappy expedition. By the ſame means alſo ſeveral of the greateſt houſes, both of France and Germany, became extinct. Such as were concerned in this general loſs, made no ſcruple to impute it to S. Bernard; the father demanded back his ſon of him, the wife her huſband, and the moſt outragious arraigned him as a falſe prophet. The holy abbot in his defence was obliged to make an apology which he addreſſed to pope Eugenius III. "They accuſe me, ſays he, of having "made fine promiſes which had no effect, as if I had acted raſhly in this "affair; whereas I did nothing but execute your orders, or rather thoſe which "God gave me by you".

HE alledges afterwards the example of Moſes, who having brought the Iſraelites out of Egypt, did not give them poſſeſſion of the fertile land that was promiſed them, though he acted only by the orders of God, confirmed by miracles; and he maintains that the militia of the cruſade were not leſs incredulous, or leſs rebellious than the Iſraelites: This is one of the reaſons upon which Otho biſhop of Friſingen, and brother by the mother's ſide to the emperor Conrad, lays the greateſt ſtreſs. That prelate, to vindicate his friend S. Bernard, pretends that the vices which reigned in the Chriſtian armies prevented

De rebus geſtis Friderici imperatoris. c. 60. p. 231. m. 41.

the effect of his predictions. But may we not anſwer the German biſhop, that this reaſoning is perhaps more ſpecious than ſolid, ſince if the holy abbot had been endued with the ſpirit of prophecy on this occaſion, he ought in virtue of that ſupernatural light to have known that they of the cruſade would have offended God, and that inſtead of the victories which his miniſter bid them expect, he would puniſh them with all the calamities that befel them. Accordingly the hiſtorian himſelf, who ſeems to be ſenſible of the weakneſs of his own reaſoning, is reduced at laſt to this ingenuous confeſſion, that the ſpirit of prophecy[*] does not inſpire the prophets on all occaſions.

BUT whatever were the cauſes of this unhappy event, which we are not allowed to fathom, we ſhall content our ſelves with obſerving that thoſe great armies, which flattered themſelves with ſo many conqueſts, could not take one ſingle town from the infidels, and that the Latin Chriſtians of Syria and Paleſtine were afterwards reduced to a ſituation that ſeemed to threaten them with a total and approaching ruin.

THEY had nothing leſs to fear from the Egyptians and the ſouthern quarter. The king, to raiſe a barrier againſt theſe enemies, had cauſed the walls of old Gaza, one of the five lordſhips of the Philiſtines, ſeven leagues from Aſcalon, to be rebuilt. That prince gave the government of it in property to the order of the templars[†]; and theſe military friars (men, ſays William of Tyre, full of courage, like the hoſpitallers) made it a place of arms, from whence they repreſſed the excurſions of the garriſon of Aſcalon, and forced the Sarazens to ſhut themſelves up within their walls.

NORADIN in the mean time taking advantage of the conſternation into 1148.
which the retreat of the troops of the cruſade had thrown the people, entered the principality of Antioch at the head of his army, ravaged the countrey, took ſeveral ſmall towns; and count Raimond conſulting his courage rather than his forces, endeavoured to oppoſe the torrent, but was routed, the greateſt part of his troops cut in pieces, and he himſelf periſhed in the action.

ON the other hand, the ſultan of Cogni or Iconium invaded the county of Edeſſa, ravaged the countrey, and took young Courtenay priſoner, who died ſoon after in the chains of that Barbarian. Every thing fled before him. The inhabitants of the towns and villages, almoſt all of them Chriſtians, ſeeing themſelves deſtitute of ſuccour, abandoned their countrey and their houſes to avoid the tyranny of the infidels; every one ſtrove to reach ſome Chriſtian town for ſecurity. Baldwin king of Jeruſalem, to favour at leaſt their retreat, advanced at the head of his nobility, and the two military orders to ſerve them for eſcorts; he placed all this people, men, women, children, cattel and baggage in the midſt of the troops he had got together: He poſted himſelf in the van-guard, the count of Tripoli, with Humfrey de Thoron conſtable of the kingdom, commanded the rear, and in this order they marched towards the principality of Antioch. Noradin, who could not bear that this prey ſhould eſcape him, advanced immediately at the head of all his cavalry, coaſted the Chriſtian army, and poured in every moment ſhowers of arrows to make them halt. He attempted ſeveral times to break the Chriſtian troops; they could not march a league without being obliged to fight; the infidels, to retard the march of an army embaraſſed enough otherwiſe with their baggage, returned every moment to the charge. But on what ſide ſoever they made their attack, they found always either the young king, or the count of Tripoli, at the head of the hoſpitallers and templars, preſenting a terrible front, and bearing down before them every rank and part of the army that durſt approach them; ſo that Noradin not able to break them, and wanting proviſions, gave over at laſt the purſuit, and the Chriſtian army arrived ſafe in the territories of Antioch.

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[*] Quamquam & ſpiritus prophetarum non ſemper ſubſit prophetis. De rebus geſtis Friderici imperatoris. l 1. c. 60. p. 231.

[†] Milites templi Gazam antiquam Palæſtinæ civitatem reædificant & turribus eam muniunt, Aſcalonitas graviter infeſtant. Rob. de mente append. ad chron. Sig. p. 631.

WHILST the king was thus employed in reſcuing theſe people from ſlavery, he was within a few moments of loſing his capital, by another enterprize of the infidels. Two of their princes called Jaroquins, Turcomans by nation, whoſe father or grandfather reigned in Paleſtine before the Sarazens recovered Jeruſalem, being preſſed by the reproaches of their mother, and informed of the king's abſence, levied a conſiderable army, marched from their own countrey, paſſed thro' Damaſcus, fell upon the Chriſtian territories, and advanced up to the gates of the holy city. The inhabitants, in a terrible conſternation, ſaw them incamp in the evening upon mount Olivet. The Barbarians flattered themſelves that they ſhould be able the next day to take by ſcalado, a place where they knew the king had left no garriſon; but out of an exceſs of confidence, ever dangerous in war, they loſt one of thoſe lucky moments, on which the greateſt ſucceſſes depend. The inhabitants recovering from their conſternation, and encouraged by ſuch hoſpitallers and templars as were left in the city, took arms; and as they were not enough in number to defend their walls, inſtead of waiting in the city for the coming up of the enemy, they iſſue out in the dark at midnight, fall upon the camp of their enemies whom they find buried in ſleep, ſet fire to their tents, cut the cordage, and carry terrour and death on every ſide.

THE infidels, ſurprized and terrified with ſo unexpected an attack, fled for their lives, their whole force diſbanded without keeping any certain road. As they fled towards Jericho, they fell into a body of cavalry, commanded by the king in perſon, who having had advice that they were entered his territories, was advancing to the relief of Jeruſalem. Above five thouſand were cut in pieces; others were knocked on the head by the Chriſtian peaſants. The garriſon of Napolouſa, which waited for them as they returned, compleated the diſperſion, and purſued them to the banks of Jordan, where the infidels, to avoid the ſword of the Chriſtians, and in hopes of ſwimming over the river, threw themſelves in and were drowned.

1152. THE king, to make repriſals, reſolved in his turn to ravage the territory of Aſcalon; he put himſelf at the head of his army, and, followed by the great maſters of the two military orders, and the principal nobility of his kingdom, entered the countrey, deſtroyed all before him with fire and ſword, and demoliſhed abundance of ſummer-houſes and gardens belonging to the chief inhabitants of Aſcalon. He advanced next up to the gates of that important place, and having taken a view of it himſelf, reſolved to beſiege it. But as he had not troops enough for ſo great an enterprize, he ſummoned all the nobility and gentry of his kingdom. Some pilgrims who were juſt arrived generouſly offered him their ſervice, and the old men of the countrey, worn out with age, the glorious remains of the firſt cruſade, ran to the camp. Each was aſſigned his proper quarter, whilſt Gerard lord of Sidon, to hinder any ſuccours being thrown into the place, kept the ſea with fifteen gallies.

THE city of Aſcalon, one of the five governments of the ancient philiſtines, was ſeated at the foot of an hill, on the ſide of the Mediterranean ſea, ſeven leagues from Gaza, which was a Chriſtian city, and the frontier of the kingdom of Jeruſalem on that ſide next Egypt, ſituated on the edge of the deſert which divides the two kingdoms, and at that time in the poſſeſſion of the templars.

ASCALON was in figure like a ſemi-circle, formed by the town and buildings, the ſea ſhore making as it were the diameter. It was encompaſſed with high walls, fortified at proper diſtances with ſtrong towers, well ſupplied with warlike engines to throw ſtones and darts; the ditches were flat bottomed and full of water: Some advanced works hindered all approach to the body of the place, and they had added all the fortifications that the art of that time could deviſe. The king, young as he was, managed this important ſiege himſelf: From the time of the great Godfrey de Bouillon there had never been ſeen in the Holy Land a prince in whom, at ſo green an age, were united ſuch ſingular valour, ſo great a capacity, and ſuch rare talents for war. The ſiege 1153. was long and very obſtinate; the attacks briſk and continual; the defence Will. Tyr. l. 17. too was brave, and the ſallies, or rather the battels, frequent. The Chriſtians did not get a foot of ground but what coſt them a great number of men, and they often loſt the next day what they had gained over night at the expence of the lives of their braveſt ſoldiers. The ſiege had already laſted five months with good and ill ſucceſs alternately, when a ſtrong fleet coming from Egypt, and laden with proviſions and land forces, appeared off Aſcalon. This fleet conſiſted of ſeventy gallies, beſides veſſels of burden, which carried a prodigious quantity of arms and proviſions. The Chriſtian admiral, who had but fifteen gallies, finding himſelf not ſufficiently provided to diſpute the paſſage with the Egyptians, retired as faſt as he could, and the infidels landed their ſuccour without any oppoſition. It was received with great acclamations of joy by the garriſon and inhabitants, who from the towers inſulted the Chriſtian army, and asked the ſoldiers when they deſigned to return to Jeruſalem. This ſeemed indeed the only reſolution they had to take; at leaſt, it was the ſentiment of the nobility, and moſt of the chief officers in the army, But the great maſter of the hoſpitallers, ſeconded by the patriarch, and the reſt of the biſhops, was of a contrary opinion[*]. He repreſented to the king that ſuch a ſtep would only ſerve to depreſs the courage of his ſoldiers and raiſe that of the enemies, and perhaps put the ſultan upon the deſign of forming in his turn the ſiege of Jeruſalem. Several councils were held upon this occaſion; at laſt the king, after a mature examination of the reaſons on both ſides, declared himſelf for the moſt honourable reſolution, and it was determined to continue the ſiege.

In the mean time the Egyptians that were landed at Aſcalon, being recovered from the fatigues of the ſea, made frequent ſallies. They thought to gain an eaſy conqueſt over the Chriſtians, who had been repreſented to them as diſpirited and worn out with the length of the ſiege; but they were not long without finding by experience that valour ſupplies the want of number. The Chriſtians always repulſed them with advantage. As there was no action of this kind but coſt the infidels a world of men, their ſallies grew leſs frequent, their mettle cooled; on the other hand, the courage of the Chriſtian ſoldiers encreaſed, and the templars having filled up the ditch, advanced their works as near as they could to that part of the wall, which was oppoſite to them, cauſing a tower or ſort of wooden caſtle of great height to be brought thither. This tower was a machine made uſe of at that time in ſieges, which they drove upon wheels; and when it was within reach of the walls, they let down a wooden bridge with rails, from whence the beſiegers annoyed and fought the beſieged; and when they met with but little reſiſtance, they threw themſelves into the place, and endeavoured to make themſelves maſters of it.

The Sarazens, one evening before the templars had advanced this machine to the foot of the wall, threw a great quantity of dry wood, bitumen, oil, and combuſtible matter, near the wooden tower, and then ſet fire to it, in

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[†] In oppoſita ſententia dominus patriarcha, dominus quoque Tyrienſis erant cum clero, conſortem habentes dominum Raimundum magiſtrum hoſpitalis cum fratribus ſuis. Will. Tyr. l. 17. c. 28. p. 928.

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hopes that the flame would reach the tower. But the deſign proved fatal to its authors; there roſe in the night an eaſterly wind, which, inſtead of ſetting fire to the tower, drove the flakes againſt the wall, burnt the morter, with which it was built, and made it give way. Some templars, who did not in the leaſt queſtion but their machine had been burnt, going out of mere curioſity the next day to ſee the remains of it, were ſtrangely ſurprized to find it entire, and they perceived at the ſame time an opening made in the wall, which would facilitate the ſcaling of it. They immediately advertiſed their grand maſter of it: That lord, tranſported with joy, came privately thither to take a view of the breach himſelf, and finding it practicable, without giving any account of it to the king, he ordered a brigade of his knights to enter. No ſooner did they appear ſword in hand, and with that daring countenance that ſucceſs inſpires, but the inhabitants thought the town was taken: Moſt of them fled immediately to ſave themſelves; and the principal officers of the garriſon, to avoid the firſt fury of the Chriſtian ſoldiers, threw themſelves into boats and put off from the ſhore. But the great maſter's avarice hindered the Chriſtians from making their advantage of the fright of the infidels; for this chief of the templars, deſirous to ſecure the whole plunder of the city to himſelf, inſtead of ſending to the king for more troops to ſuſtain the templars who had entered the place, poſted himſelf with the reſt of his knights upon the breach to keep the ſoldiers of the Chriſtian army from paſſing it *, in caſe any of them ſhould perceive the opening made in the wall. In the mean time, the few templars who had thrown themſelves into Aſcalon, ventured preſumptuouſly into the middle of the city to have the plunder of the principal houſes to themſelves, where the inhabitants recovering from their fright, no ſooner perceived how ſmall a number there was of them, than they rallied and made head againſt them. The templars then ſaw themſelves attacked by the troops of the garriſon, and from the tops of the houſes came pouring down upon them fireworks, ſcalding water, ſtones, tiles, and every thing that the beſieged found next at hand. The templars, after the loſs of a great number of their comrades, were forced to a precipitate retreat; every one fled to regain the breach by which he had mounted at firſt with ſo much courage; the great maſter too was obliged himſelf to abandon the poſt he was in poſſeſſion of; the infidels ſeized upon it, made cuttings off and intrenchments before the place where the Chriſtians had entered, and by new barricado's put it in a condition of defence.

'TIS impoſſible to expreſs the king's indignation and the wrath of the ſoldiers when they were appriſed that nothing but the avarice of the templars had occaſioned their miſſing ſo difficult and glorious a conqueſt. The inhabitants of Aſcalon, on the contrary, increaſed in confidence and courage; and the next day mixing themſelves with the Egyptian garriſon, they made a freſh ſally in good order, and boldly attacked the lines of the Chriſtians. The fight was bloody, and the ſucceſs doubtful for a long time; victory changed ſides more than once; the infidels at firſt filled up ſeveral fathoms of the trenches, ruined ſome redoubts, threw themſelves ſword in hand into the Chriſtian camp, demoliſhed the tents, and penetrated as far as the king's quarter.

THAT prince, at the head of the nobility, fought with an invincible courage, and gave time to his troops to recover from their ſurprize, and get over their firſt conſternation. The templars, eager to waſh away with their blood the fault they had committed, expoſed themſelves like furies in the thickeſt of

* Magiſter militiæ templi Bernardus Detremelas cum fratribus ſuis alios antè multò prævenientes aditum occupaverant, neminem niſi de ſuis intrare permittentes, eos autem hac intentione dicebantur arcere quatenus primi ingredientes ſpolia majora & manubias obtinerent uberiores.——— Dum ergo cupiditate rapti ad prædæ participium renuunt habere conſortes, in mortis periculo meritò reperti ſunt ſoli. Will. Tyr. l. 17. c. 27.

the enemies battalions; and the hoſpitallers, whoſe zeal and emulation ſpurred them on to danger, prodigal of their lives, never heeded the loſing them, provided they could kill a Sarazen. The Egyptians ſhewed no leſs courage on their part, they were all for vanquiſhing or dying. This ſally, or rather battel, laſted from morning till evening; at laſt the infidels, aſtoniſhed at the invincible courage of the Chriſtians, and daunted with the force of their blows, began to give way a little: The king ſeeing them flag, reſumed new vigour, and broke into them ſword in hand. It was afterwards a mere butchery rather than a fight; the Chriſtian ſoldiers breathing blood and vengeance againſt the infidels, gave no quarter; torrents of blood ran down the lines, and moſt of the Egyptians that came to the ſuccour of Aſcalon, periſhed in this ſally. Such as could eſcape the fury of the Chriſtian ſoldiers, got back into the town, carrying thither, with the ſhame of their defeat, a deſpair of ſaving the place. The inhabitants upon the loſs of this reinforcement, loſt likewiſe all hopes of raiſing the ſiege. There was a general conſternation; the old men, the women and children never ſtirred from the moſques, wearying out heaven with their vain prayers; ſuch as had ſtill any health and ſtrength left employed themſelves in making intrenchments behind the walls of the city; but a ſtone of a prodigious bigneſs, thrown from one of the engines of the beſiegers, falling by chance upon a great beam carried by forty men, moſt of which were maſhed to pieces, the terrour of the people already prepoſſeſſed that they could not reſiſt the Chriſtians, increaſed to ſuch a degree, that they reſolved to prevent the terrible conſequences of an aſſault by a timely compoſition.

A SUSPENSION of arms was firſt agreed on, under pretence of carrying off the dead on both ſides, and by means of this truce they entered into a negociation. The treaty was ſoon concluded between parties, the one of which was afraid of being carried by ſtorm, and the other of a new ſuccour's obliging them to raiſe the ſiege; ſo they clapped up an agreement, that the Sarazens ſhould deliver up the place immediately to the Chriſtians, and that the latter ſhould furniſh them waggons with a convoy to carry their effects to Laris, a city in the deſert; which was executed punctually Auguſt 12. A. D. 1154.

The continuator of Sigebert places this event in A. D. 1153.

THERE had been no conqueſt, ſince that of Jeruſalem, either more glorious or more uſeful than this of Aſcalon. The Chriſtian garriſon that was placed there joining with that of Gaza, raiſed contributions even in Egypt it ſelf. The news of its being taken was received with extraordinary joy in Europe: They were well apprized of the part which the maſter of the hoſpitallers had in it, and the acknowledgment of his ſervices, was, in all probability, the reaſon why pope Anaſtaſius IV. granted new privileges to the order, and confirmed the old ones, as may be ſeen in the bull of this pontif addreſſed to Raimond Dupuy. The pope therein declares, that following the example of his predeceſſors Innocent II. Celeſtine II. Lucius II. and Eugenius III. he takes the hoſpital and houſe of S. John into the protection of S. Peter; that he allows the hoſpitallers to build churches and church-yards in all the lands and ſeigniories belonging to them, and to interr their deceaſed brethren there with all the ceremonies of the church, notwithſtanding any interdict iſſued out by the ordinary, and even to ſay or cauſe maſs and divine ſervice to be ſaid once a year in any other interdicted churches, if lying in the road which the hoſpitallers are obliged to travel in obedience to the orders of their ſuperiors.

PROOF XIII.

THE holy father directing his diſcourſe to them, ſays, "As you, my brethren, make ſo worthy an uſe of your goods and poſſeſſions, employing them for the maintenance of the poor and entertainment of pilgrims, we forbid all the faithful, of what dignity ſoever they are, to exact the tythe of your lands, or to publiſh any eccleſiaſtical ſentence of interdict, ſuſpenſion or excommunication in the churches belonging to you; and in caſe of a general interdict laid upon whole countries, you may ſtill continue to have divine

" ſervice ſaid in your churches, provided it be done with the doors ſhut and " without ringing of bells. We grant you likewiſe the liberty of admitting " prieſts and clerks as well into your principal houſe of Jeruſalem, as into the " other ſubordinate houſes that depend upon it. And if any biſhops or ordi- " naries oppoſe it, you may nevertheleſs, in virtue of the authority of the holy " ſee, receive them after proper teſtimonials of their conduct; and ſuch prieſts " and clerks ſhall be abſolutely exempted from their juriſdiction, and be ſub- " ject only to the holy ſee and your chapter. You may likewiſe receive " laicks of free condition for the ſervice of the poor. And as for ſuch bro- " thers as have been once admitted into your ſociety, we forbid them to quit " it, or to enter into any other order under pretence of greater regularity. " And with regard to the dedication of your churches, the conſecration of your " altars and the ordination of your clergy, you ſhall apply to the biſhop of " the dioceſe, if he be in communion with the holy ſee, and will confer ho- " ly orders gratis; but if not, you are authorized by the holy ſee to chuſe " any biſhop you ſhall ſee fit. Moreover, we confirm anew all grants of lands " and ſeigniories in the preſent poſſeſſion of your houſe, or which you ſhall " hereafter acquire on this ſide the ſea, or beyond it, as well in Europe as in " Aſia. In fine, ſays Anaſtaſius, directing his ſpeech to the great maſter, " when it ſhall pleaſe God to take you to himſelf, we ordain that your bro- " ther hoſpitallers ſhall have full and entire liberty to elect your ſucceſſor, any " force or contrivance to the contrary whatſoever notwithſtanding.

THOUGH this bull of pope Anaſtaſius was in the main only a confirmation of the privileges which his predeceſſors had already granted to the order of S. John; yet Foucher, then patriarch of Jeruſalem, and the other Latin biſhops of Paleſtine, reſolutely oppoſed theſe exemptions which were ſo many diminutions of their juriſdiction and revenues.

OF all the eccleſiaſtical penalties inflicted by popes and biſhops upon ſinners, that of a general excommunication or interdict, though ſcarce ſo much as known in the primitive church, was at that time the moſt frequent. They made uſe of it againſt princes that were refractory to the church; the thunder bolt was levelled at their dominions; all their ſubjects were involved in the ſentence, and a multitude of innocent perſons ſuffered on account of a ſingle offender. The form and manner of executing this ſentence had nothing in it but what was diſmal and even terrible. The altars were entirely ſtripp'd; the croſſes, the ſhrines for relicks, the images and ſtatues of the ſaints were laid flat upon the ground, and covered all over to ſignify that it was a time of grief and mourning: The bells ceaſed to be rung, and were even taken down from the belfreys. No ſacrament was adminiſtred, but baptiſm to children newly born, and confeſſion and the communion as a viaticum to dying perſons. No maſs was ſaid in churches but with the doors ſhut; fleſh was prohibited during the interdict as much as in lent; and to ſuch a heighth was this rigour carried, that people were forbidden to greet one another or be ſhaved, nor was it permitted to give the tonſor, or cut the hair of the prieſts and clergy.

BUT what is ſtill more deplorable is, that ſome popes and biſhops often employed theſe arms againſt kings and ſovereign princes, and for intereſts purely temporal. 'Twas one of the ſureſt inſtruments of their government; the people, frighted to ſee themſelves deprived of the outward exerciſe of religion, forced their ſovereigns for fear of a general revolt to ſubmit to the yoke. 'Tis no wonder therefore, if the patriarch of Jeruſalem and other Latin biſhops of the eaſt bore impatiently, that whilſt the kings of Jeruſalem, and the princes of Antioch and Tripoli, were not exempt from their juriſdiction in point of the interdict, the popes ſhould grant this privilege to the hoſpitallers. Theſe prelates too were not leſs aggrieved with the exemption from tythes, which they had ſeized after the conqueſt of the Holy Land, to the prejudice of the clergy of the Greek church.

THE natural deſire of preſerving great poſſeſſions, and defending their authority, motives which touch men to the quick, broke the union which had hitherto ſubſiſted between the ſecular clergy and the hoſpitallers. The biſhops could not bear to think that the holy ſee had diſpenſed with the knights from paying them the tythe of all their poſſeſſions, and they extended this right and their pretenſions even to the booty that might be gained from pillaging the camp and territories of the infidels. The privilege likewiſe which the hoſpitallers had obtained of ſaying or cauſing divine ſervice to be ſaid in their churches during the interdict, notwithſtanding they did it with the doors ſhut, brought abundance of offerings and alms to the prieſts and chaplains of the order, which the ſecular clergy looked upon as ſo many robberies committed upon themſelves. Beſides theſe general grievances, Foucher the patriarch complained of one particular relating to himſelf, viz. that the hoſpitallers, whoſe church and houſe ſtood near the church of the holy ſepulchre, had erected more magnificent buildings than his own church and palace: The complaints were bitter on both ſides, the one founded their claim on common right, the others pleaded their privileges in bar of that right. Invectives and abuſive language ſucceeded theſe reciprocal complaints; and, what is not to be mentioned without concern, they proceeded at laſt to acts of violence. 'Tis ſaid, that arrows were ſhot from the quarter of the hoſpitallers againſt the prieſts of the patriarch. Thoſe eccleſiaſticks indeed did not return force for force; but out of a more refined ſort of vengeance, they gathered up theſe arrows, tied them in a bundle, and, to preſerve the memory of ſo odious an outrage, fixed them up at the entrance of the church of Calvary. William archbiſhop of Tyre relates this fact as an eye-witneſs; but that writer, though no way favourable to the hoſpitallers, owns at the ſame time that the great maſter was reverenced as a good man, that feared God: Theſe are his very words. He adds, that the cauſe of theſe diſſenſions ought to be laid upon the popes, who had exempted theſe military friars from the epiſcopal juriſdiction.

L. 17. c. 3. p. 932.

1155. THE patriarch, to obtain a repeal of theſe privileges which were ſo odious to him, undertook the weſtern voyage, though near a hundred years old, and reſolved to go in perſon to pope Adrian IV. who was then upon the holy ſee. He was accompanied with Peter archbiſhop of Tyre the hiſtorian's predeceſſor, Baldwin archbiſhop of Ceſarea, Frederic biſhop of Acre, Amaury of Sidon, Conſtantine of Lydda, Renier of Sebaſte, and Herbert of Tiberias. The great maſter and council of the order ſent deputies alſo on their part to anſwer the complaints of theſe prelates; and, if we may believe William archbiſhop of Tyre, theſe deputies had got the ſtart of the patriarch, and by great preſents had made the pope and whole court of Rome their friends. Foucher and the other biſhops of Paleſtine had audience of the pope at Ferento a little town near Viterbo. This great affair was debated at ſeveral ſeſſions before the pope and the whole college of cardinals; and for the better maintaining of the rights of the parties, both ſides were allowed advocates and lawyers to plead for them. The biſhops complained that the hoſpitallers, abuſing their privileges, received excommunicate perſons into their churches, and in caſe of death, gave them Chriſtian burial; that during the interdict laid upon the city, they had rung their bells, contrary to an expreſs clauſe in their privileges; that their church being near that of the holy ſepulchre, they ſet them continually a ringing whilſt the patriarch was preaching the word of God to the people, on purpoſe to hinder his being heard; and that they refuſed to pay tythe of their revenues in all the dioceſes of Paleſtine, where they had any lands and eſtates.

PROOF XIV.

RAIMOND DUPUY.

The archbiſhop of Tyre, after relating all the complaints of the clergy, ſays nothing of the defence made by the hoſpitallers; he only gives us to underſtand that they got the affair protracted; that by their preſents and intereſt in the court of Rome they kept the pope from giving judgment in it, and the patriarch and biſhops of Paleſtine ſeeing plainly of themſelves, and having ſecret advice from their friends, that they ſhould never obtain any ſentence, took leave of the ſovereign pontif, and returned home, ſays the hiſtorian, loaden with confuſion. l. 18. c. 8. He adds, that of all the cardinals there were but two ſo juſt and faithful to Jeſus Chriſt as to declare themſelves in favour of the clergy; that the pope and all the reſt of them, corrupted by the preſents of the hoſpitallers, l. 18. c. 3. followed, ſays he, the ſteps of Balaam ſon of Boſor; a compariſon certainly very odious and the more ſo, becauſe of the two cardinals, that were, according to this author, ſo faithful to Jeſus Chriſt. For one of them was Octavian, who ſet himſelf up afterwards for antipope by the name of Victor II. and cauſed a terrible ſchiſm and infinite miſchief to the church, and the other was John de Morſon, cardinal of S. Martin, one of the miniſters of his ambition and the principal abettor of the ſchiſm.

1156. To juſtify entirely the memory of Adrian, we are indiſpenſably obliged to obſerve that this pontif, one of the moſt diſintereſted popes that ever ſate on the throne of S. Peter, far from enriching his family out of the treaſures of the holy ſee, gave not the leaſt ſhare of 'em to his relations; that he carried this diſintereſtedneſs even to an unwarrantable rigour, and though his mother who ſurvived him was reduced to extreme poverty, all that he did for her was by his will to recommend her to the charity of the church of Canterbury. But if we may believe Boſio, his bare declaring in favour of the hoſpitallers was enough to draw upon him all the bitterneſs that flows, ſays he, from the pen of that partial hiſtorian *.

After all, the patriarch of Jeruſalem and his hiſtorian could not but know, that the predeceſſors of Anaſtaſius had before this granted the hoſpitallers moſt of the privileges in queſtion, without any complaint ever being made of their being procured by bribery. But it is probable enough, that the popes being engaged in troubleſome wars, either againſt the emperors of the weſt, or the Normans of Apulia and Sicily, and even againſt the inhabitants of Rome, were not unwilling to exempt the hoſpitallers and templars from the juriſdiction of their ordinaries, thereby to engage more particularly in their intereſts, ſo conſiderable a military body, whoſe power and riches were continually encreaſing in all parts of chriſtendome.

I shall not take upon me to give an account of the ſeveral ſettlements, made in thoſe times in favour of the hoſpitallers of S. John: this would carry me too far. But I think my ſelf obliged, to obſerve that part of the great revenues of the hoſpitallers and templars, came chiefly from the princes, nobility and gentry, who upon taking the habit and croſs of the two orders, gave them moſt of their great ſeigniories. Thus about that time Guy, count and ſovereign of Forcalquier, taking the croſs and habit of an hoſpitaller, gave to PROOF XV. the order of S. John his caſtle of Manoſque, which contained ſuch conſiderable lands and ſeigniories, that they made a bailiwic of it afterwards, with the title of bailif inſtead of commander. The grandees of Spain did not come behind the French in theſe ſentiments of eſteem for the two military orders, and the hiſtorian of Arragon tells us, that about A. D. 1153, Don Pedro Dartal, the firſt baron of that kingdom, gave to the hoſpitallers and templars the city of Borgia, with its dependencies, which they exchanged afterwards with Raimond Berenger, prince of Arragon, for Dumbel, and the caſtles of Alberic and Cabanos.

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* Nella narratione della qual hiſtoria il ſus detto archiveſcovo di Tiro aggrava molto la mano addoſſo a gli hoſpitalieri ſcrivendla in queſto particolare piu toſto come prelato & archiveſcovo orientale & conſequente mente come intereſſato & appaſſianato che come iſtorico. Boſio l. 6. p. 197.

THESE donations ſo frequent at that time, will be leſs ſurprizing if we conſider the admirable uſe that theſe military Friars made of 'em. Out of all their great revenues, the hoſpitallers and templars had only a very frugal ſubſiſtence; the reſt was either dedicated to the maintenance of the poor, or imploy'd in carrying on the war againſt the infidels.

YET theſe warriours, ſo fierce and terrible in the day of battel, were quite other men when they came back to their convent; ſcarce had they laid aſide their arms, but they reſumed with the regular habit, all the exerciſes of their firſt profeſſion. Some applied themſelves to the ſervice of the ſick; others were taken up in entertaining the pilgrims; ſome cleaned their arms, or mended the accoutrements of their horſes, and all, in their reſpective employs, kept a religious ſilence, and ſeemed as reſerved and penſive as if they had been hermits and anchorets: a new manner of life very rare and unknown til then, wherein, without being entirely confined to the cloiſter, or engaged in the world, they practiſed ſucceſſively all the virtues of two ſuch oppoſite conditions. This we learn from S. Bernard, a contemporary writer, who in the deſcription which he has left us of the templars manner of life, has drawn a ſort of living picture of the military Friars of thoſe times, ſuch an one as it is to be wiſhed their ſucceſſors had always before their eyes.

“ THEY live together, ſays that holy abbot, in an agreeable, but frugal manner; without wives, or children, or having any thing in property to themſelves, even ſo much as their own will; they are never idle, nor rambling abroad, and when they are not in the field marching againſt the infidels, they are either fitting up their arms, and the harneſs of their horſes, or elſe employing themſelves in pious exerciſes by order of their ſuperiour. An inſolent expreſſion, an immoderate laughter, the leaſt murmur does not paſs without a ſevere correction. They deteſt cards and dice, they are never allowed the diverſion of hunting, or uſeleſs viſits; they abominate all ſhows, drolleries, diſcourſes, or ſongs of a looſe nature; they bath but ſeldom, are generally in an undreſs, their face burnt with the ſun, and their look grave and ſolemn. When they are entering into an engagement, they arm themſelves with faith within and ſteel without, having no ornaments either in their dreſs, or upon the accoutrements of their horſes; their arms are their only finery, and they make uſe of them with courage, without being daunted, either at the number or force of the Barbarians”: all their confidence is in the God of hoſts, and in fighting for his cauſe, they ſeek a ſure victory, or a Chriſtian and honourable death.

S. Bernard exhoratio ad milites templi.

THE luſtre of their virtues, and the glory they acquired daily by their valour, raiſed a generous emulation among the nobility and gentry of Spain. We obſerved that the beginning of this hiſtory, that the Moors in the eighth century took the greateſt part of that kingdom from the Goths: 'Tis well known that the Chriſtians which remained of that nation, flying from the perſecution of the infidels, retired at firſt into the mountains of the Aſturias, from whence they ſallied out afterwards, under the conduct of Pelagius, to defend their liberty and religion: That prince by little and little enlarged the bounds of his kingdom. His ſucceſſors were yet more proſperous; they recovered ſeveral provinces from the Moors, and theſe Chriſtian princes, who carried on the war in different quarters, to preſerve a reciprocal independency among themſelves, erected theſe provinces over which they aſſumed a ſovereignty, into ſo many kingdoms. Such is the original of the kingdoms of Leon, Caſtile, Navarre, Arragon, Portugal, Valentia, &c. The Moors too on their ſide had cantoned out their conqueſts, and we find among thoſe Barbarians the kings of Toledo, Cordova, Murcia and Granada. The one was every day in action againſt the other, and for ſeveral ages there was a continual war between them. Some Spaniſh Gentlemen, in imitation of the templars and hoſpitallers and for the defence of religion formed hereupon ſeveral ſocieties and military orders, compoſed only of the nobility and gentry of that nation: of theſe the order of Calatrava is reckoned the moſt antient.

Don Sanchez the third king of Caſtile, having won from the Moors the city of Calatrava, a ſtrong place and frontier of the kingdoms of Caſtile and Toledo, committed the government and defence of it to the templars: but theſe knights having afterwards advice that the kings of the Moors, had joined their forces to beſiege it; and finding themſelves too few to defend it, they delivered the place back again to the king.

Sanchez had need of all his forces to keep the field and make head againſt the Moors, who threatened at the ſame time, to break into Caſtile. That prince in this diſtreſs declared, that if any one was able and brave enough to undertake the defence of Calatrava, he would give it him in property, to be held under the immediate ſovereignty of his Crown. But the formidable power of the Moors had ſo intimidated moſt of the grandees of his Court, that there was not one who offered to throw himſelf into a place, which was going to have at the foot of its wall, the whole forces of the infidels. The king was in utter deſpair of being able to ſave it, when a Monk of the ciſtertian order, profeſs'd in the abbey of Fitero in Navarre, called brother Diego Velaſquez, who before his profeſſion had ſerved a long time as a ſoldier, propoſed to his abbot Don Raimond with whom he was come into Caſtile, to make the king an offer to ſuſtain the ſiege with his own vaſſals, and at his own expence.

The king who was well informed of the riches of that abbot, and the reputation which Velaſquez had formerly acquir'd in the army, accepted their offer eſpecially at a juncture when he had no other choice to make. The abbot and his monk returned with all poſſible expedition into Navarre, and brought back with them near twenty thouſand Men, moſt of them their own vaſſals, or neighbouring Frenchmen that were willing to ſhare in ſo generous an enterprize, and they were afterwards joined by ſeveral Caſtilian gentlemen, at the ſame time they ſupplied the place with proviſions and amunition, and this military colony added to the fortifications of the city a fort which covered it entirely.

'Twas out of this Body of Navareſe and Caſtilian gentlemen, who threw themſelves into Calatrava, that the military order of that name was afterwards formed, viz. A.D 1158. From the ſame motive of making war againſt the Moors of Spain, there roſe about A. D. 1175. a ſecond military order dedicated to S. James of the ſword, and A D. 1212, the order of Alcantara was inſtituted. Theſe three particular orders, confined to Spain, were diſtinguiſhed from one another by croſſes of different colours, but all equally terminated by flower de luces; a circumſtance which wou'd make one imagine that the Spaniards took theſe flowers from the arms of France, to preſerve the memory of thoſe ſuccours which the French had brought them from time to time in their wars againſt the infidels.

Such were the military Friars in the firſt age of their inſtitution, which in reſpect of them, may be reckoned the golden age of theſe orders. The hoſpitallers templars, and ſpaniſh knights were diſtinguiſhed no leſs by a ſolid piety, than by their valour; but that bleſſed time did not laſt above an age: the man of war got inſenſibly the better of the monk: and valour, love of glory, and oftentimes the deſire of amaſſing wealth, made their devotion and piety flag inſenſibly. Ambition and views of aggrandizing themſelves by particular conqueſts began to infect theſe orders, though founded originally upon the vow of poverty. Out of this human motive it was, that the hoſpitallers of Paleſtine refuſed a little before to undertake the defence of Paneas, unleſs Humphrey de Thoron, to whom the place belonged, would conſent to divide the property and revenues of it with them. That lord was forced to purchaſe the aſſiſtance of their arms with this condition, and it was not till after ſuch a ceſſion was made, that they prepared to march to the ſuccour of the Place.

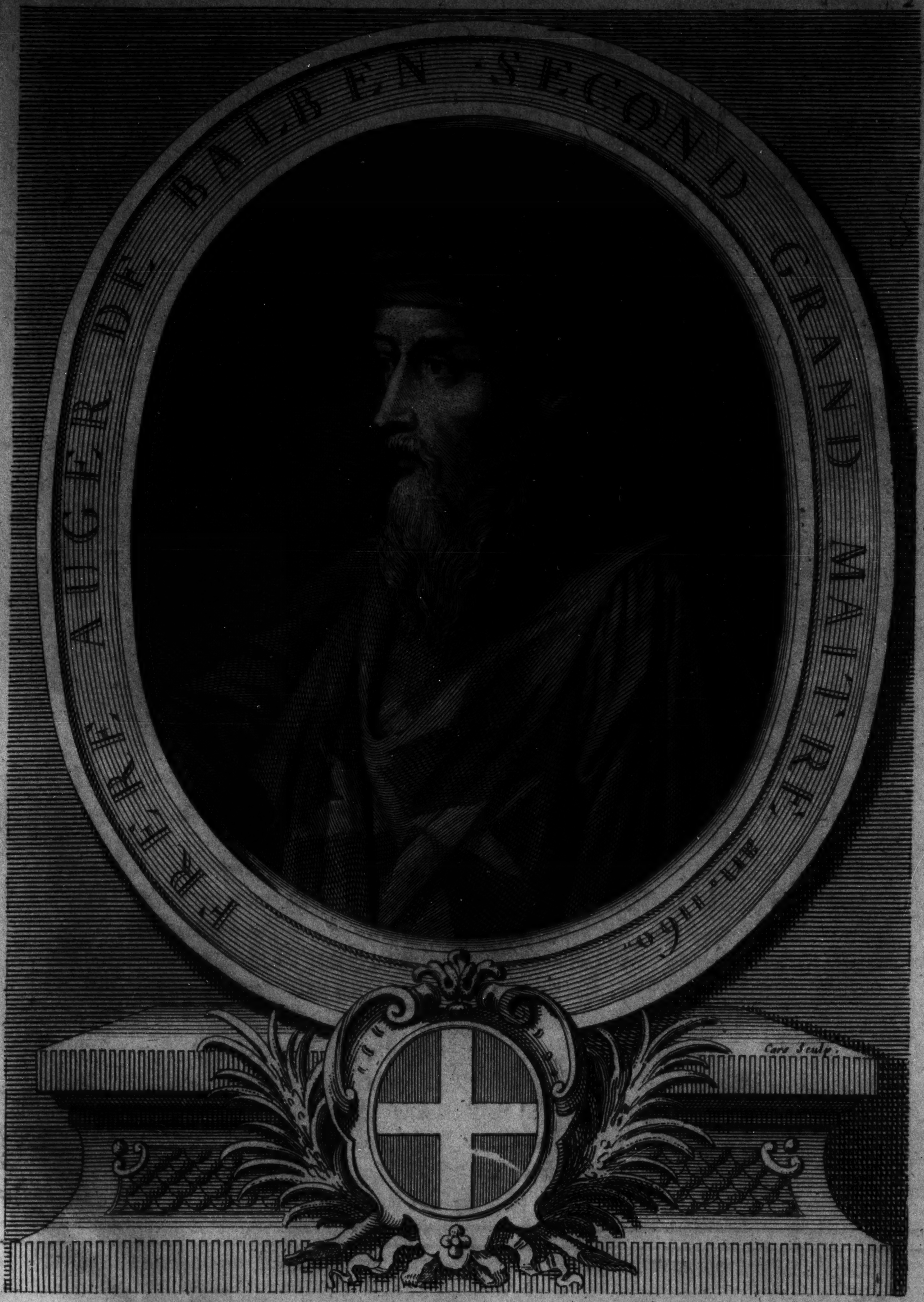
Paneas a city of Phænicia, called formerly Ceſarea Philippi, and ſituated at the foot of mount Libanus, was a frontier of the principality of Damaſcus, of which Noradin, that formidable enemy of the Chriſtians, was the ſovereign. The hoſpitallers having agreed upon their terms with Humfrey, loaded a great number of horſes and camels with arms, ammunition and proviſions, all which ſet out from Jeruſalem under a numerous convoy, and advanced towards the city, the laſt of the kingdom on that ſide. Noradin having notice from his ſpies of the departure of the convoy, laid an ambuſh in the way, and when the hoſpitallers drew near to Paneas, they found themſelves ſurronnded on all ſides. However they made a brave defence, and fought a long while with their uſual valour; but were forced to yield at laſt to ſuperior forces: they were bore down by the vaſt number of the infidels, favoured at the ſame time by the advantage of the poſt, they had ſeized, and moſt of the hoſpitallers that went upon this expedition, periſhed in it: nor was this defeat the laſt diſſaſter that happen'd to the Chriſtians. Noradin, in hopes of finding the inhabitants in a conſternation at this loſs, laid ſiege to the place, and after a brisk and continual attack of ſome days, made himſelf maſter of the town. He then prepared to attack the Caſtle, whither the inhabitants had retired; but having advice that the king of Jeruſalem was marching with great expedition to make him raiſe the ſiege, this infidel prince who dreaded his valour, ſet fire to the city and retired with precipitation. But he had not got far, before he intrenched himſelf in a craggy place, where he could not be forced, and from thence obſerved the march of the chriſtian army. The king entered Paneas without oppoſition, repaired the confuſions which the enemy and the fire had cauſed, and putting troops and proviſions into the caſtle, ſet out upon his return for Jeruſalem. He marched with too much raſhneſs and ſecurity to be upon his guard, and had even ſent away his foot before him. Noradin quitted the place he had retired to, advanced into the countrey, and got before him without his having any notice of it, and having found a ſpot proper for an ambuſcade, waited at the paſſage, ſurprized him and fell upon his troops, which were broken almoſt without fighting. All that they could do was to ſave the King, but moſt of the Chriſtian nobility and officers were taken priſoners. The templars had no better ſucceſs upon this occaſion, than the hoſpitallers in the former action, and brother Bertrand de Blanchfort their great maſter, a pious and devout man, ſays William of Tyre, was taken priſoner with brother Odo one of his knights and marſhal of the kingdom.

The taking of the town of Paneas, was the firſt fruit of the victory of the infidels. They enter'd it a ſecond time without much difficulty, but miſcarried before the caſtle, a place well fortified, and into which the garriſon of the town and the inhabitants had retired. As I relate theſe different events no farther than I am obliged by the ſhare the military order, whoſe hiſtory I write, had in 'em. I ſhall not dwell on what paſſed in Syria during the reſt of the year; and ſhall only obſerve, that Noradin always on the watch to extend his conqueſts, took the field early the year following, and laid ſiege to the caſtle of Sueta or Czueta, an ancient city, as it is ſaid of the countrey of Hus. The Latin Chriſtians had carefully fortified this place which was ſituated in the ſtraits of the mountains, and opened an eaſy paſſage into the plains of Damaſcus.

The king of Jeruſalem, who knew the importance of this fort, immediately aſſembled all his troops, and ſupported by a good body of cavalry, brought him by Thierry count of Flanders his brother in law, he reſolved to try again the fortune of war, rather than let a place of ſuch conſequence be loſt. The Chriſtian army advanced on the ſide of the mountains, and had no difficulty to find the enemy, Noradin by the advice of Siracon his general, choſe rather to draw his troops out of their lines than let himſelf be attacked in his 1148. camp. He march'd up to meet the Chriſtians, and gave them battel in the plains of Putaha. The armies ſoon engaged; the ſoldiers on both ſides as it were in concert, without ſhooting an arrow and contrary to the practiſe of thoſe times, advanced fiercely ſword in hand. The king at the head of the principal lords of his kingdom, and followed by the military orders, in which the ſtrength of his arm lay, charged the enemy firſt, drove all before him that ſtood in his way, and had the leſs trouble to break that firſt body, becauſe the Turcomans uſually put their worſt troops in the vanguard. But after this firſt trial of each others force, Siracon appeared at the head of a new line, compoſed of old ſoldiers, he rallied the fugitives and reſtored the battel. Upon this occaſion the Chriſtians and infidels made extraordinary efforts, and both of them ſupported by the view and example of their ſovereigns and generals fought a long while with equal fury, without either ſide's giving way, or the leaſt appearance of fear and terrour. No ſooner was one ſoldier killed than another ſtep'd up in his place, and whatever danger there was in the firſt ranks, every one was preſſing to get thither: never was there ſeen ſo furious and bloody a battel. The Chriſtians enraged to find ſo long a reſiſtance and animated by the generous reproaches of their officers, made a freſh effort, and as if they had received a new reinforcement, flung themſelves in ſo reſolute a manner into the thickeſt of the enemies battalions, that the infidels, not able any longer to ſupport this laſt charge, were obliged to retire and give ground, though ſtill in good order and keeping their ranks. But the king of Jeruſalem and the count of Flanders, coming up at the head of a large body of cavalry during this motion which the enemy was forced to make, obliged them to fly outright and diſband entirely; more than 6000 ſoldiers on the infidels ſide lay dead upon the place, beſides the wounded and priſoners: all the honour of the day was juſtly aſcribed to the king a young prince of excellent valour. His courage multiplied him as we may ſay, on ſuch occaſions and particularly in this laſt battel; he was ſeen almoſt at the ſame time in different places, and in every one where the danger was greateſt and his preſence neceſſary.

'TIS not known whether the great maſter of the hoſpitallers was in this action: his age probably excuſed him from it, he being above fourſcore years old. The venerable old man covered with wounds, and worn out with years, had withdrawn himſelf to the houſe of the hoſpitallers of S. John at Jeruſalem. There in a profound retirement, amidſt ſerious reflections and in continual exerciſes of piety, this genuine ſoldier of Jeſus Chriſt prepared himſelf for the great day that is ſo terrible, even to the holieſt Monks. He ſaw at laſt that dreadful moment arrive which decides the fate of an eternity: but if he ſaw its approaches with a wholeſome fear, it was alſo with the filial confidence of a true Chriſtian, who had expoſed his life a thouſand times in defence of the holy places, where the author of life himſelf vouchſafed to dye for the ſalvation of man. Thus ended his days in the arms of his brethren. Raimond Dupuy the firſt of the military great maſters, much greater by his ſolid piety and rare valour, than by his dignity, and ſuch as we may campare at the ſame time to the holieſt founders of regular orders, and the greateſt generals of that age. The hoſpitallers and indeed all the Latin Chriſtians of the eaſt, who had been witneſſes of his virtues, anticipating his canoniſation, revered him as of the number of the bleſſed; a title which poſterity confirmed to him.

The end of the firſt Book.


FRERE AUGER DE BALBEN SECOND GRAND MAITRE, en 1160.
Caro Sculp.

THE HISTORY OF THE Knights Hoſpitallers OF S. JOHN of JERUSALEM,

Styled afterwards,

The KNIGHTS of Rhodes,

And at preſent,

The KNIGHTS of MALTA.

BOOK II.

AUGER DE BALBEN.

AS SOON as the hoſpitallers had paid their laſt duties to the great maſter, they aſſembled for the choice of his ſucceſſor. Brother Auger de Balben was propoſed to fill that great poſt. The diſintereſſedneſs, modeſty and humility * which reigned in that firſt age of the order, prevented the putting up of any competitor: Balben was elected with the acclamations and concurrent ſuffrages of all the chapter. He was a French gentleman of the province of Dauphine, an old comrade in war of Raimond Dupuy's, of a great age, reverenced in the order for his piety and prudence, and of great weight for his advice in the king's council.

HISTORY affords us a proof of it on occaſion of the ſchiſm raiſed in the church upon the death of pope Adrian IV. Cardinal Roland chancellor of the church of Rome, had been raiſed to the chair of S. Peter by the votes of the greateſt part of the cardinals, and had merited this advancement by his piety and great experience in the government of the church, wherein he had always had a great ſhare. He took the name of Alexander III. yet in oppoſition to this canonical election, cardinal Octavian, hurried away by his ambition and ſupported by moſt of the ſenators and grandees of Rome, who were his relations, had cauſed himſelf to be declared pope by the name of Victor III. by John de Morſon cardinal of S. Martin, and Guy de Crema cardinal of S. Calixtus. The emperor, who in his diſputes with the court of Rome, had experienced the ſteddy and reſolute diſpoſition of cardinal Roland, favoured the intruſion of the antipope; the kings of France, England, Naples and Sicily declared themſelves for Alexander. This competition divided the whole church, and produced the fatal ſchiſm we are ſpeaking of.

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* Ad hoc etiam milites templi Hieroſolymitani, ac fratres de hoſpitali ſub religioſo habitu continenter viventes, ubique ſe multiplicando in religioſitate ſe defendebant. Chron. Guil. de Nangis ad ann. 1132.

THE pope deſirous to be acknowledged by the Latin church of the eaſt, ſent John cardinal prieſt of S. John and S. Paul, thither as his legate. Some Genoeſe veſſels carried the legate into Phœnicia, and he landed at Gibyle formerly called Gebal. He immediately diſpatched a copy of his powers to the king, and requeſted that prince's permiſſion to exerciſe his legatine authority throughout the kingdom. But as the opinions of the council were divided,
1160. the king ſent him word to ſtay at Gibyle, till he was better informed of what had paſſed in the election of the two pretenders. In the mean time a coun-
1161. cil was called at Nazareth, at which were preſent Amaury patriarch of Jeruſalem, Peter archbiſhop of Tyre, all the biſhops of Paleſtine, and the grand maſters of the two military orders. The king too thought proper to be there together with his council and the principal nobility of the kingdom.

THE buſineſs of the council was to determine, which of the popes ſhould be acknowledged in Paleſtine. The opinions were divided, ſome declared in favour of Alexander, others preferred the antipope; and beſides divers facts alledged to juſtify the canonicalneſs of his election, they repreſented that this cardinal in Adrian's lifetime, had upon all occaſions with great zeal defended the intereſts of the church and clergy of Paleſtine. But the reader may ſee in the former book, that this pretended zeal conſiſted only in his declaring againſt the hoſpitallers, in concert with the cardinal of S. Martin at the aſſembly of Ferento.

THIS was the chief motive which engaged ſome biſhops to favour Octavian: the king who was afraid that this diverſity of ſentiments might occaſion a ſchiſm in his dominions, ſtarted a third opinion. He propoſed to the fathers of the council not to declare for either of the pretenders, till the church had decided the queſtion in a general council; that however in conſideration of the legate's merit, they ſhould allow him to come to Jeruſalem, make his ſtations there and viſit the holy places, but only as a private man, and without exerciſing any act of his legatine power.

" THE ſchiſm (ſays he, according to William of Tyre) is but beginning; " we do not yet know clearly enough which ſide has the better right. Why " then ſhould we make ſo haſty a determination in an affair of ſuch mighty " importance? Beſides, adds the prince, what need has the church of Pa- " leſtine of a legate, an officer of the court of Rome? Do not we know that " ſuch perſons never enter a kingdom without ruining the churches and mo- " naſteries by their exactions? And can a ſtate, exhauſted by continual wars " which muſt be maintain'd againſt the infidels, furniſh ſuch immenſe ſums " as they exact under colour of defraying the neceſſary expences of their le- " gation".

A MOTIVE ſo preſſing, in which the clergy were particularly intereſted, and ſupported by a prince whom all men honoured for his great qualities, drew moſt of the biſhops over to his opinion: and it would have paſſed unanimouſly, if the archbiſhop of Tyre ſeconded by the great maſter had not generouſly oppoſed it. The archbiſhop repreſented with great force, that Alexander's election was canonical, and made with the conſent of the ſoundeſt part of the clergy and people of Rome; that the diſturbance which an ambitious cardinal raiſed in the church, cou'd in no wiſe excuſe the faithful from the actual obedience which all Chriſtians owed to the lawful vicar of Jeſus Chriſt; that the way of ſuſpenſion on this occaſion was no ſecurity to their conſciences; and that for his part, he was reſolved to adhere to a pope, in whoſe election the votes of moſt of the cardinals and the wiſhes of all good men concurred; in a word, this prelate ſpoke with ſo much zeal and reſolution, that he brought the king over to his opinion. The legate was admitted into the kingdom; but he had not long exerciſed his functions there, and exacted the dues of his legatine office, but he became a charge to thoſe very perſons who had from the firſt ſhewn the greateſt eagerneſs of his reception: theſe are the very words of William archbiſhop of Tyre.

Boſio lib. 6.

The patriarch of Jeruſalem wrote in his own name, and in that of his ſuffragans to pope Alexander, to acquaint him with what had paſſed in his favour in the ſynod of Nazareth. "Being informed, ſays he in his letter to "him, that your election was made by an unanimous concurrence of the "clergy and people, we have allowed and approved of it; and in conſe"quence thereof, have excommunicated Octavian, with the two cardinals "John and Guy and their abettors, and have unanimouſly made choice of "and received you for our temporal lord and ſpiritual father". I make no queſtion but it will appear aſtoniſhing to ſee this patriarch, even in the king's preſence, give the pope the title of temporal lord; but it will be leſs ſurprizing if we conſider that the court of Rome had formerly endeavoured to make it paſs for a maxim, that all the conqueſts which the Chriſtians had gained over the infidels, and all iſlands, eſpecially where chriſtianity was eſtabliſhed, belonged of right to the holy ſee; that the popes were the ſupreme ſovereigns of 'em, and that other princes enjoyed 'em only by a title of ſuzerainete, or ſubaltern ſovereignty. 'Tis well enough known what regard is paid now a days to theſe ultramontain pretenſions.

Ep. Urb. II. apud Ughel. l. 3. p. 423.
Ep. Adriani IV. Tom. 10. Concil. edit. Coſſart. p. 1144.
Joan de Saliſbery metalog. 4. c. ult.
Matt. Paris ad an. 1155.

If we may believe Boſio, all the hoſpitallers by their adherence to the holy ſee had a great hand in the ready obedience that the church of Paleſtine paid to Alexander III.

The grand maſter of this order was not leſs ſufficient or leſs ſucceſsful in terminating a famous difference that roſe not long after in the kingdom about the nature of the government. King Baldwin III. being poiſoned at the age of thirty three, and after a reign of twenty years, by a Jewiſh or Arabian phyſician, Noradin's miniſters and commanders adviſed him to improve the opportunity and invade Paleſtine. "God forbid, replied that generous prince, "that I ſhould take advantage of the misfortune of the Chriſtians, from "whom after the death of ſo great a prince, I have nothing more to fear".

Feb. 1163.

Baldwin dying without children, the ſucceſſion, according to the eſtabliſhed uſage of the death of Godfrey de Bouillon, deſcended upon prince Amaury his brother. But ſome great lords, who ſecretly aſpired to the throne of Jeruſalem, maintained from the very example of Godfrey de Bouillon that the crown was entirely elective. They added, that if his ſucceſſors had inherited it, it was not ſo much in virtue of their birth-right, as by reaſon of the opinion men had of their valour, and by way of acknowledgment for the important ſervices they had done the ſtate; in a word, that the crown ought to be only the price and recompence of merit and valour.

SEVERAL

Auger de Balben.

Will. Tyr. l. 19. c. 11.

Several gentlemen, without having ſuch high pretenſions as theſe great lords, did yet adhere to their party out of the fear that had been inſtilled into them of young Amaury's government, a prince indeed of great courage, bold, enterprizing, and even of a ſuperior genius; but proud, haughty, preſumptuous, the ordinary foibles of youth; and, what was more ſurprizing at his age, covetous, and ſuſpected of thinking no means unjuſt that could contribute to ſwell his exchequer.

Yet this prince was not without his partiſans: All the gentry and military men, who had received favours from his family, were inviolably attached to him: The clergy and people, who honoured the memory of the kings Fulk and Baldwin, declared openly for Amaury. Beſides, as he was poſſeſſed of the counties of Jaffa and Aſcalon, by way of appanage, he ſoon ſaw himſelf at the head of a powerful army; and that of the great lords began to decline and leſſen every day through the diverſity and competition of their intereſts and pretenſions.

However both parties made preparations for war, and it looked as if this great diſpute could have been determined no other way than by force; but moſt of the good men, who foreſaw with grief the diſmal conſequences of a civil war, laboured and interpoſed for an accommodation. The grand maſter of the hoſpitallers had the principal ſhare in it. That wiſe old man, ſtill more venerable for his virtue than his age, repreſented to thoſe grandees, who were moſt jealous and fond of their pretenſions, that the diviſion they were raiſing in the kingdom tended directly to open the gates of Jeruſalem to the Sarazens or Turcomans; that the crown which they refuſed to put upon Amaury's head would infallibly paſs upon that of Noradin, or the caliph of Egypt: "And if this misfortune happens, ſays he to them, what will become "of you? you'll be the ſlaves of infidels and the contempt of Chriſtians; you "will be looked upon as traytors and Judas's, who have delivered the ſaviour "of the world a ſecond time into the hands of his enemies." The grand maſter by ſuch diſcourſes calmed the ſtorm, and brought theſe lords inſenſibly over to the prince's party; and after ſome negociations, wherein each malecontent took care of his private intereſt, they went all in a body to aſſure Amaury of their ſubmiſſion. That prince was afterwards crowned in the church of the holy ſepulchre the 18th of February, A. D. 1163. and all the eſtate of the kingdom ſolemnly took the oath of fidelity to him. 1163.

The grand maſter, worn out with years, did not long ſurvive that auguſt ceremony, which might be conſidered as his own work. He had governed his order ſcarce two years, when death carried him off, but after contributing ſo ſucceſsfully to the peace of church and ſtate, he had lived long enough to die with glory.

Arnaud de Comps.

The hoſpitallers choſe in his ſtead brother Arnaud de Comps, a knight of an illuſtrious family in the province of Dauphine, who was not at all younger than his predeceſſor. Scarce had this new grand maſter taken poſſeſſion of his dignity, when he was obliged to advance towards the frontiers at the head of the hoſpitallers. The buſineſs was to oppoſe ſome freſh incurſions of the Sarazens. We have obſerved, that after king Baldwin III. had taken Aſcalon, the caliph called Elfeis, to ſave himſelf from the continual inroads that the garriſons of that place and Gaza made upon his frontiers, had ſubmitted to pay the kings of Jeruſalem certain ſums by way of contribution. But the caliph Adhed ſucceſſor to Elpheis, or rather Schaours or Sannar, who, by the title of ſultan, governed the ſtate with an abſolute authority, refuſed openly to pay that ſort of tribute any longer; and to break a treaty ſcandalous to his nation in the moſt publick manner, he put himſelf at the head of a great body of troops, and ravaged in his turn the frontiers of Judæa.

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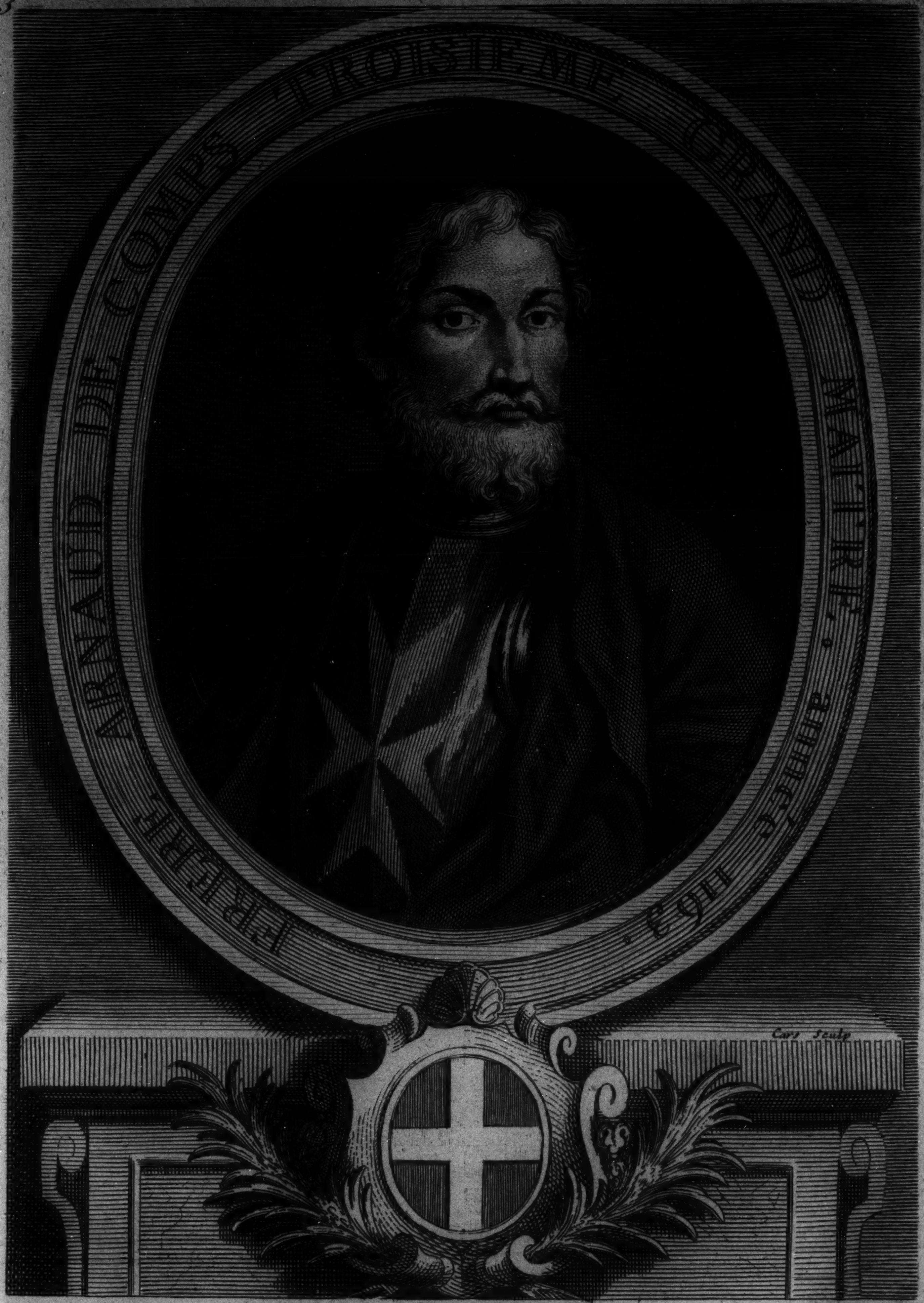
FRERE ARNAUD DE COMPS TROISIEME GRAND MAITRE. année 1163.
Cars sculp

Amaury, burning with impatience to revenge this infraction of the treaty, aſſembles his forces, ſummons the nobility, gentry, and two military orders, and advances with great expedition to repulſe the enemy. Both ſides were preparing for a bloody war, when there aroſe diſturbances and civil wars in Egypt that obliged the ſultan to abandon the frontier, and lead his troops back into the kingdom. But the king of Jeruſalem could make no advantage of this precipitate retreat. Arnaud de Comps. Will. Tyr. l. 19. c. 5.

To underſtand this point of hiſtory, it is neceſſary to call to mind what was ſaid in the firſt book of this work; that after the death of Mahomet, there roſe up in that ſect, and even in the falſe prophet's family ſeveral princes, chiefs of different dynaſties, who, by the name of caliphs, pretended to be heirs to Mahomet's dominions, and the true interpreters of his law: And under this pretext, and to keep their ſubjects in obedience, they had publiſhed different commentaries and explanations of the alcoran in many points contrary and oppoſite to one another. Abulabbas, ſurnamed Saffah, one of Mahomet's grandſons, or at leaſt deſcended of the ſame family, having been proclaimed caliph, was the founder of the dynaſty of the Abaſſides, which ſettled at Bagdat. There were thirty ſeven caliphs of this family, who ſucceeded one another without interruption, and were acknowledged by all the Mahometans of Aſia, and particularly by the Turcomans of the Selgeucidian race for the rightful ſucceſſors of Mahomet.

About A. D. 908, the dynaſty of the Fathimites, i. e. of the princes who pretended to deſcend in a direct line from Aly, and Fatima, Mahomet's daughter, began in Africa; and ſixty four years after, the caliph Moez le Dinillah entered Egypt, ſubdued it, cauſed the doctrine of Aly to be received for the only orthodox doctrine, and forbad the obſervance of that of Omar and the Abaſſidian caliphs that reſided at Bagdat, againſt whom this prince and his ſucceſſors, till the time of Adhed that we are ſpeaking of, kept up a continual ſchiſm. Hegir. 296. Will. Tyr. l. 19. c. 20.

This variety of ſentiments in the explanation of the alcoran, theſe diſputes, and ſchiſms, and eſpecially their genealogies which were moſt of them fabulous, were invented by theſe princes only to impoſe upon the people, and juſtify their uſurpations; but ſuch as were well ſettled in their governments laughed at them. Thus one Thabetheba having asked the caliph Moez what branch of the houſe of Aly he was deſcended from? The prince, who was then at the head of a mighty army, drew his ſabre out of the ſcabbard, and brandiſhing it before his eyes, " See here, ſays he, my father, my mother, and my ance-" ſtors, and throwing handfuls of gold to his ſoldiers, ſee there, adds he, my " children and all my poſterity."

But the deſcendants of Moez, grown effeminate by luxury and pleaſures, abandoned inſenſibly the government of the kingdom, and the command of the armies to a firſt miniſter, who, under the title of ſultan, like our old maires of the palace, governed with an abſolute power. Theſe miniſters, who at firſt had the ſovereign authority only in truſt, ſoon made themſelves independent; they kept the caliphs confined in the middle of a palace amidſt a troop of women and eunuchs, and fettered, as it were, in pleaſures. They left them only ſome appearances of ſovereignty; the money ſtill bore their ſtamp; they were named firſt in the publick prayers; the ſultan too was obliged to receive the inveſtiture, and enſigns of his dignity from the hand of the caliph; but theſe prerogatives went no farther than mere ceremony. The caliphs durſt not deny the commiſſion of ſultan to any of their ſubjects that proved the ſtrongeſt. And theſe princes were ſo unhappy, that whilſt they were neceſſiated to receive a maſter, they had not ſo much as the choice of their tyrants.

ARNAUD DE COMPS.

SANNAR or Savar, whom we have juſt mentioned, was then inveſted with the dignity and authority of ſultan in Egypt. This miniſter, at the very time that he was preparing to attack the Chriſtians, ſaw himſelf on a ſudden ſtripped of his dignity by a powerful faction formed againſt him: A Sarazen his enemy, and ringleader of the conſpiracy, called d'Hargan, taking his poſt
1163. and the command of the army, advanced out of hand againſt the king of Jeruſalem; they came to an engagement; the Egyptians, half naked, and moſt of them without any arms but their bows and arrows, did not long reſiſt the cavalry of Amaury, particularly the knights of S. John and the templars, who were armed cap-a-pee. Theſe warriors, who formed ſquadrons truly formidable, ſoon broke the battalions of the infidels; the Egyptian army all disbanded after the firſt diſcharge; the king of Jeruſalem remained maſter of the field, and took abundance of priſoners: His ſoldiers enriched themſelves with the booty, and his majeſty immediately marched forward with great expedition, and filled thoſe large provinces with the terrour of his arms, and the dread of his name.

D'HARGAN, who had no troops to oppoſe him, had recourſe to a remedy almoſt as dangerous as the evil he deſigned to avoid. To ſtop the torrent and gain time to ſend for troops from the higher Egypt, he broke down the banks of the Nile, and drowned the countrey. But when he thought himſelf ſecured againſt the Chriſtians, he was ſurprized by a new enemy no leſs formidable than the king of Jeruſalem.

SANNAR, whom he had diſpoſſeſſed of his dignity, had taken refuge at the court of Noradin, ſultan of Aleppo; and to obtain the neceſſary ſuccours for his reſtauration, he offered, in caſe he got the better of his competitor, to make himſelf his vaſſal, and to give him every year the third part of the revenue of Egypt. Noradin, as great a politician as he was a ſoldier, fanſied theſe civil wars would afford him a proper opportunity and means to make himſelf maſter of that great kingdom; beſides, that being devoted to the ſect and intereſts of the Abaſſidian caliphs of Bagdat, he thought religion would be indebted to him if he could extinguiſh the ſchiſm by deſtroying the government of the Fathimites, whom the Turcomans of the Selgeucidian race treated as hereticks. With this view he received Sannar very favourably, and after the treaty was ſigned, levied a great body of troops, which, though ſeemingly under the command of the Egyptian, were in fact governed by Schirgovich or Siracon, a Curde by nation, the firſt of Noradin's captains, and one whom he truſted with his moſt ſecret intentions.

D'HARGAN having notice of this negociation of his competitor, and of his preparing to enter Egypt at the head of Noradin's army; and not finding himſelf ſtrong enough to make head at the ſame time againſt the Chriſtians of Paleſtine and the Turcomans of Syria, ſued for peace of Amaury. That prince would not grant it him but upon condition of paying the tribute which had been the occaſion of the war; beſides which, he demanded a large ſum of money for the charges of his armament. The ſultan agreed to every thing, thinking that, at ſo unhappy a juncture, he could not pay too dear for peace, or at leaſt for time to get clear of the enemy that appeared to him the moſt formidable of the two. He marched afterwards againſt his rival. The Turcomans and Egyptians ſoon met: D'Hargan was defeated: He died in the battel, orafter it, by the treaſon of one of his officers; and Sannar, the old ſultan, was re-inſtated in his dignity: Every thing ſubmitted to his power; he rewarded his creatures, he put his enemies to death; and having no further need of Noradin's aſſiſtance, he forgot the condition on which he had obtained it, or perhaps imagined that he was freed from the performance of it by his victory. This was the ground of a new war. The Turcoman general receiving poſitive orders from his maſter to revenge the Egyptian's ingratitude, immediately turned his arms againſt him, and ſeized on Belbeis formerly Peluſium, and Alexandria. Sannar applied to the king of Jeruſalem, and to engage him in his intereſt, promiſed that prince a conſiderable ſum, beſides an augmentation of the tribute which his predeceſſor had ſubmitted to. Upon receiving the money, the king ſigned the treaty, and ſent one of his officers, called Hugh of Cæſarea, to get it ratified by the caliph. This knight being conducted to an audience of the caliph, preſented him the treaty, which that prince ratified, but it was only for form ſake. Hugh required, that according to the example of the king his maſter, he ſhould take him by the hand. The caliph, who had nothing left of all the rights of ſovereignty but the ceremonial, affected a great ſcruple with regard to the taking a Chriſtian by the naked hand, and therefore covered his own. But the Chriſtian knight reſenting a precaution which bordered upon contempt; “Sir, (ſays he briſkly to him) our treaty ought to be ſincere on both ſides, and executed with the ſame ceremonies. The king my maſter when he ratified it, gave his bare hand to your embaſſadors, and I ſhall not accept your ratification, unleſs it be made with the ſame formalities.” The caliph was obliged to uncover his hand and give it to the embaſſador. Amaury, purſuant to this treaty, marched to the ſultan's aſſiſtance, joined him, beat Siracon and purſued him to Belbeis, whither he had retired after his defeat, and forced him, after ſome days ſiege, to ſurrender the place to him.

1166.

This prince the year following beſieged and took Alexandria; young Salahebdin, Siracon's nephew, was in the city with the greateſt part of Noradin's army. He was a young ſoldier of fortune, who had at firſt nothing to recommend him but the intereſt and power of his uncle; but he ſoon gained the eſteem of the ſoldiery by his courage and liberality. He is ſaid to have been very looſe in his morals, but the deſire of raiſing himſelf, and the love of glory, ſoon got the better of that of pleaſure, and in a ſhort time he became a great commander. This young governor defended himſelf a long time and with great valour. He made frequent ſallies; every day afforded ſome new action, and after a ſiege of three months, Amaury was ſcarce farther advanced than the firſt day. But the perſon whom he could not ſubdue by force of arms, was vanquiſhed at laſt by ſcarcity and famine: And Saladin, for want of ſupply and ammunition, was reduced to the unhappy neceſſity of opening his gates to the enemy. This young Mahometan, as he was marching out of Alexandria at the head of his garriſon, ſeeing Humfrey de Thoron, conſtable of the kingdom of Jeruſalem, and charmed with the bravery he had ſhewn during the whole ſiege, is reported to have addreſſed himſelf to that Chriſtian lord, and to have deſired him, as the gallanteſt knight he knew, to do him the honour of knighting him with his own hand, which the conſtable, by the king's permiſſion, conſented to and performed with all the marks of eſteem and conſideration due to his valour and the noble defence he had made during the ſiege.

Proof I.

See Chron. Will. de Nangis.

Sannar, at laſt maſter of Egypt and rid of the Syrians, had nothing to do but to ſend the king of Jeruſalem back into his own dominions. And that he might not draw upon himſelf his arms and reſentment, as he had done thoſe of Siracon, he made the Chriſtian monarch abundance of magnificent preſents. His principal officers too received from him gifts of various ſorts: Proviſions by his order were brought from all quarters to the army; and Amaury returned to his dominions loaden with glory, but he ſullied it afterwards by an enterprize in which the hoſpitallers unhappily had but too great a ſhare.

1167.

That prince, born with great views, but of a fiery and reſtleſs ambition, was, after his return from Egypt, continually reflecting upon the greatneſs of that

ARNAUD DE COMPS.

that kingdom, the number and riches of its inhabitants, its fleets and the convenience of its ports; and he was throughly perſuaded that it would be very difficult for the Latins to preſerve the holy places if ever there ſhould be a warlike caliph or ſultan at the head of a kingdom ſo powerful and ſo near to Paleſtine, and that ſooner or later the Holy Land would again become a province of Egypt, as it had been before the conqueſt of Godfrey of Bouillon. Full of theſe reflections, and poſſeſſed with a notion of the little courage he had ſeen in that nation, he concluded that he could not eſtabliſh his own government and that of his ſucceſſors better than by making himſelf maſter of that potent kingdom: And as a thirſt after riches was always his domineering paſſion, he had already in his own mind ſeized the caliph and ſultan's treaſures; and he flattered himſelf, that though he ſhould not be able to make an entire conqueſt of that ſtate, yet he ſhould at leaſt carry off part of its riches, by plundering the towns, and raiſing contributions as far as the moſt diſtant provinces.

BUT as his forces, with regard to ſo great an enterprize, were in no reſpect anſwerable to his ambitious views; as he wanted troops and money to raiſe them, and was even deſtitute of a fleet to block up the ports of Egypt, he addreſſed himſelf to Manuel Comnenus, emperor of Conſtantinople, propoſed a league, and invited him to join in the conqueſt, and divide the kingdom between them. William of Tyre, author of the hiſtory of the Latin kingdom of Jeruſalem, was charged with this negociation. He was born in the countrey, but his anceſtors are ſaid to have been natives of France. He was archdeacon of Tyre, and Amaury afterwards made him preceptor to young Baldwin his ſon. From this employ he roſe to the dignity of chancellor, and about A. D. 1174. was choſen archbiſhop of Tyre. He was only archdeacon of that church when he was ſent embaſſador to Conſtantinople. The Greek emperor ſeemed no way averſe to the propoſal made him by the embaſſador, and after ſome conferences a treaty was ſigned. 'Twas in purſuance of this treaty that Contoſtephanus put to ſea with the troops ſtipulated for.

Will. Tyr. l. 20. c. 4.

AMAURY, aſſured of a fleet, thought only of increaſing his army by land: He communicated his deſign to the grand maſter of the hoſpitallers, who, by his character and complaiſance had a great ſhare in the confidence of that prince. The grand maſter's name was Gilbert d'Aſſalit, or De Sailly; he had lately ſucceeded to Arnaud de Comps. The king repreſented to him, that having Barbarians for their neighbours, a people inured to robberies, and whoſe faith was never to be depended on, nothing but pure force, and ſuch a ſuperiority as might be acquired by conqueſts, could ſerve for a barrier againſt their inroads, and ſecure the frontiers of the kingdom from their enterprizes: That therefore he was reſolved to invade Egypt and make himſelf maſter of ſome conſiderable place there, which might hinder them from ever penetrating into Paleſtine. The grand maſter, either out of complaiſance, or puſhed on by his courage, entered warmly into all the king's deſigns. He was in truth a man of great valour, bold and enterprizing, but of an extravagant genius, and very capable of being impoſed on by hopes that often had no foundation. He applauded the king for the boldneſs of a project, which, he ſaid, was ſuitable to the greatneſs of his courage; and expreſſed his great ſenſe of the honour the prince did him in allowing him to act a part in it. But though the grand maſter was at the head of a ſtrong body of warriors, his authority was under the reſtraint of a council, which, in all their undertakings, were determined by the fixed plan of their rule and ſtatutes; and whatever impatience the grand maſter had to enter upon action, he began to fear the hoſpitallers would ſcruple engaging in an expedition

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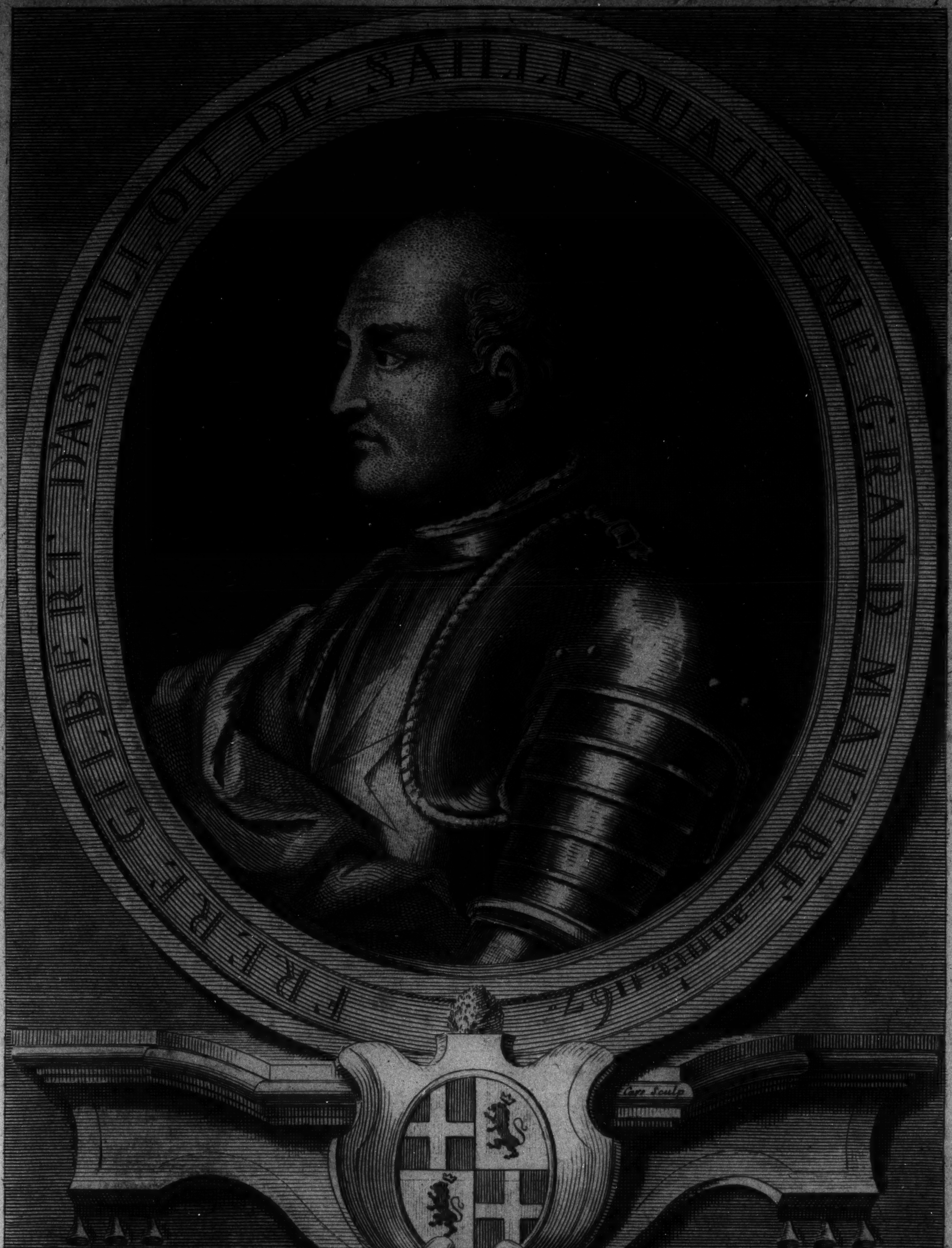
FRERE GILBERT D'ASSALI OU DE SAILLI QUATRIEME GRAND MAITRE. [illegible] 1167.
Cars Sculp

which had no direct tendency to the defence of the holy places, and the ſecurity of pilgrims and the Chriſtian world.

1168.

THE king and the grand maſter had ſeveral conferences upon this ſubject. The grand maſter repreſented to the king, that to engage the whole order in an enterprize of ſuch conſiderable expence, he muſt intereſt the council in it by the hopes of a ſolid recompence, and ſuch as would make ample amends for all the ſums they ſhould advance; and accordingly they agreed, that if the Chriſtian army could take the city of Belbeis, formerly called Peluſium, the king ſhould grant it in property to the order. The grand maſter communicated this propoſal to the council of the order; he laid before them the importance of the place, and all the advantage the order might draw from ſuch a conqueſt, eſpecially in caſe the Turcomans, who every day became more and more formidable, ſhould make themſelves maſters of Paleſtine: For then, he ſaid, the order might transfer its reſidence to that place, from whence it would not be difficult, in ſome more favourable juncture, to enter again into the Holy Land, and drive the Barbarians out in their turn.

THE ſenior hoſpitallers, men who to a nicety of honour joined a ſcrupulous obſervance of their rule, urged that they were a religious order, and that the church had not put arms into their hands to make conqueſts: That they had no right to uſe them at all, but for the defence of the Holy Land; beſides, that they could not invade a nation, though an infidel one, which relyed upon the faith of a treaty of peace juſt ſigned before.

BUT others, ſome of them friends to the grand maſter, and ſome gained over by the king himſelf, declared for war: They maintained, that what treaties ſoever had been made formerly either with the Turcomans or Sarazens, thoſe infidels had always broken them, when they had any proſpect of being able to ſurprize the Chriſtians; that they had not obſerved the laſt treaty more faithfully than the former, and that poſitive advice had been brought that their garriſons were continually making inroads upon the frontier; and particularly that one of their parties had lately carried off ſome peaſants of the countrey who truſted to the faith of the laſt treaty. Whether this complaint was really true, or only a pretence, it was carried by a plurality of voices in the council for war, and reſolved, that in caſe the king made an attempt to conquer Egypt, the grand maſter ſhould follow him in that expedition at the head of all the troops he could levy: And to raiſe the neceſſary ſupplies for this armament, they gave him a full power to borrow money of the banks of Florence and Genoa.

NICETAS, in the life of the emperor Manuel Comnenus, ſays, that his imperial majeſty, to contribute his ſhare towards it, made conſiderable remittances to the grand maſter by Theodorus Maurozumus; and it was probably to get a ſum of money from the king of France that he wrote him the letter inſerted in the appendix. No. II.

1168.

ASSALIT with this money levied a great body of troops which he liſted into the pay of the order; and as his fancy was entirely taken up with flattering hopes of conqueſts, by his indiſcreet liberalities, he drew a great number of volunteers into his ſervice, who, like him, ſhared already in imagination all the riches of Egypt. The king was mightily pleaſed with the zeal he ſhewed for the ſucceſs of his enterprize. That prince flattered himſelf with the thoughts of having a ſuccour every way as conſiderable from the templars, but they flatly refuſed being concerned in the affair, either becauſe they would not appear in the field with forces inferior to thoſe of the hoſpitallers, or, as they gave out themſelves, becauſe they looked upon the war as unjuſt, it being begun without any previous declaration by an herald: A

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ſure maxim indeed, but little minded by princes, who have more regard to their own intereſt, than to the ſacredneſs of an oath *.

AMAURY, attended by the grand maſter, took the field at the head of his army, the moſt numerous that for a long time had marched out of Paleſtine. That prince, in leſs than ten days time, paſſed the deſert that divides Paleſtine from Egypt, and inveſted Belbeis, ſummonning the inhabitants to open their gates to him: This town was ſeated on the banks of the Nile on the right ſide of the river towards Paleſtine. Mahazan, ſon to the ſultan Sannar, and one of his nephews, who commanded then in the place, ſent him word that they were ſtrangely ſurprized to ſee a prince appear under their walls as any enemy, from whom the caliph and ſultan had lately received ſuccours of the greateſt ſervice to them, and with whom Egypt had but juſt before made a ſolemn treaty of peace. Amaury was for laying the cauſe of his taking arms on ſome incurſions of the Sarazens, but they were diſavowed. Mahazin too maintained that they could not prove that ever any ſoldier of his father's had ſince the laſt treaty ſet foot in the Chriſtian territories; but as force ſupplies the place of reaſon with moſt ſovereigns, Amaury thought himſelf too powerful to give ear to the reaſons of the infidels; and upon their refuſal, it was viſible nothing but arms could decide the fate of the beſieged.

THE town was fortified by all the methods which art had at that time invented, but more ſo by the number of its inhabitants, who had all taken arms for the defence of their countrey, and, what is ſtill more, againſt the enemies of their religion. Amaury, fearing the length and uncertainty of a ſiege, reſolved firſt to try a ſcalado: He was two days preparing ladders and machines neceſſary for his enterprize. Scarce had the dawn of the third day appeared, when the town was ſurrounded by the whole army in battalia; the inhabitants on their ſide lined the walls, armed with arrows, darts, ſtones and artificial fireworks. No ſooner were the ladders brought near the walls, but a body of Amaury's troops, led by valiant officers, ran to the aſſault; never was there the like eagerneſs ſeen in action; ſome endeavoured, by the help of ladders, to climb up to the top of the wall, whilſt others ſapped it at the bottom, and ſome in places where it was loweſt, got upon the ſhoulders of their comrades, and made of their bodies a ſort of ſtairs to get up to the ramparts: The beſieged drove them back with their pikes, with rolling great ſtones upon them from the top of the wall, with darting their javelins, or throwing artificial fires; and there periſhed in the beginning of this attack a great number of the Chriſtian officers and ſoldiers before it could be ſeen on which ſide the victory would turn.

AMAURY, to ſuſtain this firſt body, cauſes ſome freſh troops to advance, who bravely mount through the thickeſt of the fires, javelins and ſtones, get up to the top of the walls, catch hold of the battelments, and, in ſpite of all oppoſition from the beſieged, leap upon the ramparts, puſh all before them, and make their way into the town ſword in hand. This done, they ſet open the gates, the Chriſtians crowd in, the ſoldiers, in the firſt tranſports of their fury, put all before them to the ſword, without diſtinction of age, ſex or condition; there were ſome of theſe furies that ſpared neither old men, nor women, nor children at the breaſt; it looked as if the Chriſtians were afraid of being leſs inhuman than the Sarazens and Arabians. But the officers, as well as the ſoldiers, perceiving that their cruelty was prejudicial to their avarice, gave quarter to the principal inhabitants, in hopes of drawing money

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* Fratres autem militiæ templi eidem ſe ſubducentes facto, aut quia eis contra conſcientiam ſuam videbatur, aut quia magiſter æmulæ domus, hujus rei auctor & princeps videbatur, vires penitus miniſtrare, aut regem ſequi negaverunt; durum enim videbatur eis, amico regno & de noſtra fide præſumenti, contra tenorem pactorum, & contra juris religionem, immeritis & fidem ſervantibus bellum indicere. Wilk. Tyr. l. 20. c. 5.

from them for their ranſom; and ſuch as could not pay it, were treated as ſlaves and priſoners of war.

1168. THE king of Jeruſalem being maſter of the place, delivered up the poſſeſſion of it, according to his agreement, to the grand maſter; and the whole army, after ſome days reſt, marched towards grand Cairo, a conſiderable city, ſeated near old Babylon, and upon the deſtruction of that place made the capital of Egypt. There is no deſcribing the ſurprize and conſternation of the ſultan, when he received advice of the loſs of Belbeis, and the taking of his ſon and nephew, and that he himſelf was going to have all the Chriſtian forces upon his heels. As he could not much depend upon the raw troops of the Egyptians, in ſpite of his breach of faith to Noradin, he ſaw himſelf reduced to the neceſſity of having recourſe to that prince, and the eminent danger he was in, made him inſenſible of ſhame in imploring the aſſiſtance of an ally whom he had deceived: The ſame time he ſends for ſeveral regiments from the moſt remote provinces; and to gain time for both to advance to his ſuccour, he diſpatched embaſſadors to the king of Jeruſalem, to endeavour by a negociation to retard the progreſs of his arms.

THE embaſſadors arriving at the royal camp, complained of the infraction of the treaty of peace; but as the injuſtice was but too viſible, they did not inſiſt much on a grievance which would only ſerve to incenſe Amaury whom they had a mind to pacify; but to prevail with him to withdraw his forces out of Egypt, they made him ſuch dazzling propoſals, that his majeſty, with whom peace and war were equally venal, had not the power to reſiſt them. They offered him two millions of gold for a peace and for the ranſom of the ſultan's ſon and nephew, an immenſe ſum in thoſe days, and ſuch as could hardly be raiſed in all Egypt. Amaury, more affected with theſe offers of ready money than with the uncertain hopes of conquering the kingdom, accepted the conditions. The treaty was ſigned, in conſequence of which, and 1169. for ſetting the ſultan's ſon and nephew at liberty, they paid him an hundred thouſand pieces of gold in part of the two millions, demanding ſome time to raiſe the reſt; and inſiſting upon a ceſſation of arms between the two nations, during the time that they were collecting the money in the provinces; as alſo that the Chriſtians, to avoid alarming the countrey, ſhould ſtay in the place where they were, or at leaſt advance on but ſlowly. The king of Jeruſalem, always beſet by his wretched paſſion, without conſidering that moments in war are more precious than gold and ſilver, complied with every thing; and the ſultan, to amuſe him, ſent him refreſhments continually. He took care at the ſame time to diſpatch expreſs after expreſs to the prince, to excuſe, under various pretences, the delay of paying the money agreed on. In vain did Amaury's chief officers labour to make him ſuſpect this delay; that prince, blinded by the hopes of receiving ſo vaſt a ſum, carefully avoided giving the Sarazens the leaſt pretence in nature to break the treaty; but it was not long before he ſaw that he was impoſed on: He heard, with equal ſurprize and concern, that ſeveral bodies of troops were advancing out of the provinces, and that a formidable army of the Syrian Turcomans were on their march to ſuccour the Egyptians, and were taking their meaſures to join them.

NORADIN, who reſolved not to be the Egyptian's bubble a ſecond time, had poured in his beſt troops on that ſide, and put his general in a condition to force Sannar to keep his word. Notwithſtanding the ſeveral motions that Amaury made, Siracon, who commanded Noradin's army, and knew the countrey well, avoided meeting him. Amaury had advanced to fight him ſeparately; but that infidel general joined the troops of the ſultan. To compleat the misfortune, the fleet which the emperor of Conſtantinople had ſent

GILBERT D'ASSALIT. to the aſſiſtance of the Chriſtians, was part of it loſt, and the reſt diſperſed by a ſtorm. Amaury deprived of this ſuccour, and finding his army conſiderably weakened by ſickneſs, deſertion and other accidents uſual in war, ſaw himſelf no longer in a condition of making head againſt the united forces of the infidels. So that all his buſineſs was to get back into Paleſtine; and as there was no proſpect of leaving the garriſon of Belbeis in an enemy's countrey without any hopes of ſuccour, againſt ſo formidable a power, the great maſter found himſelf obliged to recall the hoſpitallers that he had put into the place.

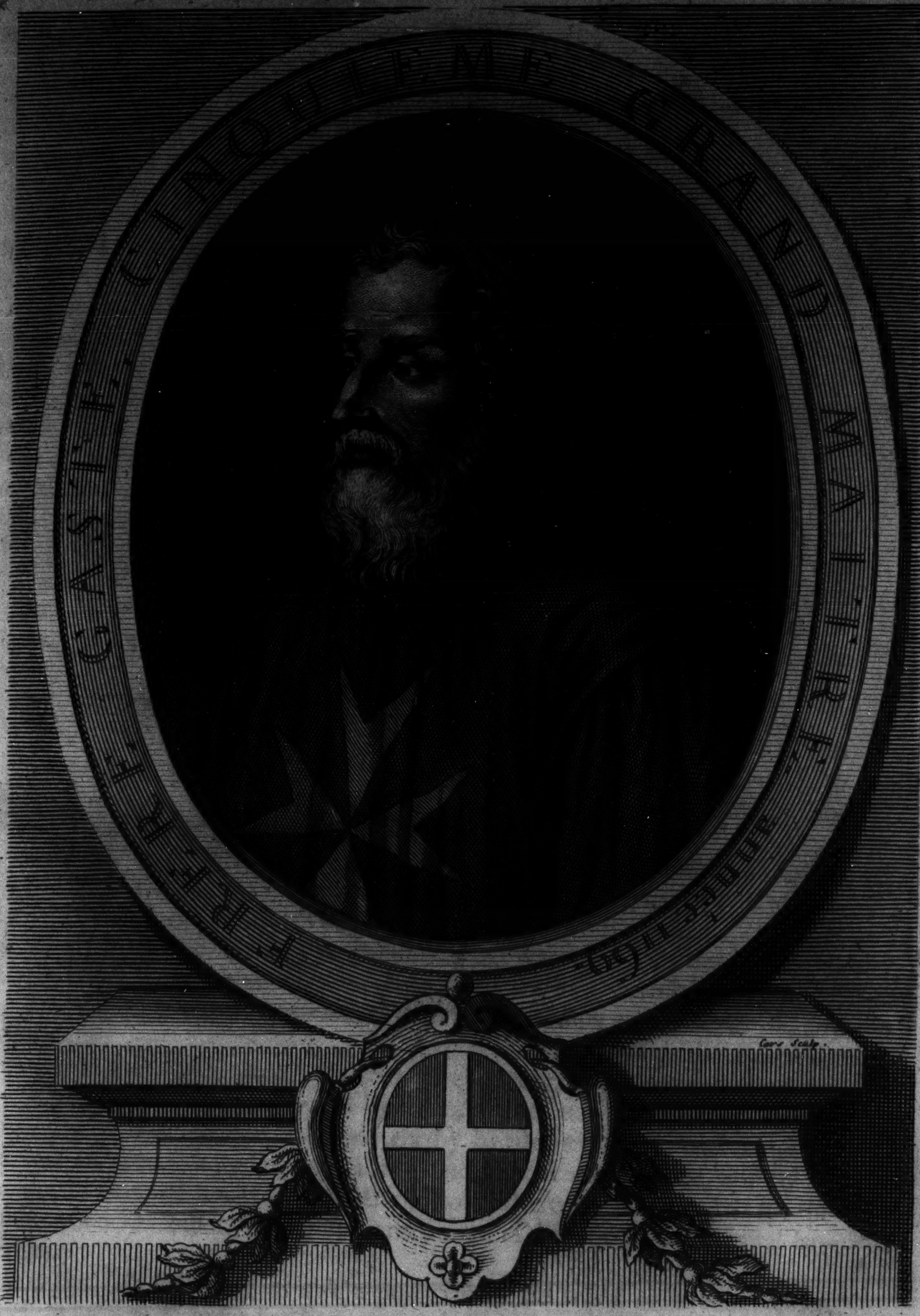
Amaury took them up in his way, and though he was purſued ſmartly by ſome detachments of Syracon's army, he made a ſhift to get back into Paleſtine. At laſt after a tedious march he arrived at Jeruſalem, full of confuſion for having broken a ſolemn treaty to no purpoſe, and been engaged in an unjuſt and ill concerted enterprize.

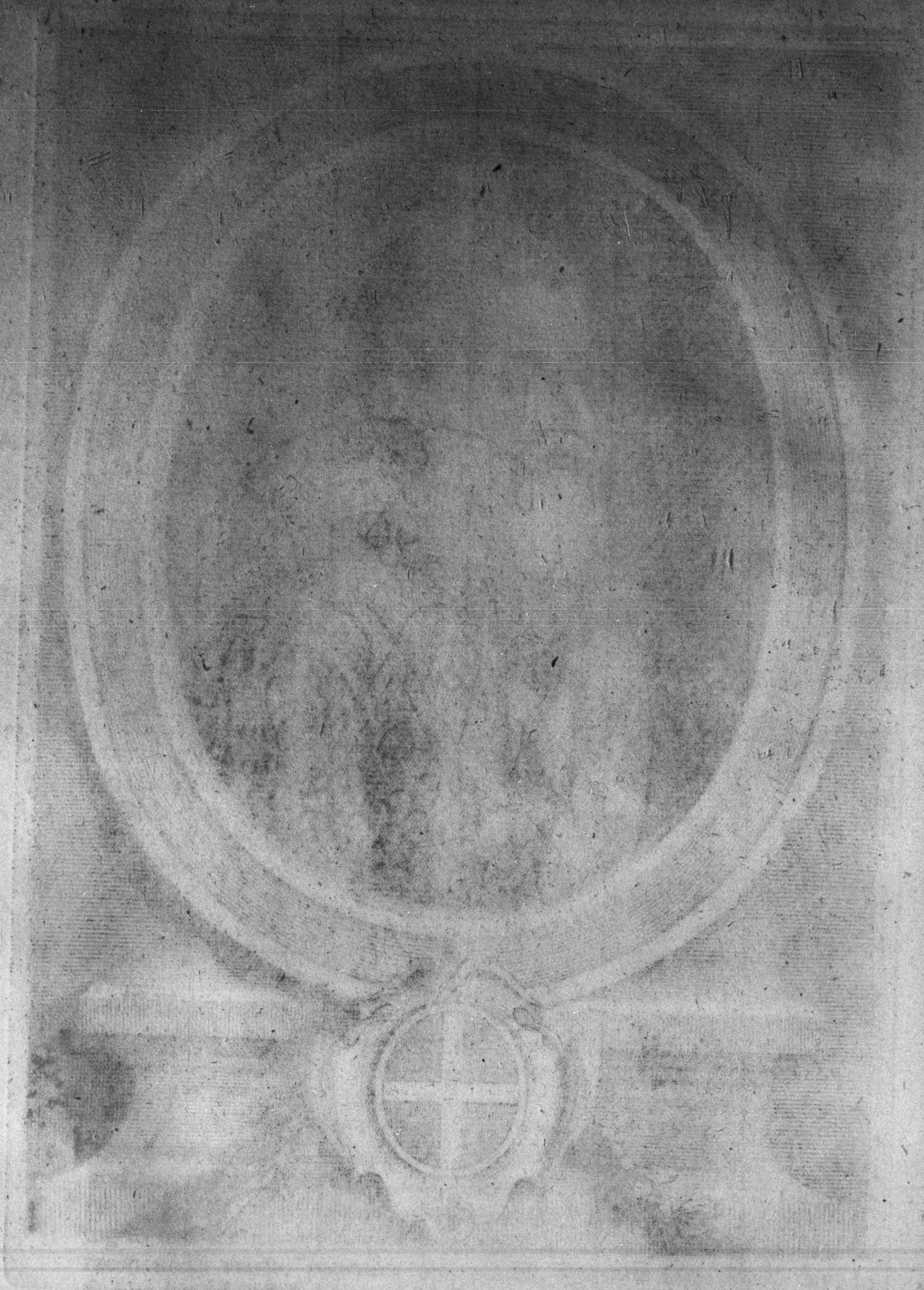
The grand maſter was yet more uneaſy at this ill ſucceſs: The courtiers, according to cuſtom, in order to juſtify the young Prince, threw all the blame of this unfortunate expedition upon him. His brother companions of the order were no leſs exaſperated againſt him; and they made loud complaints App. No. III. that he had run the order in debt above 200000 ducats, an immenſe ſum in thoſe days, merely to gratify his vanity and be attended by a great number of volunteers. In ſhort not able any longer to bear the contempt of ſome and the reproaches of others, he reſolved to leave Paleſtine. He made a reſignation of his dignity in a full chapter, and they choſe in his ſtead an old knight, called brother Caſtus or Gaſtus, of whoſe countrey we have no account. GASTUS. 1169. Were it not for the diſtance of time, one might perhaps take him for the ſame Gaſtus, who, during the firſt cruſade, entered with the count of Flanders at the head of five hundred men into the town of Rama; but in all probability this great maſter was only ſome relation of that gentleman's.

App. No. IV. **Gilbert** d'Aſſalit, upon his abdication, quitted Jeruſalem and Paleſtine, reſolving to go into ſome corner of Europe there to bury his grief and ſhame. He embarked at Jaffa and landed on the coaſt of Provence: he paſſed through France to go into Normandy to Hen II. Duke of that great province and king of England: He waited upon that prince at Rouen, and notwithſtanding his misfortune, was well received by him, as Roger Hoveden a contemporary hiſtorian relates. From thence he took ſhipping at Dieppe for England, which makes it probable that he was a native of that countrey; the ſhip, as the hiſtorian ſays, was old and not fit to bear the ſea. Aſſalit impatient to be in England cauſed only ſome ſlight repairs to be made and went on board it, but he was hardly got out of the port, when the veſſel foundered. The great maſter periſhed on this occaſion with all the paſſangers, except eight perſons who ſeized in good time on the boat.

Sannar, though victorious, was not ſo eaſily rid of Siracon Noradin's general, as of the Chriſtian's his declared enemy's: an ally ſo powerful gave him great uneaſineſs. Theſe two generals watched one another narrowly, and had each of them their private deſigns: The Egyptian, after congratulating Siracon on his victory, ſent him magnificent preſents; and repreſenting to him the ſcarcity of proviſions, preſſed him to return home. But Siracon under various pretences, deferred his departure from day to day: In fine having wheedled Sannar into his camp, he had him aſſaſſinated, and entring into Cairo at the head of his troops, made himſelf maſter of the kingdom and was declared ſultan by the caliph himſelf, who was but a mere phantome of a ſovereign, and whoſe fate depended always on the ſtrongeſt of his ſubjects.

NORADIN'S


FRERE GASTE, CINQUIEME GRAND MAITRE. Année 1169
Cars Sculp.



Noradin's general did not long enjoy the fruits of his villany; he fell ſick and died at the end of two months, and left the command of Noradin's troops to his nephew Salahebdin or Saladine before mentioned, whom the caliph of Egypt, becauſe he could not avoid it, declared firſt emir or ſultan of the whole kingdom.

Saladin diſpatched immediately an officer, one of his friends, to Damaſcus, to give Noradin his maſter advice of the death of Siracon his uncle, and to receive his orders. Some of Noradin's miniſters, miſtruſting the ambitious temper of the young general, adviſed that prince not to confirm the authority of Saladine, who was not born his ſubject, but to ſend him immediately a ſucceſſor. But Noradin being apprehenſive that the taking away his command would put him upon thoughts of revolting, and having a deſign to go in perſon into Egypt when all was quiet in that kingdom, confirmed Saladine in his poſt, only ordering him to cauſe the name of Adhad as caliph to be left out of the publick prayers, and that of Moſtadhi, the thirty third caliph of the race of the Abbaſides who reſided at Bagdat, to be ſubſtituted in his ſtead. He commanded him at the ſame time to turn out the prieſts and cadis or magiſtrates that profeſſed themſelves of the ſect of Aly, of which Adhad, as caliph, was the head and ſovereign pontif. That caliph ſurvived this great change but a ſhort time; it is ſaid that his death was not natural, and that Noradin, zealous and a bigot to his religion, in order to extinguiſh the ſchiſm in the blood of that unfortunate prince, ſent private orders to Saladine to make him away. But whether any ſuch orders came from Damaſcus, or Adhad's life gave continual uneaſineſs to the ambitious Saladine, 'tis certain that he cauſed him to be ſtrangled in the bath.

He was the laſt of the Fatimite caliphs, who became extinct in Egypt in the year of our Lord 1171, and of the hegira 567; and all the authority in the government, both ſpiritual and civil, devolved upon Saladine, who, to make himſelf the more reſpected, received the inveſtiture of it from the Abbaſidian caliph reſiding at Bagdat.

Salahedden-Joſef-ben Ajoub-ben Schadi was a ſoldier of fortune, a Curde by nation, who engaged with his uncle Siracon in the ſervice of Noureddin-Zenghi, prince of Aleppo and Damaſcus, whom we have been ſpeaking of by the name of Noradin. The caliph Adhad was no ſooner dead than Saladine ſeized his treaſures, with which we may ſay he purchaſed the empire, by diſtributing 'em into his army. He gave every thing away; never did any commander gain the affection of his ſoldiers by ſuch prodigious liberalities: He was ſevere in puniſhing, generous in rewarding, good natured, humane, perfectly equitable with regard to his ſubjects, and at the ſame time, by the principles of his religion, a bloody enemy to the hoſpitallers and templars; he was moreover a ſoldier, a general, and a great commander, and by his conqueſts founded a vaſt empire, the hiſtory whereof is written by the famous Abbé Renaudot, the moſt learned man of his age in the oriental languages.

Young Saladin being as able a politician as he was a great commander, paid, as long as Noradin lived, an entire deference to his orders; he obſerved too for ſome time after his death the ſame conduct with regard to Almalech-al-Salchiſmael Noradin's ſon, whoſe name he cauſed to be mentioned in the moſques and publick prayers after that of the caliph, as was the cuſtom with regard to ſovereigns. He afterwards married that prince's mother, but when he had eſtabliſhed his authority upon a ſubſtantial footing, he took off the maſk, made war upon the ſon of his maſter, and took Aleppo from him.

Gastus. Damaſcus, the better part of Syria, Perſia, and Meſopotamia fell under the power of his arms[*].

There was nothing to ſeparate theſe vaſt provinces, whereof this new empire was compoſed, and to hinder their communication with each other, but only Judæa or Paleſtine; for which reaſon he bent his arms to conquer his little ſtate. There were every day new enterprizes and incurſions made by the infidels: the Chriſtians knew not which way to turn themſelves, nor what part to ſuccour firſt. Saladine with an army of 40000 men, attacked the caſtle of Daron, ſituated in Idumæa, four miles from Gaza. But meeting with too brave a reſiſtance, he drew off and inveſted Gaza it ſelf, which is the key of the kingdom of Paleſtine, on that ſide next Egypt and the ſea. He thought to find that place, which was entruſted to the guard of the templars, deſtitute of a garriſon, from a notion that thoſe knights were drawn out to reinforce the army: But he was convinced upon the firſt approach, and by the firſt ſally that was made, that all the templars were not at the army. He raiſed the ſiege immediately, and by way of revenge for his ill ſucceſs, his troops put all to fire and ſword in the countrey, whilſt his lieutenants on the other hand ravaged at the ſame time the principality of Antioch and Phœnicia.

The hoſpitallers and templars were continually on horſeback; and though theſe noble warriours made head with invincible courage againſt all the efforts of the enemy, the king began to be ſenſible of the fault he had committed, in occaſioning the ſultan to call in an enemy equally powerful and ambitious to his ſuccour; and he ſaw plainly that there was no reſiſting him without a new cruſade and an army of the princes of the weſt. He employed William biſhop of Acre in this negotiation, appointing him chief of the ambaſſade: But as this ſuccour was remote, and even uncertain, he reſolved to apply himſelf to the emperor of Conſtantinople, and went in perſon to that capital to obtain of Manuel, whoſe niece he had married, ſome troops, or at leaſt money neceſſary to make new levies.

Joubert. 1169. That prince, before he embarked, left the government of his territories, to the two grand maſters: The hoſpitaller was called brother Joubert, a perſon who, by his wiſe conduct in the affairs of the principality of Antioch, well deſerved to be promoted to that ſupreme dignity. He ſucceeded Gaſtus. The choice the king had made, ſo much to the honour of the two military orders, was a new motive to redouble their application and zeal. The two grand maſters were obliged in a manner to make head on all ſides; and to embarraſs them the more, beſides the formidable enemy they had in Saladine, there roſe up another of the houſe of Armenia, ſprung out of the very boſom of the templars, who putting himſelf under the protection of the infidels, adopted at the ſame time all their hatred againſt the Latin Chriſtians.

1170. Boſio l. 8. p. 277. Epiſt. Greg. Papæ ſept. The leſſer Armenia, a province bordering upon Syria, had its own princes, that were Chriſtians by religion, but moſt of them ſchiſmaticks as well as their ſubjects, and that from the Greek church as well as the Latin. They mix no water with the wine in the holy ſacrifice, as the Greeks and Latins do, though they uſe leavened bread agreeably to the practice of the Greeks. They make but one holy day of chriſtmas and the epiphany; 'tis ſaid too, that they uſe butter inſtead of balm in making the holy chriſm. They allow but one nature in Jeſus Chriſt, and add theſe words, "who was crucified for "us" to the triſagion; an addition introduced by Peter Foulon an intruder

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[*] Salahabdinus occupator Ægypti uxorem Noradini ſibi matrimonio copulans cum ipſa regni regimen fugatis hæredibus occupavit; deinde terra Roaſiæ & Geſiræ occupata, circumjacentia regna uſque ad intima citerioris Indiæ, nunc dolis, nunc armis expugnans, de ſceptris pluribus monarchiam efficit, Babyloniæ & Damaſci ſibi vendicans principatum: hæc fortunæ ludentis potentia. Chron. 9. de Nangis, ad ann. 1174.

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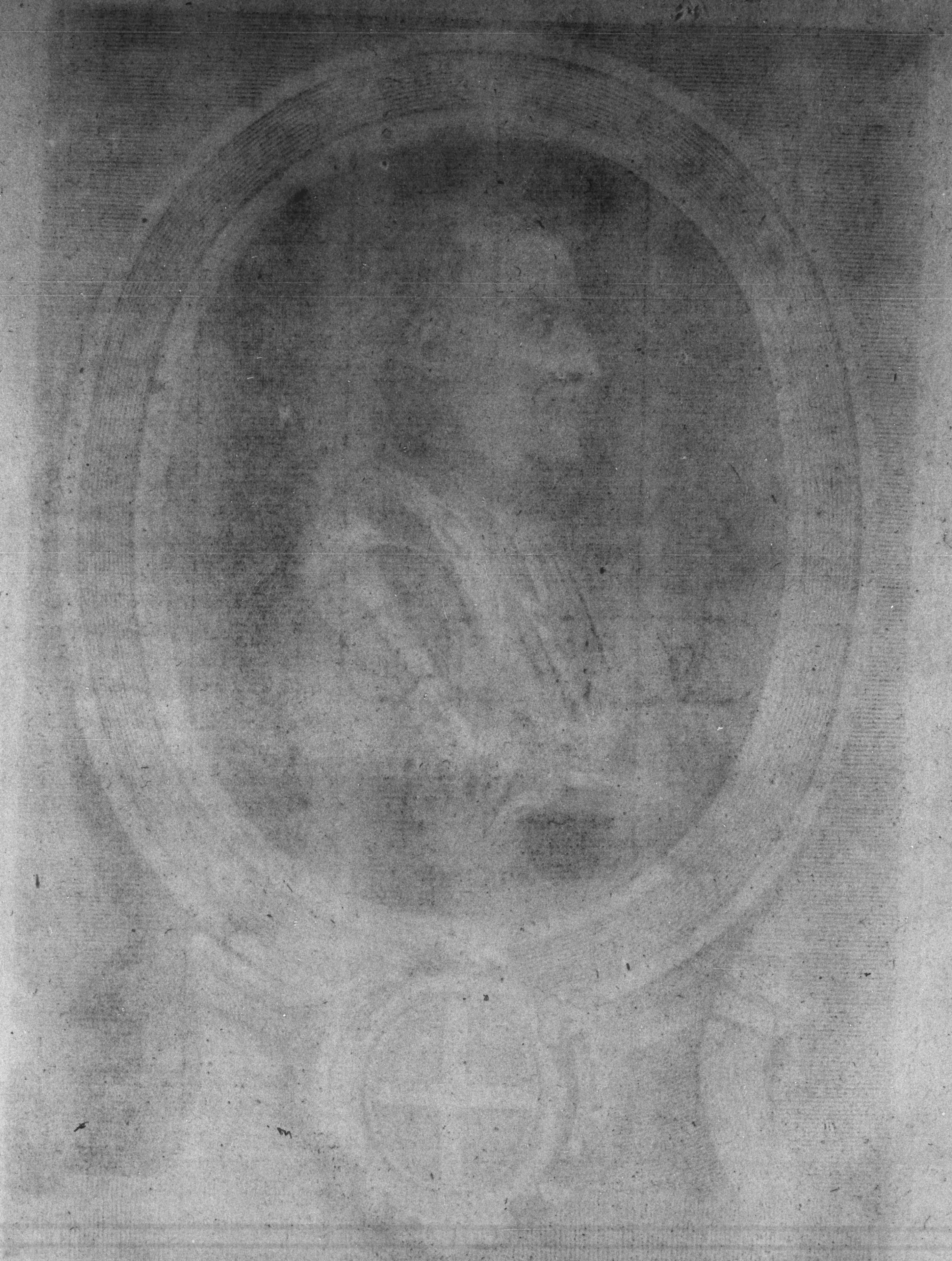

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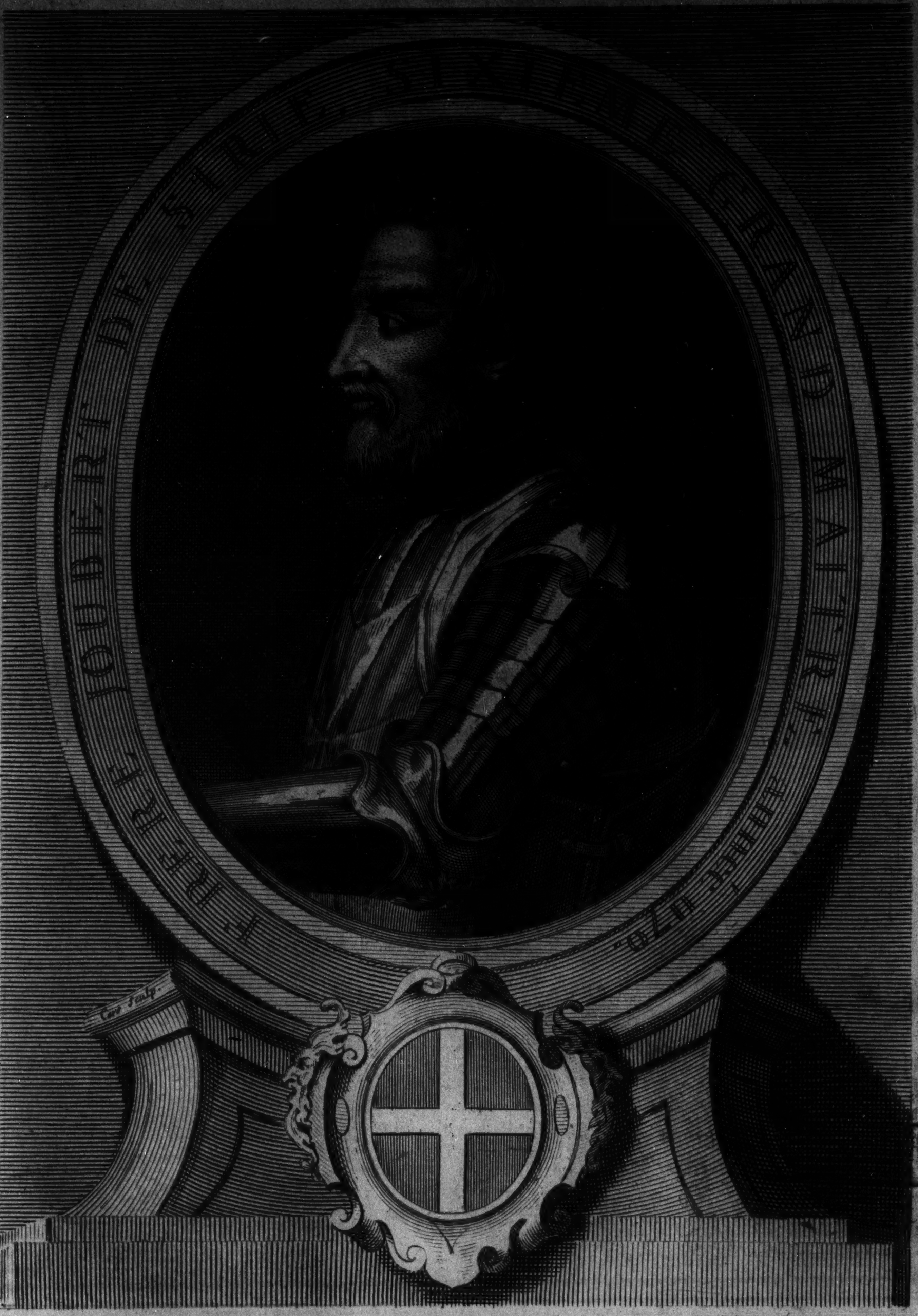
FRERE JOUBERT DE SIRIE, SIXIEME GRAND MAITRE, élu en 1170.
Carr Sculp.

into the patriarchal ſee of Antioch, but rejected by the catholick church. Theſe ſchiſmaticks have a patriarch whom they ſtyle by way of eminence the catholick, and who reſides at Cis, the capital of the leſſer Armenia. The princes of this little ſtate depended originally on the emperors of Conſtantinople, but in the frequent revolutions of that empire, they never acknowledged its authority, but when they were forced to it, and by the help of ſome caſtles ſeated on inacceſſible mountains they maintained their ground as well againſt the incurſions of the Turcomans as the enterprizes of the Greeks.

THODOS or Theodore was then reigning in that countrey. This prince, tho' a ſchiſmatick, had yet to ſupport himſelf againſt the Greeks made a particular alliance with the Latins of the eaſt. He allowed the hoſpitallers and templars to have churches in his territories, and Melier or Milon his brother, had even renounced the ſchiſm, and made himſelf a templar. Prince Theodore, to engage the Latins more cloſely in his intereſts, had married one of his ſiſters to a Latin nobleman; and there being iſſued of that marriage a young prince named Thomas, he had afterwards declared him to be his heir and ſucceſſor.

1171.

Will. Tyr. l. 20. c. 28.

UPON the death of that prince, Thomas his nephew was for taking poſſeſſion of his territories. But as he was no abettor of the ſchiſm, the Armenians ſhewed a great deal of diſlike to his government, and Melier the templar, taking advantage of this averſion of the people, quitted his order, took up arms in concert with Saladine, obtained a conſiderable ſuccour of troops from him, drove his nephew out of Armenia, and made himſelf maſter of it. He afterwards invaded the principality of Antioch, and advanced even to the frontiers of the kingdom of Jeruſalem. His troops by his orders deſtroyed all before them with fire and ſword, and left diſmal marks of their fury in all places wherever they paſſed. 'Tis impoſſible to deſcribe all the barbarities which that apoſtate templar exerciſed upon the Latin Chriſtians, and eſpecially upon the knights hoſpitallers and templars his brethren. Such as fell into his hands he cauſed to be murdered in cold blood, or elſe delivered them up to the infidels, as pledges and proofs of his fidelity, by which means theſe ſoldiers of Jeſus Chriſt were put to death with the moſt dreadful torments.

Idem ibid.

THE grand maſter Joubert would gladly have gone in perſon to repreſs the inroads of the renegado, and take ample vengeance of him for ſo many cruelties. But as he had ſtill the care of the regency upon his hands, and could not leave the frontiers of Egypt without abandoning them for a prey to the incurſions of Saladine's troops, he ordered a knight of his order, who was alſo a great preceptor or great commander in it, and had the guard of the frontiers on the ſide of Syria, to draw together the hoſpitallers and ſoldiers under his command, advance againſt the apoſtate Melier, and give him battel.

BOHEMUND III. of that name reigned at this time in the principality of Antioch. He was the ſon of Raimond, brother to William the laſt count of Poitiers and Auvergne, and duke of Aquitain; which Raimond, as we have obſerved, had, by means of the hoſpitaller Joubert, married the princeſs Conſtance, heireſs of the principality of Antioch, and only daughter of Bohemund II. and the iſſue of this marriage was Bohemund III. This young prince and the templars joined with the hoſpitallers againſt the renegado Melier: And Amaury king of Jeruſalem, at his return from Conſtantinople, where he had received more honours and fine promiſes than effectual ſupplies, prepared to march at the head of his troops to take on him the command of the army: But advice came that Melier, not thinking himſelf ſtrong enough to keep the field, had retired to the defiles of the mountains, and intrenched himſelf in places where it was not eaſy to force him.

Joubert.
1172.
Will. Tyr.
ibid.

The Turcomans on their ſide, to make a diverſion in favour of the Armenian, had inveſted Arach or Krach, a place in the frontier of Arabia Petrea. Upon the firſt news they had of the ſiege at Jeruſalem, Thoron, conſtable of the kingdom, drew out the hoſpitallers and templars that were left in Jeruſalem, and advanced with great expedition to relieve it. At the approach of the Chriſtian army, the infidels raiſed the ſiege and retired into their own countrey.

As faults are perſonal, and there was a villain and traytor even in the college of the apoſtles, Melier's apoſtacy did no injury to the reputation of the templars; but a barbarous action, committed not long after by a brother of that order upon an envoy of the prince of the aſſaſſins, and connived at by the grand maſter, began to leſſen and ſink the eſteem and affection, which till then was paid to the whole order in general.

There had been ſettled for ſeveral ages in the mountains of Phœnicia, between Tortoſa or Antaradus, as it was then called, and the town of Tripoli, a ſort of banditti, who ſeemed to be Mahometans, but in reality had ſcarce borrowed any thing from that ſect but their hatred of the Chriſtian name: They were Barbarians without any law, faith, or even religion, but blindly devoted to the will of their chief; the moſt ſhocking villanies were by his orders conſecrated into heroick virtues. They choſe this commander by a majority of votes. He took on him no title but that of Old, or ſenior, a term from whence in thoſe times was derived that of ſeignior, which, in baſtard Latin, ſignifies the ſame thing, and he was called the ſeignior of the mountain, on account of the mountainous countrey which theſe banditti inhabited.

Will. Tyr. l. 14 c. 19. l 20. c 21. Matt. Paris A. D. 1150. Will Neubri. l. 4. c. 24. id. l. 5. c. 16. Jac. de Vitri, l. 1. c. 13 & 14. id. l. 3. p. 1126. See Du Cange's obſervations on the hiſt. of S. Louis. p. 87. edit. 1668.

But under a ſtyle and title ſo modeſt in appearance, this chief of the aſſaſſins enjoyed an authority more abſolute than that of the greateſt kings, and his power was the more firm and ſubſtantial, in that it was founded on a principle of religion; and becauſe this brutiſh and ignorant people were bred up in the belief, that if they died in executing the orders of their chief, they ſhould go immediately to a delicious paradiſe and be placed in the firſt ſeats there. The ſeignior of the mountain made uſe of theſe wretches to diſpatch his particular enemies. They went to ſtab even princes and ſovereigns in their very palace and in the midſt of their guards. 'Twas a ſort of ſchool or academy of aſſaſſins, and theſe Barbarians were not deterred by fear of the moſt dreadful torments from executing their bloody commiſſions.

To avoid ſuſpicion, they generally carried no arms but a poniard, called in the Perſian tongue haſſiſin: This name was given them upon that occaſion, and from thence we have formed the word aſſaſſin. This little ſtate conſiſted only in ſome caſtles built on the ridge of the mountains, or upon inacceſſible rocks; but there were in the bottoms between theſe mountains and in the vales a great number of villages peopled with above ſixty thouſand inhabitants, all of a cruel and ſavage diſpoſition, murderers by principle, and ſo reſolutely deſperate, that moſt of the neighbouring princes, though far exceeding them in power, yet durſt not make war upon them. 'Tis related of a ſultan of Damaſcus, that having ſent an envoy to a ſeignior of the mountain, named Hacen, to threaten him with the ruin of his little territory, if he would not pay him tribute; this chief of the aſſaſſins, without making any reply, ordered, in the envoy's preſence, one of his ſubjects to throw himſelf headlong from the top of a tower, and another to ſtab himſelf to the heart; they did ſo on the ſpot: Hacen thereupon turning towards the embaſſador, who was not a little frighted at ſo odd a ſpectacle, Tell your maſter, ſays he, that I have ſixty thouſand men as much devoted to my orders as theſe two; and from that time the ſeignior of the mountain never heard more of the ſultan's pretenſions. Other hiſtorians ſay, that it was a count of Champagne, who going from Tyre to Antioch with a paſs from the ſeignior of the mountain, and travelling through his little ſtate, was witneſs of this horrid ſight. But be that as it will, moſt of the Chriſtian and Mahometan ſovereigns thought fit, for their own ſecurity againſt the fury of theſe aſſaſſins, to ſend great preſents to their chiefs.

THE templars, who were in poſſeſſion of the places adjoining to this little ſtate, were the only perſons who durſt venture to make war upon theſe aſſaſſins, and attempt to rid the earth of ſuch monſters. But as theſe Barbarians, who had it in their power to revenge themſelves on the grand maſter, were ſenſible that the order being governed in the manner of a commonwealth, was not to be extinguiſhed by the death of their chief, whoſe place would immediately be filled with a ſucceſſor every whit as eager to make war upon them, they ſubmitted at laſt to purchaſe a place with the tribute of two thouſand crowns of gold yearly payable to the order.

THE ſeignior who commanded at that time in theſe mountains, either out of a religious motive, or to be eaſed of this tribute, ſent an embaſſador to the king of Jeruſalem, to aſſure him that he was ready to be baptized with all his ſubjects, if the templars would diſcharge them of the tribute. Amaury was highly pleaſed with the propoſal, promiſed that the tribute ſhould be remitted, for which he engaged to make the templars amends, loaded the envoy with preſents, and at his return ſent him away, ſays William of Tyre, attended by one of his guards, who had orders to conduct him to the frontiers of the ſtate. They were already paſt Tripoli, and ready to enter into the ſtraights of the mountains, when a templar, named du Meſnil, hurried on by the animoſity that had ſo long reigned between the Chriſtians and the aſſaſſins, without any regard either to the publick faith, or the officer the king had ſent to protect him, ran his ſword through the envoy's body, and killed him on the ſpot.

'TIS impoſſible to expreſs the king's wrath and indignation when he heard of this intolerable violation of the law of nations, eſpecially ſince it affected a chief of banditti, who would not want aſſaſſins to make repriſals. He ſent immediately to Odo de S. Amand, then grand maſter of the order, to demand the criminal of him, but Odo refuſed him, under pretence that his knights were not ſubject to the juriſdiction of the king's officers: 'Twas not that he demurred upon the crime the templar had committed, for he himſelf had cauſed him to be arreſted, and had put him in irons. But as the queſtion related to the judges, before whom the crime was properly cogniſable, and he pretended that the templars held only under the pope, he declared that he would ſend the criminal to Rome in irons, and till judgment was given in his caſe, he forbad all perſons whatſoever to meddle with him, under pain of excommunication, agreeably to the privileges of the order.

THE king, without troubling himſelf about theſe declarations, cauſed the criminal to be carried off, and confined him in his own priſon at Tyre; and that prince, to ſatisfy his own juſtice and the reſentment of the ſeignior of the mountain, would have made an exemplary puniſhment of him, if his death, which happened at that juncture, had not ſaved the priſoner's life.

AMAURY left three children by two venters, two daughters and a ſon. The eldeſt of the daughters, named Sybille, was at that time widow of William Longueſpee, marqueſs of Monferrat. The younger, named Iſabel, the offspring of his ſecond marriage with Mary, a Greek princeſs, and niece to the emperor Manuel, was married afterwards at eight years of age to Humfrey de Thoron, grandſon to the conſtable of Jeruſalem. The eldeſt of all theſe children, and Amaury's ſucceſſor, was Baldwin IV. who was born of his firſt marriage with Agnes, daughter of Joſceline de Courtenay, the ſecond of the name, and prince of Edeſſa.

Baldwin was born with great infirmities, and was dying in a manner all his reign. The regency of his dominions was committed to Raimond III. count of Tripoli, ſurnamed the Young, his next relation, ſon to Raimond II. and Hodierna, daughter of Baldwin II. king of Jeruſalem, and widow of the famous Tancred, who ſignalized himſelf under Godfrey de Bouillon. Raimond III. was deſcended by the male line from the firſt count of Thoulouſe, who acquired ſo much glory in the firſt cruſade.

During Baldwin's minority, the forces of the kingdom of Jeruſalem leſſen'd in proportion as the power of Saladine increaſed. This prince, after making himſelf maſter of the greateſt part of Noradin's dominions, had lately, in concert with his widow whom he had married, taken Damaſcus. The count of Tripoli, alarmed at the power of ſo formidable a neighbour, drew down all the forces of the kingdom on that ſide, and taking advantage of Saladine's abſence, who was returned into Egypt, beſieged Harem, a caſtle in the neighbourhood and territory of Aleppo. The prince of Antioch and the count of Nevers, whom devotion had brought to the Holy Land *, were preſent at the ſiege with different bodies of troops under their command, to which were joined, as William of Tyre relates, the grand maſter of the hoſpitallers, with his knights and many of the templars. The ſiege was long, and ended at laſt 1174. in a private treaty between the count of Tripoli and the Turks, by whom he was bribed to draw off his forces; and this infamous correſpondence of a Chriſtian prince with the infidels, had afterwards conſequences very fatal to the Latin Chriſtians.

During this ſiege, Saladine fell into Paleſtine on the ſide of Egypt with a mighty army. King Baldwin being then of age, and in the favourable intervals which his infirmities allowed him, mounted on horſeback to oppoſe that conqueror. He met him near Aſcalon; they came to an engagement, and though the forces of the two parties were very unequal, Saladine having at leaſt twenty ſix thouſand horſe, and the Chriſtian army hardly amounting to four hundred horſe and three thouſand foot, yet this handful of troops falling on the enemy's camp in the night, put the infidels into a terrible conſternation; moſt of them ran away, and Saladine himſelf, intrepid as he was, to make the greater haſte mounted a dromedary half naked, and fled into his own territories.

The year following, Baldwin, to put a ſtop to the incurſions of the Arabians, attempted to fortify † a caſtle upon Saladine's lands, beyond the river Jordan, in a place called Jacob's ford. This was the occaſion of a new battel that did not prove ſo fortunate to the Chriſtians as the former. For Saladine having drawn them into an ambuſh, which he had laid in ſome hollow and rocky grounds, they were ſurprized and attacked on all ſides. The Chriſtian army not being able either to march forwards or make a retreat, diſbanded at once; none but the hoſpitallers and templars ſtood their ground: The greateſt part of them were cut in pieces; Joubert, grand maſter of the hoſpitallers, though wounded in ſeveral places, had yet ſtrength enough left to ſwim over Jordan, and got ſafe to the caſtle of Beaufort; but Odo de S. Amand, grand maſter of the templars, being overborn by the number of the enemy, was taken priſoner by the infidels. Robert Dumont, a cotemporary hiſtorian, ſays, that Saladine offered him his liberty in exchange for one of his nephews,

Roger Hoveden. parte poſt in Henr. II. p. 566.

Robert de Monte append. ad Sig. Gembl. p. 666.

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* Aſſumptis ergo ſuis & domino comite Tripolitano, magiſtroque domûs hoſpitalis & multis ex fratribus militiæ templi ad partes contendit Tripolitanas. Will. Tyr. l. 2. c. 18.

† Eodem anno Chriſtiani firmaverunt caſtellum fortiſſimum in terra Saladini ad vadum Jacobi ultra fluvium Jordanis, ſed Saladinus illud per vim cepit, in cujus captione ſummus magiſter hoſpitalis captus fuit & in terram Saladini ductus fame periit. Rog. Hoved. in Henr. II. p 555.

phews, who was a priſoner of the order; but the noble grand maſter anſwered him bravely, that he would never by his example encourage any of his knights to be mean enough to ſurrender themſelves priſoners, in hopes of being ranſomed, that a templar * ought either to vanquiſh or dye, and had nothing to give for his ranſom but his girdle and his knife. We have no account how he eſcaped out of the hands of theſe Barbarians; but it will appear in the courſe of this hiſtory that he came back to Jeruſalem.

JOUBERT.
Piſtorius l. 1.

THERE is no deſcribing the conſternation that the Latin Chriſtians were in after this defeat; the victorious enemy over-run the kingdom, putting every thing to fire and ſword; the Chriſtians army was broke and diſperſed; the king relapſed into his uſual infirmity, which turned to a leproſy, and of the two grand maſters, one was a priſoner in the enemy's hands, and the other diſabled from action by reaſon of his wounds.

THE kingdom being reduced to this extremity and in no condition to carry on a war, they were under a neceſſity of having recourſe to a negotiation, the only ſhift and reſource of the weaker ſide. They applied to Saladine for a truce, which they purchaſed of him with their money, and which he would not have agreed to at any rate, if a famine had not at that time made a terrible havock in his own provinces.

1179. IN the foregoing year pope Alexander III. had iſſued out a bull for calling a general council at Rome, which is the third of Lateran; he ſummoned thither the Latin prelates of the eaſt, in order to concert meaſures with them for the defence of the Holy Land. There came on this occaſion to Rome, the archbiſhops of Tyre and Ceſarea, Albert biſhop of Bethlehem, Raoul of Sebaſte, Joſſe of Acre, and Romanus of Tripoli, with the prior of the holy ſepulchre deputed by the patriarch of Jeruſalem, and an abbot of mount Sion. Theſe prelates repreſented, that the preſervation of what the Chriſtians had left in the Holy Land, depended entirely on the taking of Damiata, which would ſerve for a barrier to Paleſtine, and for an entrance into Egypt, in caſe it ſhould be thought proper to make a greater progreſs there: which, by the way, ſhews that the above mention'd project of king Amaury III. and the grand maſter d' Aſſalit, muſt needs have been of vaſt advantage, if in the courſe of the war, the king of Jeruſalem, had not out of a ſordid paſſion been more ſolicitous to heap up treaſure, than to ſecure the Holy Land by ſuch important conqueſts from the incurſions of the Egyptians.

As we don't mention the council of Lateran, but with regard to the intereſts of the Holy Land and the conduct of the hoſpitallers, we ſhall only take notice what paſſed there on that occaſion. Some biſhops of Paleſtine revived in this council the complaints which Foucher, patriarch of Jeruſalem, had made formerly to pope Adrian IV. againſt the privileges of the hoſpitallers and templars †. " We find, ſays the holy council, by the warm complaints of the biſhops, our colleagues, that the templars and hoſpitallers abuſe the privileges granted by the holy ſee; that whereas ſome parochial churches, had formerly been uſurped by laymen, their chaplains and the prieſts of their rule, have cauſed them to be conveyed over to themſelves, without the ordinaries conſent; that they adminiſter the ſacraments to excommunicate perſons, and bury there with all the uſual ceremonies of the church; that they likewiſe abuſe the permiſſion granted their brethren, of having divine ſervice ſaid once in churches that are under an interdict, and

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* Dicens non eſſe conſuetudinis militum templi ut aliqua redemptio daretur pro eis præter cingulum & cultellum. Id. ibid.

† Fratrum autem & coepiſcoporum noſtrorum vehementi conqueſtione comperimus, quod fratres templi & hoſpitalis, aliique profeſſionis religioſæ, indulta ſibi ab apoſtolica ſede excedentes privilegia, contra epiſcopalem auctoritatem multa præſumunt, &c. Cap. 9.

JOUBERT.

“ that in theſe very places they admit ſeculars into their fraternity, pretend-“ ing thereby to give them the ſame right to their privileges, as if they were “ indeed profeſſed”. The council adds, that theſe abuſes did not proceed ſo much from the ſuperiors as from the indiſcretion of ſome private perſons: To provide therefore a remedy againſt theſe irregularities, they forbid the military orders and all other communities of regulars, to receive for the future, any conveyances of churches and tythes, without the ordinary's conſent, and order them to reſign immediately ſuch as they had lately got poſſeſſion of; that with regard to churches not founded by themſelves, nor ſerved by the chaplains of the order, they ſhould preſent the prieſts that they deſigned for the cure of them to the biſhop of the dioceſe, and reſerve nothing to themſelves but the cogniſance of the temporals, which belonged to them. That, agreeably to their privileges, they ſhould not cauſe divine ſervice to be ſaid in churches under an interdict above once a year, nor give burial there to any perſon whatſoever, and that none of their fraternity or aſſociates ſhould be allowed to partake of their privileges, if not actually profeſs'd. Such was the regulation made by the holy council, upon the biſhops complaints, which in the main, diminiſhed none of the rights and privileges of the military orders.

IN the twenty third chapter of this council, they condemn the ſtiffneſs of ſome eccleſiaſticks, who would not allow lepers to have churches to themſelves, though they were not admitted into the publick congregations. The council orders, that in all places where lepers live in community, they may have a church, a church-yard, and a prieſt to themſelves: 'tis the firſt conſtitution that the church ever made in favour of lepers, whatever ſome modern hiſtorians pretend*.

1178. THE jealouſy which the clergy of Paleſtine retained againſt the military orders, did not hinder Renaud, lord of Margat, from making in the precedent year a new grant to the hoſpitallers, or rather an exchange with them of that caſtle which is ſituated on the confines of Judæa, as we learn from the author of the aſſiſes of Jeruſalem. Theſe knights fortified it, put a garriſon therein, and made it afterwards on that ſide one of the ſtrongeſt bulwarks of chriſtendome in the eaſt.

THIS acquiſition was however by no means a balance to the loſs which the order ſuffered the ſame year by the death of Joubert the grand maſter, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf as much by his wiſdom and capacity in government as by his military skill. The hiſtorians of that time ſay, that Saladine not enduring that the hoſpitallers ſhould fortify a place on the frontier of his dominions, ſent one of his generals to beſiege it. The ſiege was long and bloody; the grand maſter of the hoſpitallers who had thrown himſelf into the place, ſtood ſeveral aſſaults with great reſolution: Moſt of his knights animated by his example and fighting before his eyes, died upon the breach they defended, the grand maſter at the ſame time ſhewing no diſpoſition to hearken to a capitulation. In fine the infidels made ſuch powerful efforts that they carried the place ſword in hand, cut the knights that were left in pieces, took the grand maſter priſoner: and their commander, to revenge the obſtinate reſiſtance of the grand maſter, threw him into a dungeon, and left him there to periſh with famine. Thus ended his days that illuſtrious knight,

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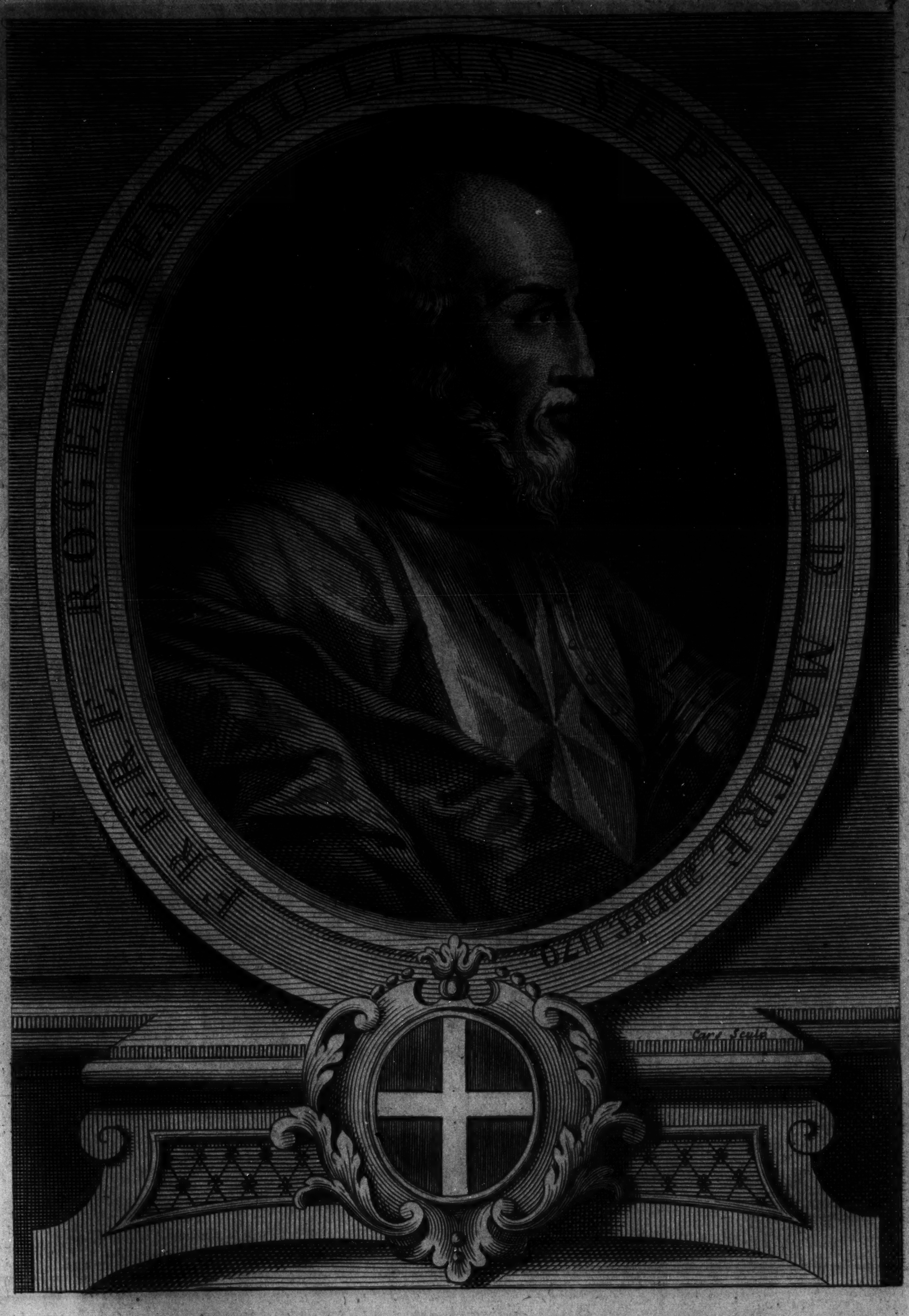
* Eccleſiaſtici quidam quæ ſua ſunt, non quæ Jeſu Chriſti quærentes, leproſis qui cum ſanis habitare non poſſunt, & ad eccleſiam cum aliis convenire, eccleſias & cœmeteria non permittunt habere, nec proprio juvare miniſterio ſacerdotis, quod quia procul a pietate chriſtiana alienum dignoſcitur, de benignitate apoſtolica conſtituimus, ut ubicunque tot ſimul ſub communi vita fuerint congregati, quod eccleſiam ſibi cum cœmeterio conſtituere, & proprio valeant gaudere presbytero ſine contradictione aliqua permittantur habere. 3. Conc. Lat. ch. 25.

crowning


FRERE ROGER DES MOULINS VIII.me GRAND MAITRE, Mort 1170
Cars Sculp.

JOUBERT.

crowning a life that had been ſpent in defence of the altars of God, with a death highly precious in his ſight. There are other authors who pretend that he did not fall into the hands of the infidels, but that ſeeing the ruinous condition of the kingdom of Jeruſalem, he died of grief.

ROGER DESMOULINS. 1179.

THE chapter meeting after his death, choſe Roger Deſmoulins to ſucceed him, a knight who by his conduct and valour, juſtified the choice of the companions of the order. His firſt care after his inſtallation was to exhort the regent and principal nobility of the kingdom to carry on the war againſt Saladine with vigour: But the jealouſy and competition between the grandees for the government of the ſtate during the king's infirmity, the criminal correſpondence of ſome lords with the infidels, and the diviſion that broke out in his time between the two military orders; all this contributed as much to Saladine's conqueſts, as his own valour and the courage of his ſoldiers.

WE have obſerved upon the authority of Brompton, an engliſh hiſtorian of the ſame age, that the order of templars was as it were a branch of that of the hoſpitallers of S. John; but this branch, ſays the ſame author, growing up to a great tree, ſeemed to eclipſe and ſmother the ſtock from whence it was taken. This emulation between the two military orders, their eagerneſs in graſping at new revenues, wherein they vied with each other, a certain jealouſy almoſt inſeparable from the profeſſion of arms, and ſome diſputes about rank and precedence, as well in the field as in councils of ſtate; all concurred to keep up a miſunderſtanding between them, which at laſt flamed out to ſuch a degree that they fought and attacked one another, as often as they met.

THERE can be no diſpute, but that the piety of both the orders began to dwindle conſiderably through a conduct ſo violent in its nature, and ſo unworthy the religious profeſſion: And if we ſtill find the ſame valour among theſe warriours, it muſt be owned that it was not ſo much inſpired by Chriſtian charity, as by the human motives of glory and ambition.

App. Nº. V.

As theſe military Friars owned no ſuperior but the pope, the king ſent Alexander III. advice of their diviſions. That pope, who foreſaw how fatal the conſequences thereof might be to the Chriſtians of the Holy Land, obliged the knights to be reconciled. A treaty of peace was drawn up by his order; the two grand maſters ſigned it, as they ſay in the inſtruments it ſelf, by the advice and expreſs conſent of the two chapters; and they entered into covenants about ſeveral eſtates which both of them laid claim to, as well as various ſums of money, which they demanded of each other. We ſee likewiſe in the inſtrument of this treaty, that the pope enjoined them both, in caſe of any new occaſions of diſpute, to nominate, each party for themſelves, three old knights of the language and priory where the difference ſhould ariſe, to make an abſolute determination of it; and that if theſe arbitrators could not agree among themſelves, they ſhould refer it to ſome common friends to be choſen between them, and which were to ſerve as additional arbitrators, or elſe remit the cogniſance of it to the holy ſee. The pope adds in his bull, that whilſt they are waiting the final judgment of that tribunal in the caſe, he exhorts the knights of both orders to be ſtudious in giving mutual proofs of the honour and regard they have for each other, and to join their endeavours without diſtinction for the common good and advantage of the two houſes, that, as Alexander ſays, " though their inſtitution " be different, yet it may appear by the bond of charity which ought to unite " them, that they are but one and the ſame military and regular order".

THE hoſpitallers and templars conformed in appearance, to the pope's intentions; but to ſay the truth, the pontif's authority rather lulled aſleep for a time than put an end to differences, which had their ſource from avarice

ROGER DESMOULINS. and ambition; two paſſions that take deep root in the heart of man and from which the holieſt ſocieties are not exempt.

1179. ANOTHER paſſion ſo much the more dangerous in that it makes its way into the heart, by beauty and the graces of a fine perſon, had like to have raiſed a civil war, in the principality of Antioch. Bohemund, the ſovereign prince of that ſtate, had married to his firſt wife a daughter of the houſe of Iblin: and after her death, a Greek princeſs, named Theodora. Bohemund led aſtray by the charms of a concubine had abandoned his lawful wife: The patriarch of Antioch, after uſing canonical admonitions in vain, excommunicated him and laid a general interdict upon all his dominions; a kind of puniſhment which involves the innocent with the guilty, and is very often of dangerous conſequence. Upon this Bohemund hurried on by his paſſion, and incenſed at a proceeding that might raiſe a revolt in the principality, made his officers ſeize on the temporalties of the patriarch, drove him out of Antioch, and beſieged him afterwards in a caſtle which belonged to him, and whither he was retired with the principal of his clergy. The patriarch of Antioch was looked upon as the firſt prelate of the eaſt, as well in regard to the foundation of his church which is aſcribed to S. Peter, as the extent of his patriarchate which has within its juriſdiction twelve metropolitans, one hundred and fifty three ſuffragan biſhops, and in the city of Antioch alone above three hundred and ſixty churches. As the patriarch was not without a great number of dependents attached to his dignity, nor the prince without ſecret enemies; and as both the principal nobility of the kingdom and the people were diſcontented at the government, neither of them were ſorry to find ſo plauſible a pretence to ſhew themſelves.

IN a moment all the principality was up in arms: the malecontents, under pretence of defending the cauſe of the church, ſought to revenge their private injuries: Every body was engaged on the one ſide or the other, according as his paſſions or intereſt led him.

THE king of Jeruſalem, or rather his council fearing the infidels ſhould make an advantage of theſe diſſentions, engaged the patriarch of Jeruſalem, and the two grand maſters to repair thither with all expedition, and endeavour to quiet the ſtorm. Theſe deputies paſſing by Tripoli, brought along with them count Raimond, a particular friend of prince Bohemund. They aſſembled firſt at Laodicea, and from thence they went afterwards to Antioch. Being arrived, many conferences were held upon the occaſion, and meſſages ſent on both ſides; at laſt they made a ſort of proviſional treaty, wherein it was agreed, that both ſides ſhould lay down their arms, that the patriarch ſhould be immediately reſtored to the enjoyment of his temporalties, that the interdict ſhould be taken off, but that the prince ſhould continue excommunicate, if he did not quit his concubine. This reſtriction ſerved only to inflame his paſſion for that woman, and to aggravate his hatred againſt the chief lords of the principality. He baniſhed afterwards upon ſeveral pretences, the great conſtable and chamberlain and three other lords who had ſhewn too much attachment to the patriarch; they retired to the court of Rupin, prince of the leſſer Armenia, who, by concert with the grandees of the countrey, had diſpatched the renegado Melier, and had ſucceeded him in that principality.

1182. THE grand maſter, ſome time after his return from Antioch, received the mortifying news, that moſt of the hoſpitallers of his order, who were ſettled at Conſtantinople, had been maſſacred in a tumult raiſed in that imperial city againſt the Latins. The emperor Manuel Comnenus, with a deſign to extinguiſh the ſchiſm which he was far from abetting, had brought a conſiderable number of Latins to Conſtantinople, and made uſe of them both in the miniſtry and in ſtate affairs. The hoſpitallers had in Conſtantinople the famous hoſpital of S. Sanſon, lying between the church of S. Sophia and S. Irene; and they were likewiſe in poſſeſſion of the hoſpital of S. John the almoner.

“ 'Tis probable (ſays M. du Cange, a modern hiſtorian indeed, but highly to be reſpected for his profound learning) that the church of S. Sanſon was given to the hoſpital of S. John of Jeruſalem by the emperor Manuel Comnenus, who had ſuch an affection for the Latins, and particularly for the French of the kingdom of Jeruſalem, that he incurred thereby the hatred of his own ſubjects”.

Obſervations ſur l' hiſtoire de Geoffroy de Villehardouin. n. 104. p. 302.

This hatred broke out after his death; the Greeks, exaſperated by ſome differences in religion, and reſolved not to ſubmit to the authority of the holy ſee, ſet fire to the houſes of the Latins, maſſacred ſuch as fell into their hands, and did not even ſpare a cardinal, named John, whom the pope, at the emperor's requeſt, had ſent to endeavour a re-union of the two churches. The Greek prieſts and monks were the hotteſt in promoting this maſſacre, and, to encourage the murderers, gave money among them. Theſe furious people broke into the hoſpital of S. John above mention'd, and inhumanely murdered the ſick and the religious hoſpitallers who took care of them. It was with difficulty that a ſmall number made their eſcape, and getting on board a ſhip, carried the diſmal news of this bloody maſſacre to Paleſtine.

Will. Tyr. l. 22. c. 12.

They found the kingdom ſplit into factions, and weakened by domeſtick diviſions that brought on its ruin. The king's leproſy not allowing him to 1178. marry, or even to hold the reins of government in his own hands, he had given the princeſs Sybil, his eldeſt ſiſter, and widow of the marqueſs of Montſerrat in marriage to Guy de Luſignan, of the houſe of la Marche, ſon of Hugh le Brun, whom the mode of devotion that prevailed at that time had brought into Paleſtine: He was a handſome prince, and of a good mien, but more a courtier than a ſoldier, and having found out the way to pleaſe the princeſs, he had no great difficulty, by his intereſt, to gain the good graces of the king.

Baldwin, upon this marriage, made his brother in law regent of the kingdom, 1182. and reſerved nothing to himſelf but the title of king and the poſſeſſion of the city of Jeruſalem, with a penſion of ten thouſand crowns of gold.

The ſovereign power in which the king had given Luſignan a joint ſhare with himſelf, raiſed the jealouſly of the grandees, who being born in Paleſtine conſidered that prince as a foreigner. Raimond, count of Tripoli, fomented this diviſion. This count, the moſt powerful of all the vaſſals of the crown, aſpired ſecretly to the ſucceſſion of Baldwin. As the choice which the king had juſt made ruined his hopes, he entered thereupon, as it is ſaid, into ſecret meaſures with Saladine in order to revive them. The truce which that prince had made with the king of Jeruſalem was ſtill ſubſiſting, the buſineſs was how to break it, without giving occaſion to charge the breach on the Mahometans. Saladine for this purpoſe gave private orders to one of the governors of his frontiers, to turn flocks of ſheep, horſes, cows and other cattel looſe upon the lands of the Chriſtians, and into the fields which were then covered with corn. Renaud de Chatillon, a famous partiſan, that was always on horſeback, cauſed all theſe beaſts to be taken and brought to Carach. Renaud de Chatillon, as William of Tyre relates, was but an adventurer and ſoldier of fortune *; but handſome in his perſon, diſtinguiſhed by a great many brave actions, and in his youth, notwithſtanding the inequality of their conditions, had married privately Conſtance, princeſs of Antioch,

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* Domina Conſtantia domini Raimondi Antiocheni principis vidua, licet multos inclitos & nobiles viros ejus matrimonium expetentes, more fæmineo repuliſſet, Rainaldum de Caſtillione quemdam ſtipendiarium militem ſibi occulté in maritum elegit. Will. Tyr. l. 17. c. 26.

He was at that time lord of Carach, a ſtrong place ſituated on an hill. The Latins had erected it into an archbiſhoprick, by the name of Mont-royal; it was formerly called Petra of the deſert, becauſe it lies on the edge of Arabia Petræa. Chatillon, with a pretty large number of templars, had fortified himſelf there, and went frequently out upon parties. The Mahometans had no enemy that they dreaded ſo much; he carried off frequently whole caravans of pilgrims as they travelled to Mecca, and when he had them in priſon, he ridiculed their devotion. Mahomet himſelf was not ſpared in his ralleries: He had likewiſe formed the deſign of deſtroying his tomb which has ſuch honours paid it at Medina, the Mahometans holding it in as much veneration as Chriſtians do the ſepulchre of Jeſus Chriſt; and he would have made himſelf maſter of that town and of Mecca, if the governor, who commanded under Saladine in Arabia, had not diſcovered his deſign and taken proper meaſures to oppoſe it.

SALADINE, by way of repriſal, impriſoned fifteen hundred Chriſtians, merchants and pilgrims, whoſe ſhip had run a-ground near Damiata. He ſent afterwards to the king of Jeruſalem to demand reſtitution of all the cattel that Renaud and the templars had carried off, contrary to the truce; and in caſe ſatisfaction was not given, the embaſſador had orders to declare war againſt him, and to proteſt, in that prince's name, that he would treat the Chriſtians whom he had ordered to be ſeized, and their effects, in the ſame manner as they treated the cattel and their drovers, whom they detained, he ſaid, ſo unjuſtly at Carach.

Herold. Cont. Will. Tyr. l. 1.

THE king would very willingly have given ſatisfaction to the ſultan, whom he dreaded; but he had ſo little authority, and the government was ſo weak, that he could never oblige Renaud and the templars to reſtore the booty they had taken. Saladine upon this, under pretence of taking repriſals, began to make freſh incurſions upon the lands of the Chriſtians, and, as he had foreſeen, war enſued. He paſſes the Jordan, puts every thing that oppoſes him to the ſword, carries off the women and children, dragging them into an odious ſlavery; ſets fire to the houſes, ravages the open countrey, and abandons himſelf to all the cruelties that could ſtrike fear and terrour into the minds of the people.

THESE ravages made the principal nobility of the kingdom take the field at the head of their vaſſals and ſupported by the two military orders. Theſe ſeveral bodies of troops made up a conſiderable army. The king, whoſe infirmity grew every day worſe and worſe, was not in a condition to take the command upon him. He had loſt his ſight; the malignity of his leproſy had taken away the uſe of his hands and feet; ſo that he was obliged to entruſt the command of the army with Luſignan his brother-in-law, whom he had made count of Jaffa and Aſcalon, titles belonging to the preſumptive heir of the crown. The count, either for want of capacity in the art of war, or through the jealouſy of the chief commanders, lay ſtill above eight days in ſight of an enemy weaker than himſelf without attacking him, and even ſuffered him to go off with his booty and priſoners, and croſs the river Jordan before his eyes, without making the leaſt motion or daring to go out of his intrenchments.

Will. Tyr. l. 22.

1183.

THE Latin Chriſtians, who were all ſoldiers themſelves, and loved to have a general for their prince, complained heavily to the king of the cowardice of his brother-in-law; and moſt of the nobility proteſted that they would never march into the field again under his command. The king, to ſatisfy them, recalled the power he had intruſted him with, and, as princes often ſet no bounds either to their favours or reſentments, he was deprived of the county of Jaffa, as being no way qualified to defend that important place,

Will. Tyr. l. 23.

Roger Desmoulins. 1183.

which was one of the keys of the kingdom. The king at the ſame time named for his ſucceſſor young Baldwin his nephew, ſon of the princeſs Sybil and the marqueſs of Montſerrat, her firſt huſband, though that prince was hardly five years old. This change occaſioned great diviſions all over the kingdom. Guy de Luſignan retired to Aſcalon, where he fortified himſelf at firſt againſt the party that oppoſed him. But as this prince was much better qualified to talk big of his reſentments, than to maintain them ſword in hand, he ſoon returned to court; and in exchange for a crown and ſovereignty, which he had been encouraged to expect, and for which no equivalent can be made, he poorly took up with the county of Jaffa that had been taken from him, and was now reſtored to him with the title of the king's vaſſal.

1184. **Baldwin**, who was no longer capable of acting by himſelf, committed the care of the government to the count of Tripoli, not ſo much out of regard to him, as for fear he ſhould raiſe new diſturbances in the kingdom, in caſe he was ſet aſide. Raimond, the ſecret ſpring and author of all the cabals of the court, refuſed the regency at firſt, being well ſatisfied that no body would accept it in his wrong. The king was forced to preſs and importune him to it; and when at laſt he conſented to take the government upon him, it was with this proviſo, that the hoſpitallers and templars would engage to defend all the places that ſhould be attacked. In the mean time, to ſecure his authority, he obtained a new truce from Saladine, which that infidel prince granted for a ſum of money, to reimburſe him the charges of the war.

The Chriſtians view in demanding this truce, was to gain time for obtaining a new cruſade and ſuccours for the princes of the weſt. The main buſineſs was to ſend a ſolemn embaſſy thither, and to put the negociation into the hands of perſons qualified by their capacity to manage it, and, by their rank and merit to command reſpect and deference.

Heraclius, patriarch of Jeruſalem, offered himſelf for the employment; he was a man of much vanity and conceit, and bragged that he would not return but at the head of an army, compoſed of the moſt potent ſovereigns in Europe. The prince he depended moſt upon was Henry II. king of England, grandſon to Fulk, count of Anjou and king of Jeruſalem, and conſequently couſin german to Baldwin. What raiſed the patriarch's confidence the more was his being informed, that whereas the Engliſh prince had received abſolution from the pope on account of the murder of S. Thomas archbiſhop of Canterbury, of which he was ſuſpected, it was only upon condition that he ſhould go in perſon at the head of a powerful ſuccour to the Holy Land. And tho' that prince had not in expreſs terms commanded him to be aſſaſſinated, yet as ſome imprudent words of his ſeemed to have occaſioned it, he ſubmitted to the penance, and in a council held at Auranches in Normandy, Sept. 27, 1172, he had made a ſolemn promiſe, that at the chriſtmas following he would take the croſs upon him for three years, and ſet out the next ſummer for Jeruſalem, if the pope did not grant him a diſpenſation for it; and that during the war, or at leaſt for one year, he would, beſides his own troops, maintain two hundred templars at his own expence. None of theſe conditions had been as yet performed, though it was near thirteen years ſince he engaged for them. 1184.

The patriarch, who was well informed of this matter, uſed the intereſt of all his friends that he might be ſent into Europe, flattering himſelf that he ſhould come back with powerful ſuccours for the Holy Land, and loaded with great preſents to himſelf. But the council could hardly be brought to truſt ſuch an important negociation to a prelate, who was naturally of a warm temper, and knew not how to deal with mankind in any other than a haugh-

Roger Desmoulins ty manner: Yet as it was dangerous to refuſe him, and beſides they flattered themſelves that his dignity might add ſome conſideration to the embaſſy, they accepted his offer, but appointed the two grand maſters for his collegues, who were qualified, by their moderation and good breeding, to ſoften the roughneſs of the patriarch's humour; beſides, the knights of the two orders were, by reaſon of their birth and valour, much reſpected in the weſt, and in the courts of thoſe princes whoſe ſubjects they were born.

THESE embaſſadors ſet ſail from Jaffa, and arrived ſafe at Brunduſium. Pope Lucius III. ſucceſſor to Alexander, and the emperor Frederic I. were then at Verona, where they had come to an interview, in order to ſettle the peace of Italy, which they had put into a flame by their reciprocal pretenſions. Our embaſſadors, deſirous to improve the opportunity, made haſte to Verona, and laid before both of them the formidable power of Saladine, the miſerable and weak condition of the kingdom of Jeruſalem, and the neceſſity of a powerful ſuccour, if they had a mind to preſerve the Holy Land. The emperor promiſed them troops, which he never furniſhed, and the pope gave them only indulgences and letters of recommendation, which coſt him nothing*.

Proof VI. THAT pontif wrote indeed very preſſing letters to the king of England, threatening him with the judgments of God if he did not perform the penance preſcribed him; and by other letters he ſolicited the king of France very warmly to ſignalize his zeal at his coming to the crown by an enterprize worthy the piety of his anceſtors. Our embaſſadors, furniſhed with theſe letters, were preparing for their journey to the two kingdoms when they were ſtopped at Verona by a violent illneſs which ſeized the grand maſter of the templars, and carried him to his grave. (Arnauld of Troy.) The two embaſſadors, after paying him their laſt offices, ſet out for France, and arrived at Paris in the month of January, A. D. 1185. (1185.) Philip II. was then upon the throne of France, a young prince about twenty years old. The embaſſadors, after delivering him the pope's letters, laid before him the extreme danger the Holy Land was in of falling again under the tyranny of the infidels; and in order to obtain his aſſiſtance, and engage him to go in perſon at the head of his troops, they preſented him the keys of the city of Jeruſalem, of the tower of David, and of the church of the holy ſepulchre, as a ſort of inveſtiture, or at leaſt as an earneſt of that right of protection which he was to acquire by his arms. The king received the patriarch and grand maſter very honourably, and gave them, as Rigord ſays †, the kiſs of peace: He ordered at the ſame time all the prelates of his kingdom to exhort his ſubjects to take upon them the croſs. He would have done it himſelf, but the council of the young prince, who had no children as yet, did not think it adviſable for him to leave his dominion in a juncture of continual wars, which France was obliged to maintain againſt the Engliſh and Flemings. The king therefore contented himſelf with aſſuring the embaſſadors, that he would maintain at his own expence ‡ all that ſhould aſſume the croſs and take up arms out of ſo holy and pious a motive.

1185. THE patriarch and grand maſter paſſed next into England, from whence the patriarch, as we have ſaid, expected to obtain the moſt conſiderable ſuccours. The embaſſadors being arrived, delivered the pope's letter to the

Will. Neubr. l. 3. c. 12. p. 425.

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* Heraclius patriarcha ſanctæ reſurrectionis & Rogerus magiſter domûs hoſpitalis Jeruſalem tendentes in occidentem, & per Italiam tranſitum facientes & Galliam, nec a domino papa, nec ab imperatore Romano, nec a rege Francorum aliqua conſolatoria receperunt. Radulph. de Diceto Ang. p. 265.

† In oſculo pacis honorificè recepit, diligentiſſimè præpoſitis terræ ſuæ, ſive diſpenſatoribus præcipiens quòd ubicumque per terram irent, de reditibus regis ſufficientes expenſas illis miniſtrarent. Rigord. p. 171.

‡ De conſilio principum ſtrenuos milites cum magna multitudine peditum armatorum de propriis reditibus ſumptus ſufficientes, prout famâ referente didicimus, miniſtrans, devotè Jeruſalem tranſmiſit. Id. ibid.

king,

Roger. Hove. in Henr. II.

king, and repreſented to him the need the holy places were in of his arms, and particularly of his preſence. Henry received them with great demonſtrations of reſpect. It is even ſaid, that he went as far as Reading to meet them. But as he was advanced in years, and beſides had three ſons full of fire, of a reſtleſs and ambitious diſpoſition, and hard to be kept in a due ſubmiſſion to his authority, ſo long a voyage as that of Jeruſalem, was by no means convenient, either for his health or the preſent ſituation of his affairs. Nevertheleſs, to amuſe the embaſſadors, he referred the deciſion of that matter to the parliament, which met the firſt ſunday in lent. That auguſt aſſembly was acquainted, in the king's name, with the ſincere deſire he had of marching to the Holy Land, in order to perform his penance, and at the ſame time did not fail to take notice of his old age, the bad ſtate of his health, and withal the neceſſity of his preſence in England. His complaiſant ſubjects eaſily gueſſed at the prince's ſentiments, and did not forget to conform themſelves to 'em: they ſent him a deputation with great ceremony to repreſent to him in the nation's behalf, that by an obligation antecedent to S. Thomas's death and his own abſolution, and by the ſolemn oath which he took the day of his coronation, he was under greater obligations to ſtay at home and govern his dominions, than he could be to leave them, and go in perſon to make war in Paleſtine. That the parliament nevertheleſs was of opinion to give fifty thouſand marks of ſilver for the levying of troops that ſhould be ſent away immediately for Aſia; that the cruſade ſhould be preached over all the kingdom, and the king ſhould give leave to ſuch prelates and noblemen, as would take the croſs upon them, to go out of the land upon ſo holy an expedition. The king communicated this reſolution to the embaſſadors, who deſired of him to ſend at leaſt one of his ſons at the head of the cruſaders. But his anſwer was, that none of them were then in England, and he could not engage them in their abſence. The patriarch, who was naturally paſſionate, told him inſolently, that they had no need of his money, but of a general fit to command an army. He went on with a thouſand extravagant expreſſions, even ſo far as to upbraid him with his infidelity to the king of France, his ſuperiour lord, and the murder of S. Thomas of Canterbury: and ſeeing Henry, who was the haughtieſt man alive, redden with anger and vexation; "Here's my head, ſays he, treat me if you pleaſe, as "you did my brother Thomas; 'tis indifferent to me whether I die here by "your orders, or in Syria by the hand of the infidels, for you are worſe than "any Sarazen of them all" *.

Henry, either out of greatneſs of mind, or for fear of another quarrel with the eccleſiaſticks, took no notice of this inſolence. But there is no expreſſing the concern and confuſion of the grand maſter of the hoſpitallers, to ſee himſelf joined in commiſſion with a man of ſo violent a temper as the patriarch, who by his extravagant paſſions ruined all the benefit they had reaſon to expect from their negotiation. He omitted nothing to pacify the king, who ſeemed to ſacrifice his reſentments to the intereſts of Religion. This prince carried the compliment ſo far, as to take the two embaſſadors of Jeruſalem with him in his own ſhip to Normandy, where they kept the feaſt of eaſter at Rouen.

Spicil. t. 8. p. 489.

We are told in Trivet's chronicle, that this prince gave them three thouſand marks of ſilver out of his own exchequer. A great number of the Engliſh and many of his ſubjects on this ſide the ſea, took the croſs and joined the French that Philip II. ſent into the eaſt at his own expence. But as there wanted a prince or ſome perſon of authority ſufficient to command them,

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* Fac de me quod de Thoma feciſti, adeo libenter volo a te occidi in Anglia, ſicut a Saracenis in Syria, quia tu omni Saraceno pejor es. Chron. Joan. Brompt. in Henr. II. p. 1145.

Roger Desmoulins.

and make himſelf obeyed, they received no great advantage from this armament, and upon the embaſſador's return, a general conſternation ſucceeded the falſe hopes that the patriarch had given of his negotiation.

It was not long before they were acquainted at Jeruſalem with his odd and extravagant conduct at the court of England; all the world inveigh'd bitterly againſt him; it was publickly ſaid that the true croſs which had been recovered formerly by a prince called Heraclius, was going to be loſt again under the pontificate, and by the fault of a patriarch of the ſame name: Every body deteſted the violence of his paſſions, and they did not ſpare his conduct particularly with regard to a woman whom he kept publickly, and who was better known by the title of the patriarcheſs than by her own name.

Marin. Sanut. l. 3. part. 6. c. 24. p. 147.

These complaints againſt that prelate were followed by diſmal preſages of what was to come; the king was dying, his ſucceſſor a minor, the regent infinitely ambitious, without religion, and ſuſpected of aſpiring at the crown and holding correſpondence with the infidels, the truce almoſt expired, the enemy powerful and formidable, few troops and leſs money, various parties in the ſtate and diviſions which are always fatal in a minority. The king's death happened in this miſerable juncture, and was followed, ſeven months after, by that of young Baldwin V. his nephew and ſucceſſor. The enemies of the count of Tripoli gave out, that he had poiſoned the young king in hopes of ſucceeding him, as well by virtue of his birth-right, as by the ſtrength of his own forces, and the intereſt and power of his partiſans.

1186.

Herold. contin. Will. Tyr. l. 1. c. 3.

Others laid this enormous crime upon the very mother of young Baldwin, and pretended that ſhe had poiſoned her own ſon to make a way to the throne for her ſelf, and for Guy de Luſignan her ſecond husband. What confirmed theſe ſuſpicions, was, that no body knew any thing either of the young prince's illneſs, or of the time of his death, till that princeſs, having made ſure of the patriarch, the grand maſter of the templars and the marqueſs of Montferrat, ſurrounded the palace with troops; and the grand maſter, who had the crown and all the royal ornaments in his cuſtody, being bribed by a conſiderable ſum, delivered 'em up to her without the conſent of the grandees of the kingdom: And the ſame day that the young king's death was declared, the queen his mother and Guy de Luſignan were proclaimed king and queen of Jeruſalem.

Gerard de Ridefort.

Idem Herold ibid. p. 8.

The count of Tripoli's creatures, who deſpiſed Luſignan, openly oppoſed this proclamation; and even Geoffrey de Luſignan, a prince of wonderful ſtrength of body, and extraordinary valour, but no ways prejudiced in favour of Guy's courage, hearing of his promotion to the crown of Paleſtine, could not help crying out in a manner not over chriſtian indeed, “ Thoſe “ that have made my brother a king, would have made me a god if they “ had known me”. Moſt of the grandees of the kingdom complained, that the grand maſter of the templars, who had the guard and cuſtody of the royal crown, had without their conſent or knowledge, delivered it up to the queen, and withall to Guy de Luſignan, who had no right to it. Theſe lords, who were of the firſt rank in the kingdom, repreſented to the people that as affairs then ſtood in the Holy Land, they had need of a general for their king, and ſuch a one as had the eſteem and good opinion of the army; adding withal, that the crown could not deſcend but to the heirs male of the royal family: which entirely excluded the two princeſſes, ſiſters to young Baldwin. Theſe open pretenſions divided all the Chriſtians of Paleſtine: they levyed troops on both ſides, and were ready to come to a battel when the affair was happily turned into a negotiation.

The count of Tripoli, who was the ſecret ſpring that put the cabal againſt the court in motion, ſent the principal lords of his party, to the princeſs Sybil, to let her know that they would freely conſent to put the crown upon her head, but then they expected that if ſhe would have a king for her huſband, ſhe ſhou'd divorce Luſignan, and chuſe ſuch a prince for the partner of her throne and bed, as was capable of commanding the army, and defending the kingdom.

THE princeſs who was a very ſhrewd perſon, agreed to theſe propoſals; but required on the other hand that the grandees ſhould bind themſelves by a ſolemn oath to acknowledge him for their ſovereign whom ſhe ſhould chuſe for her huſband. The oath was the more readily taken, in that, tho' the regent was actually married, yet his adherents flattered themſelves, that by help of a like divorce, the princeſs's choice could fall upon no body but that prince. The patriarch, whom the queen had gained by a ſwinging bribe, pronounced immediately the ſentence of divorce between her and Luſignan. Hiſtory does not acquaint us with the pretences alledged upon that occaſion; but after the divorce was declared, and the princeſs acknowledged for queen, they conducted her to the church of the holy ſepulchre, where ſhe was crowned by the patriarch with great ſolemnity. She took * the crown immediately from her own head, and putting it upon Guy de Luſignan's, embraced him as her huſband, ſaluted him as king, and turning towards the grandees who were ſtunn'd at this unexpected ſtep, " what God has joined, " ſays ſhe to them with an air of ſtatelineſs, 'tis not for men to put aſunder". The grand maſter of the templars who was let into the intrigue, ſupported her with all his intereſt. The grandees were at laſt obliged to ſubmit and conſent to a choice they could not help, and the people who are always fond of ceremonies, contrary to their cuſtom, ſaw this laſt with more amazement than pleaſure.

THE count of Tripoli was the only perſon who looked upon the queen's choice as an injuſtice done to himſelf. 'Tis impoſſible to expreſs how much he was enraged at this preference: he ſwore the death of his rival, and of the templars alſo who had contributed ſo much to his advancement: and he did not care though he periſhed himſelf, if he could but cruſh his enemies with his own fall.

FULL of this ſpirit of revenge, and reſolved to ſacrifice every thing to his reſentment, he went off abruptly and retired to his own territories. Saladine, an able politician as well as a great general, no ſooner heard of his diſcontent, than he ſent a private meſſenger that he could depend upon to treat with him. This envoy repreſented to him with all the appearances of frankneſs, that it was not his maſter's intereſt to ſuffer a chriſtian and independent kingdom in the heart of ſo many provinces as compoſed his empire; but that if he would turn Mahometan and become his vaſſal, he would engage to place him on the throne of Jeruſalem, and in order to maintain him on it, would ſacrifice all the templars, their common enemies, to his ſecurity.

RAIMOND, blinded with his paſſion, agreed to every thing: It is ſaid that he immediately cauſed himſelf to be circumciſed. But the better to carry on their deſigns, it was agreed between him and the envoy, that he ſhould not publickly declare himſelf of another religion till after he was in poſſeſſion of the throne; and that to deſtroy the new king the more ſurely, he ſhould reconcile himſelf with him.

THE perfidious count went with this deſign to Jeruſalem; ſome common friends that he apply'd to for that purpoſe, and who had no other view but to put an end to the diviſion, interpoſed honeſtly in the accommodation;

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* Præfata regina accepit coronam regiam in manibus ſuis, & poſuit eam ſuper caput Guidonis de Luſignan mariti ſui, dicens, Ego eligo te in regem & dominum meum & terræ Hieroſolymitanæ, quia quod Deus conjunxit, homo ſeparare non debet. Rog. Hoveden. p. 634.

peace was made between them; Raimond acknowledged Luſignan for his ſovereign; and this count ſo capable by his valour of defending the holy places, was not aſhamed to add treaſon to his apoſtaſy.

Saladine, as it was agreed between them, fell into Paleſtine at the head of a mighty army; his deſign was to beſiege Acre, the ſtrongeſt and richeſt city of the whole kingdom. His army was computed to amount to near fifty thouſand horſe beſides foot; and moſt of theſe troops were made up of the old inhabitants of the countrey or their children, whom the kings of Jeruſalem after the conqueſt of Godfrey de Bouillon had driven out of it. They returned all in Saladine's retinue in hopes of a ſpeedy conqueſt, and of recovering the inheritance of their fathers.

1187.

Contin. Will. Tyr. l. 1. c. 5.

The Sultan favoured under hand by the count of Tripoli, found no oppoſition in his march, and advancing to Acre laid ſiege to the town. The king had committed the defence of it to the two grand maſters, who had out marched the enemy with a large body of hoſpitallers and templars, the ſureſt reſource the ſtate had to depend on. The two grand maſters, making the garriſon and inhabitants take arms, ſallied out in the night time. The Chriſtians, carrying their ſwords in one hand and fire in the other, ſurprize the infidels, break into their camp, demoliſh the tents, cut the throats of all they find aſleep and ſet every thing on fire. Terrour and conſternation ſeize the enemy's army, but the daylight which began to appear, and Saladine's preſence recovered them from their fright; each regiment drew up under their reſpective colours; they came to a regular engagement, and endeavoured to ſurround the Chriſtians.

1187.

Chron. de Nangis.

Though the infidels were vaſtly ſuperior in numbers, yet the military friars, who never counted their enemies, keep their ground, puſh the enemy before them, fall upon the body that Saladine himſelf had rallied: all engage cloſe and mix together, making one univerſal ſlaughter; rivers of blood run down on both ſides; no quarter given nor priſoners taken: an equal fury animated the ſoldiers of both parties. If Saladine ſhewed as much conduct as courage in this action, the two grand maſters on their ſide, bravely followed by their knights, performed prodigies of valour. The grand maſter Deſmoulins at the head of the hoſpitallers pierced ſeveral times into the enemy's ſquadrons; nothing cou'd ſtand before him. The count of Tripoli, who it is ſaid was diſguiſed on this occaſion and fought in favour of the infidels, to diſpatch ſo terrible a warriour, killed his horſe, who falling down tumbled upon the grand maſter, and the weight of his armour hindering him from riſing, the infidels pierced his body with a thouſand wounds even after he was dead, either to revenge the death of their comrades, or becauſe theſe Barbarians thought they could never be too ſure that ſo great a commander wou'd not riſe again. Many of the hoſpitallers * died bravely over the body of their chief, labouring to ſave it from the fury of the Barbarians. At laſt, both parties being ſpent, gave over fighting, and there was no other ground but Saladine's retreat for concluding that the greateſt loſs was on his ſide.

Contin. Will. Tyr. lib. 1. c. 5.

The hoſpitallers made a diligent ſearch over the field of battel for the body of their grand maſter to pay him their laſt offices. After a great deal of pains they found it at laſt under a heap of Turcomans and Sarazens, who had fallen by the edge of his ſcymitar, or whom his knights had, after his death, ſacrificed to their reſentment. He was carried into Acre, and the funeral of that great man was ſolemnized there with the tears of his knights, and the univerſal lamentation of the inhabitants.

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* Eodem die videlicet calendas Maii, ſexaginta fratres templi & ſummus magiſter domûs hoſpitalis cum pluribus domûs ſuæ fratribus interfecti ſunt. Rog. Hoved. in Henr. II.

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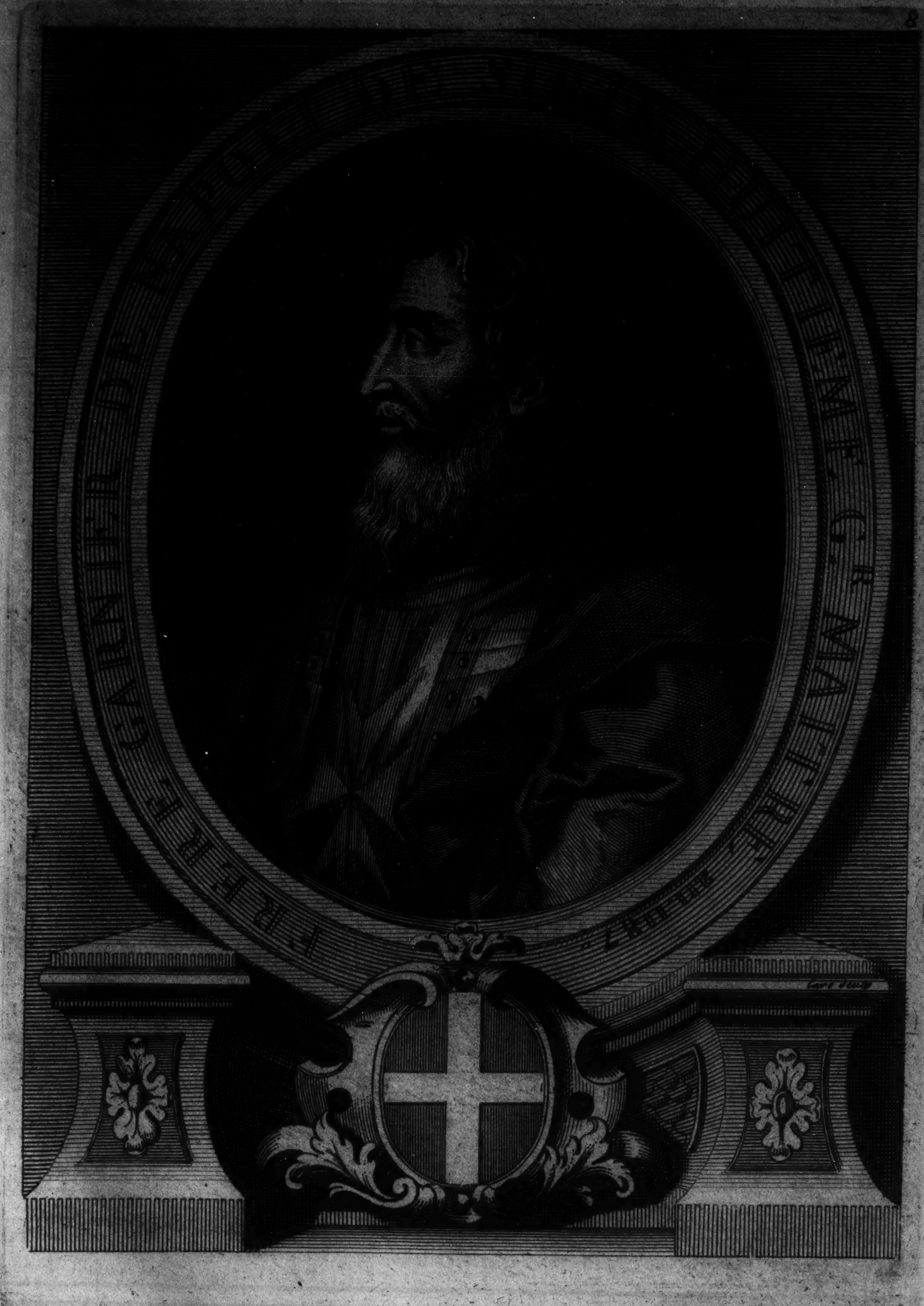
FRERE GARNIER DE NAPLES ... ITIEME GR. MAITRE

ROGER DESMOULINS.

THEY proceeded afterwards to the choice of his ſucceſſor; and as the enemy was in the heart of the kingdom, and they were in continual expectations of another battel, the hoſpitallers were very ſenſible that they had more need than ever of a general and able warriour to command them. The choice of this juncture fell upon brother Garnier, a native of Napoli in Syria, grand prior of England, and Turcopolier of the order, titles that were inſeparable: which ſhews that at that time the dignities were not annexed, as they are now, to the different languages and nations of which the order is compoſed.

GARNIER OF SYRIA.

1187.

THE Turcoples, from whence the name of Turcopolier is derived, were antiently, as William of Tyre relates, a companie of light horſe. The original of the term came from the Turcomans, who gave the name of Turcopoles in general to ſuch children as were born of a Greek mother and Turcoman father, and were deſigned for the war ſervice. It was afterwards a title of military dignity in the kingdom of Cyprus, from whence it was adopted into the order of S. John. But the hoſpitallers uſed it only to ſignify the colonel general of the infantry. Brother Garnier had reſided for ſome time in England in quality of bailiff and turcopolier of the order. During that time king Henry II. having expell'd the canons regular out of the famous abbey of Buckland for living too licentiouſly, gave this monaſtery to the order, and brother Garnier put ſome nuns that were hoſpitallers of S. John into it. This great bailiff came back afterwards into Paleſtine to ſhare in the dangers and glory of his brethren; and his valour and virtues advanced him to the dignity of grand maſter upon the death of brother Roger Deſmoulins.

Will. Tyr. l. 1. c. 7. l. 19. c. 24. l. 22. c. 9. Aſſiſes du Royaume de Jeruſalem p. 458. Hiſtoire del' Iſle de Cypre par Etienne de Luſignan. Albert. Acq. l. 5. c. 3.

HIS firſt care was to recall home the greateſt part of the knights who were diſperſed in various places; and he received likewiſe ſeveral novices into the order, to ſupply the room of ſuch as were loſt in the laſt action, and to put himſelf in a condition of making head with ſucceſs againſt the arms of Saladine.

Nangis ad An. 1188.

THAT prince, by agreement with the count of Tripoli and the better to conceal their correſpondence, laid ſiege to Tiberias, which belonged to the count, in right of Eſchine his wiſe, who made her ordinary reſidence there. The town was carried immediately, and the counteſs, who knew nothing of her husband's treaſon, retired into the caſtle which was better fortified. The traytor Raimond, as if he had been very anxious about the ſucceſs of the ſiege, cries out for ſuccour, calls all his friends about him, and lays before the king the great importance of the place, which covered all the frontier on that ſide; they reſolved immediately to throw in ſuccours, coſt what it would; the king prepared to march himſelf at the head of what forces he had got together; but the count, who had a mind to deliver all the forces of the kingdom up at once to Saladine, remonſtrated to the king, that if he advanced with an army ſo much inferiour to that of the Sultan, he would expoſe himſelf infallibly to a defeat; that Saladine had at leaſt 80000 horſe beſides his foot, and that to oppoſe ſo formidable a power, it was neceſſary to draw all the garriſons out of the ſtrong towns, and bring into the field all the inhabitants that were able to bear arms, in order to increaſe the army, and have leſs to fear from the number of the infidels.

GUY de Luſignan, who was neither a great ſoldier nor an able politician, abandon'd himſelf to the perfidious counſel of a reconciled enemy: all the ſtrong towns were drained of their garriſons, and even of their inhabitants; and not a ſoul left in them but old men, women and children. The whole fortune of the kingdom was ſtaked upon this confuſed multitude of ſoldiers, citizens and peaſants armed ridiculouſly enough, moſt of them marching without any order, and only animated by fury and paſſion.

GARNIER OF SYRIA.

UPON the approach of the Chriſtians, Saladine drew out of his lines; they ſoon met; the fight laſted for three days and was very bloody. Guy de Luſignan, by the count of Tripoli's advice, had encamped among the rocks as in a place where there was no forcing him; but the treacherous count had concealed from him that the ſoldiers could have no water in that place, but what they muſt paſs through the army of the infidels to fetch. A want of ſo preſſing a nature was ſoon felt; neceſſity obliged them to advance the next day againſt the enemy to open themſelves a paſſage to the river. The * templars, who were in the van, marched down firſt into the plain, charged the infidels with their uſual valour; and upon the firſt onſet drove before them. Never had thoſe brave warriours diſtinguiſhed themſelves by ſo much courage and intrepidity on any occaſion. They pierced and broke the firſt ſquadrons of the infidels, but the count of Tripoli who commanded the body that was to ſuſtain them, inſtead of following the path which thoſe noble ſoldiers of Jeſus Chriſt had opened to victory, abandoned them and fled by compact with Saladine who let him eſcape, and the templars being left alone in the plain were over-born by the multitude of their Enemies, and were all killed or taken priſoners: The reſt of the army retired into their camp in the rocks where that traytor, the count of Tripoli, had inſnared them. The flight of that prince, whoſe capacity and valour they had a great opinion of, made the Chriſtians think the affair was deſperate: They paſſed the night among the rocks without water, in the month of July. Saladin, to add to the heat of the ſeaſon, ſet fire to the woods that grew upon the mountain, and encircled the camp of the Chriſtians; the ſoldiers half dead with thirſt and wearineſs, lay down upon the ground, giving themſelves no concern about the enemy, as thinking death was not the worſt of evils. Saladine having notice from ſome deſerters, that there was no longer any order or command obſerved in the camp, attacked it and found but a weak reſiſtance. It was not ſo much a fight as a butchery, the Turcomans and Sarazens gave no quarter, rivers of blood ran down between the rocks; the whole army was either deſtroyed or taken priſoners; the king, the grand maſter of the templars, Renaud de Chatillon and a great number of the nobility and knights of S. John and the Temple fell alive into the infidels hands. The Turks took likewiſe the true croſs which was uſually carried into the field. The grand maſter of the hoſpitallers, after ſome feaſts of incredible valour, made his eſcape though all over wounds, and opened his way ſword in hand through the enemy's ſquadrons: he reached Aſcalon but died the next day of his wounds.

Will. Neub. l. 3. p. 43. Rog. Hoveden. p. 637. Herold. contin. belli ſacri l. 1. 7. p. 14.

SALADINE, who flattered himſelf that by the extinction of the military orders he ſhould the more eaſily make himſelf maſter of the Holy Land, notified to the hoſpitallers and templars who were priſoners of war, that they had no way to avoid death but by changing their religion, and renouncing Jeſus Chriſt: but theſe noble warriors offered themſelves with ſatisfaction to the ſlaughter; they were all put to death † by the Barbarians, and the conſtancy and firmneſs with which they received it animating the faith of the com-

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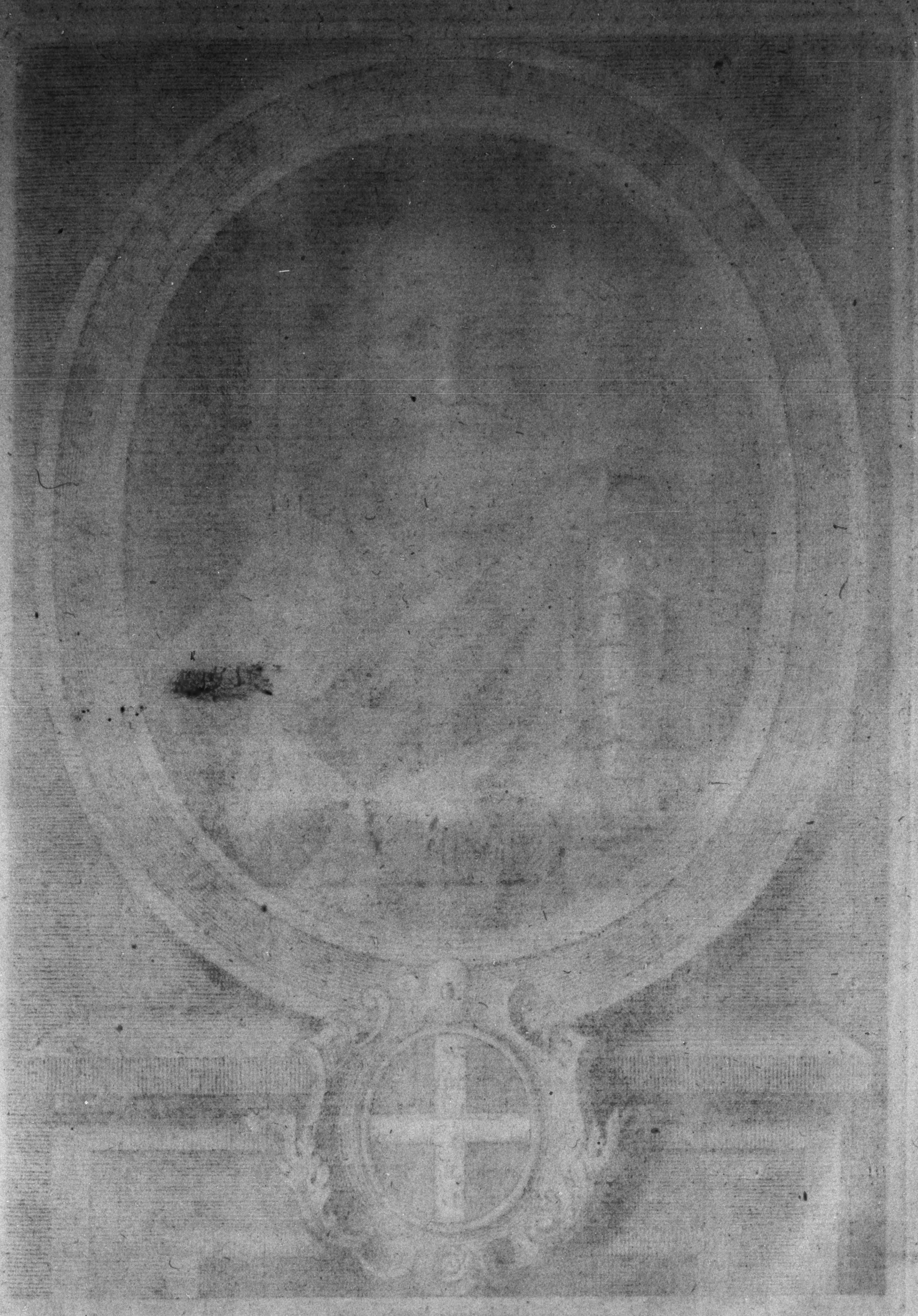
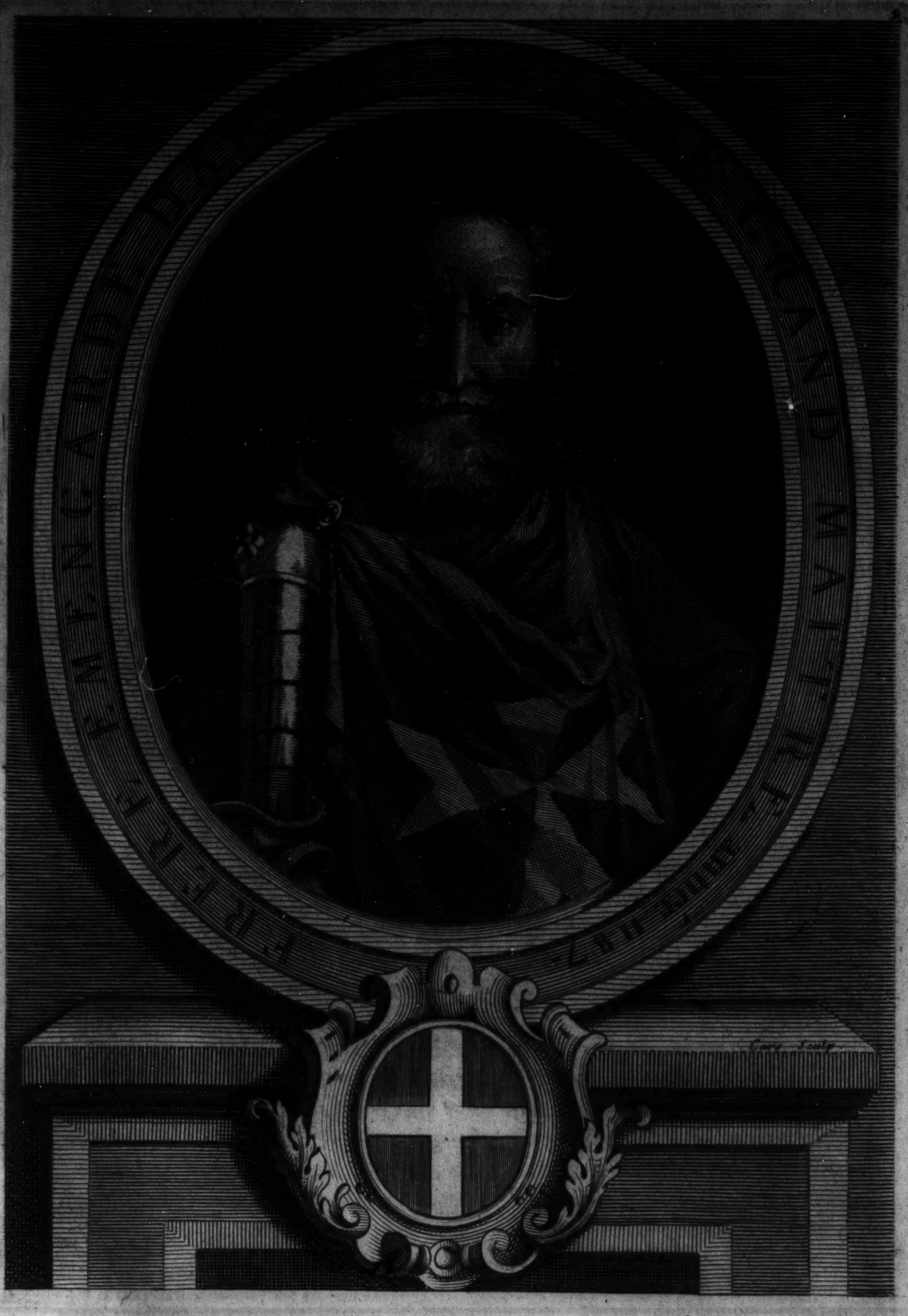
* Templarii robuſtiſſimo in hoſtem impetu procurrentes, primarum hoſtium turmarum denſitatem ruperunt, & earum vel ſtragem vel fugam fecerunt. Verum tunc demum noſtrorum nefanda proditio & nefaria cum hoſte colluſio claruit; comes enim Tripolitanus cæterique optimates cum turmis ſuis, ſpreta diſpoſitione regia, præclaram illam templi militiam, hoſtes fortiter proterentem, dum non ſequerentur, periclitari fecere; atque ita templarii conſertiſſimis hoſtium cuneis, nullo ſequente, immerſi illico vel victima vel præda fuere. Will. Neubrig. l. 3. p. 430.

† Milites templi & hoſpitalis quos in campo non voraverat gladius, ab aliis ſegregatè captivis Saladinus coram ſe decollari præcepit. Rog. Hoved. p. 637.

Quotquot templarii & hoſpitalarii inveniuntur, protinus decollantur iidem. Nangis ab an. 1187.




FRERE EMENGARDE DE
GRAND MAITRE, année 1187
Cars Sculp

GARNIER OF SYRIA.

mon ſoldiers, ſeveral of them that were only ſeculars, by an innocent fraud, cried out that they were templars; and, as if they were afraid of wanting executioners, they preſſed forward ſtriving with one another which ſhould be firſt ſacrificed by the ſword of the infidels.

THE ſultan after this gave orders to bring the king into his tent, with the grand maſter of the templars, Renaud de Chatillon, and the other noblemen that were taken priſoners, none of whom expected a more favourable fate. Saladine, to remove the king's apprehenſions, made him ſit down by him, and ſeeing the unfortunate prince half dead with thirſt and wearineſs, ordered a liquor to be brought him that was agreeable to the taſte, and cooled in ſnow. The king having drank, gave the cup to Renaud, but the ſultan oppoſed it, and told the king by his interpreter, "'Tis for you that I ſent for this liquor, "and not for that vile man who is never to hope for quarter". To underſtand the meaning of theſe words, it muſt be obſerved, that among thoſe infidels, the rights of hoſpitality were inviolable, and thoſe Barbarians never put their priſoners to death, when they had once given them any thing to eat or drink with their own hand.

'TWAS for this reaſon that Saladine hindered Renaud from drinking after the king; he reproached him heavily with the truces that he had violated, his robberies and his inhumanity towards the priſoners, which he had taken rather, ſaid he, as a robber, than according to the rules of war; and withal imputed to him as the greateſt of crimes according to the principles of his religion, the deſign he had formed of ſurprizing and plundering Mecca and Medina, "you muſt then, to repair ſuch a ſeries of outrages, ſays the Sul"tan in a louder tone, either renounce Jeſus Chriſt immediately or dye a vic"tim to our prophet's vengeance". Renaud, bold and intrepid even under the ſword of the enemy, anſwered him, that a Chriſtian did not know what it was to purchaſe his life by ſuch a baſeneſs. Saladine thereupon tranſported with wrath drew his ſcymitar and ſtruck of his head, making a martyr of that noble man, who by ſo chriſtian and brave an end, atoned for what was leſs juſtifiable in his manner of making war. The ſultan at the king's requeſt ſpared the life of the grand maſter of the templars, ſending him to Damaſcus with the king and the other priſoners, from whom he expected to draw a vaſt ranſome.

THE kingdom of Jeruſalem was in a terrible deſolation; there were no troops nor any leaders to command them; the towns were left without inhabitants, the two military orders had loſt the greateſt part of their knights, and of the two grand maſters, one was juſt dead of the wounds he had received in battel, and the grand maſter of the temple was a priſoner at Damaſcus.

IN this melancholy ſituation, the hoſpitallers that were left aſſembled to proceed to the choice of a new grand maſter. One might then have ſaid of that great poſt, what S. Paul ſays of the epiſcopal office, on account of the ſufferings and perſecutions attending it, that it was a meritorious work to deſire that eminent dignity. In truth, they were forced to offer a ſort of violence to brother Ermengard Daps, to oblige him in that diſmal juncture to take the government upon him. This order that was lately ſo powerful and formidable to the infidels, was now almoſt extinct by the great number of knights that were loſt in the late battels, and the few that had eſcaped the fury of the Saracens, were in continual expectation of undergoing the ſame fate; the grand maſter at the ſame time being unable to diſcover any reſource for himſelf and his brethren but an honourable death if they failed of victory.

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SALADINE, to make his advantage of the general conſternation, followed the torrent of his fortune; moſt of the fortified places of the kingdom opened their gates to him; the city of S. John d'Acre deſtitute of the military friars, ERMENGARD DAYS.

its brave defenders, held out but two days; and of all the conqueſts of the Chriſtians none were left but Jeruſalem, Tyre, Aſcalon, Tripoli and Antioch; and of theſe two laſt places one was independent of the crown of Jeruſalem and the other was only held of it in fief.

To give a better notion of the deplorable condition of that kingdom, it may not be improper to inſert here the circular letter which a templar, a ſorrowful witneſs of this fatal revolution, wrote to his brethren of the weſt after the battel of Tiberias.

“ BROTHER Thierri grand preceptor, the poor convent and whole order, but now almoſt reduced to nothing, To all the preceptors and all our brethren of the temple, Send greeting in him to whom we addreſs our groans, and whom the ſun and the moon adore.

PROOF VIII.

“ WE cannot, our deareſt brethren, expreſs to you by theſe letters, nor even by tears of blood all the calamities that our ſins have drawn upon our heads. The Turcomans, that barbarous nation, having covered the face of the land, we advanced to relieve the caſtle of Tiberias, which thoſe infidels were beſieging; an engagement ſoon enſued, but the enemy having driven us into rocks and craggy mountains, our troops were cut in pieces; thirty thouſand men fell in that fatal day; the king is taken and what is ſtill more deplorable, the precious wood of the true croſs is fallen into the hands of the infidels. Saladine, to crown his victory, has cut off the heads of two hundred and thirty of our brethren who were taken in battel, without reckoning ſixty others that we loſt in a former engagement. The ſovereign of the Barbarians is already maſter of the principal towns of the kingdom; the Chriſtians have nothing left but Jeruſalem, Aſcalon, Tyre and Berytus, and even the garriſons and chief inhabitants of theſe places periſhed in the battel of Tiberias: So that it is impoſſible without the ſuccour of heaven, and your aſſiſtance to preſerve them, &c.

BUT this aſſiſtance was too remote, and there was no likelihood of its arriving time enough to ſtop the progreſs of Saladine's arms. That conqueror after reducing S. John d' Acre, Jaffa, Napolouſa, Sebaſte, Nazareth, Seſurieth, Cæſarea, Sidon and Berytus, marched ſtraight to the capital, and inveſted Jeruſalem, the main deſign that he had in view. The queen was in it; but the city had no body to defend it but the inhabitants, the chief of which too, being Greeks by religion, were ſecret enemies of the Latins. Saladine, who knew their diſpoſition well, and thought himſelf already maſter of the place, refuſed to come to any compoſition with the queen. That princeſs, after a ſlight reſiſtance, had deſired to capitulate. Saladine ſent her word that he was reſolved to enter the place ſword in hand, to revenge, as he ſaid, the blood of ſo many Muſſulmen maſſacred by the Chriſtians in the time of Godfrey de Bouillon. The cruelty of this anſwer made the Latin Chriſtians reſolve to bury themſelves in the ruines of the place: Men, women, and children, all took arms, and deſpair ſupplying the place of valour they ſtood the infidels attacks with ſo reſolute a courage, that the ſultan, either apprehending ſome revolution, or at leaſt fearing that the length of the ſiege might retard the other conqueſts that he propoſed, conſented at laſt to enter into a negotiation, and the treaty was ſigned on both ſides the fourteenth day of the ſiege. It was agreed by the capitulation that the queen ſhould deliver up the town in the condition it was in, and without demoliſhing any thing; that the gentry and military perſons ſhould march out with their arms, and have a convoy to conduct them to Tyre or any other town they pleaſed; that with regard to the inhabitants, the natural Greeks might ſtay there, but all ſuch as were Latins by deſcent, ſhould be obliged to leave the place; and to ſhew, that he was maſter of their lives and

liberty,

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liberty, he would make them pay for their ranſome, the men ten crowns of gold, the women five, and two for every child; and that all who could not pay theſe reſpective rates, ſhould remain ſlaves to the conquerour.

ALL the night long which uſhered in the execution of this diſmal treaty, nothing was to be heard in Jeruſalem, but the groans, wailings and cries of the miſerable inhabitants, lamenting their fate, and that they were obliged to deliver up the holy city with their own hands to the infidels. Men, women, and children, young and old, proſtrated themſelves before the holy ſepulchre, bathing it with the tears, kiſſing and embracing it and being unable to part from it: In fine the day broke, and the diſmal moment arrived when the gates were to be opened to the victorious enemy. The infidels took poſſeſſion of the place; but Saladine, attended with his principal officers, would not make his entry till all the Latin Chriſtians were gone out. The firſt who appeared in the mournful proceſſions were mothers loaded with their little children that were as yet unable to walk; others led by the hand ſuch as were a little ſtronger; the men carried the proviſions and the ſmall houſhould goods neceſſary for their families; the queen, encircled with the military men that were left, came after the people, accompanied with the two little princeſſes her daughters, the patriarch and his clergy, and followed by all the perſons of diſtinction of both ſexes. Saladin, as the queen drew near, advanced to meet her, ſpoke to her with great reſpect, and to comfort her, gave her hopes of ſetting the king her husband at liberty in conſideration of a moderate ranſome. Some Chriſtian ladies of the queen's retinue, whoſe husbands had been taken by Saladine during the war, paſſing before that prince, and being ſeized with a freſh ſenſe of their afflictions at his ſight, gave terrible ſhrieks and held up their hands like ſuppliants. The prince enquiring what they had to ask of him, one of the ladies coming up to him ſaid, " we have loſt " our all, ſir, but one word of yours can eaſe the grief that ſo ſenſibly afflicts us; " give us back our fathers, our brothers, and our husbands, that by the fortune of war are your priſoners, and we freely abandon to you all the reſt; " With pledges ſo dear as they, we cannot be entirely miſerable; they will " take care of us, and the God whom we adore who provides even for the " birds of the air, will provide for our children".

SALADINE, who had nothing of the Barbarian in him but his birth, touched with the tears of theſe ladies who had thrown themſelves at his feet, after making them riſe up, ordered all the priſoners that they claimed to be delivered to them. He added likewiſe to this grace ſome preſents that he made them, and what ſhewed a great fund of humanity in this Sultan, after his entry into Jeruſalem, being informed of the care which the hoſpitallers took of the ſick and wounded, he gave thoſe knights, though enemies of his religion, leave to ſtay in Jeruſalem a year longer, till the ſick were entirely cured.

THUS Jeruſalem, eighty eight years after the conqueſt of it by the firſt cruſade, fell again under the dominion of the infidels. Saladine before he entered into the city, cauſed the bells to be broken and melted down and the patriarchal church to be waſhed with roſe water. This church was built at firſt upon the old ruines of the temple of Solomon by the caliph Omar, who in A. D. 636. having taken Jeruſalem made it the principal moſque. This moſque, which was by the infidels called Alaxa, was turned into a church upon the conqueſt of Godfrey de Bouillon; and the pilgrims were ſo impoſed on by a falſe tradition, that they believed it to be the very temple of Solomon that was deſtroyed by the Romans, and rebuilt afterwards by the Chriſtians. However this be, Saladine being maſter of the city, the queen retired with the princeſſes her daughters to Aſcalon; the inhabitants of Jeru-

ſalem

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ſalem diſperſed themſelves into different places of Aſia and Europe; ſome took refuge at Tripoli, others made their way to Antioch, and a great number, deſpairing ever to ſee the kingdom of Jeruſalem reſtored, paſſed as far as Sicily and Italy. It was at this time, as we are told, that the nuns hoſpitallers of S. John, flying from the confuſions of war, retired into Europe with the grand maſter's permiſſion, where they afterwards made conſiderable ſettlements, as we ſhall ſee in the courſe of this work.

Thierry, grand preceptor of the templars, in a letter that he wrote to Henry king of England, gave him an account of this ſtrange revolution, and as ſuch original pieces are of great authority in hiſtory, we fanſy the reader will not be diſpleaſed to find a letter here inſerted that relates the miſerable circumſtances of theſe great events.

Proof IX.

“ Know, great king, ſays the templar to him, that Saladine has taken the city of Jeruſalem, and the tower of David; the Syrian Chriſtians are allowed to guard the holy ſepulchre only till the fourth day after next Michaelmas; the hoſpitallers are permitted to ſtay a year longer in their houſe, to take care of the ſick; the knights of that order, who are in the caſtle of Beauvoir, diſtinguiſh themſelves every day by their various enterprizes againſt the Sarazens; they have lately taken two caravans from the infidels, in the firſt of which they found the arms and ammunition which the Turks were tranſporting from the fortreſs of la Fere after they had demoliſhed it. Carac in the neighbourhood of Mont-royal, Mont-royal it ſelf, Sapheta of the temple, another Carac, and Margat which belongs to the hoſpitallers, Caſtelblanco, Tripoli and Antioch ſtill hold out againſt all the efforts of the Turks. Saladine has cauſed the great croſs to be taken down from the dome of the church that was built on the ground of Solomon's temple; and for two days together it was dragged ignominiouſly through the ſtreets, trampled under foot, and defiled with dirt. They have waſhed the inſide and outſide of that church with roſe water, by way of purification, in order to make a moſque of it, and there they have ſolemnly proclaimed the law of Mahomet. The Turks have laid ſiege to Tyre ever ſince martinmas; a great number of military engines play upon it day and night, throwing in continually ſquare ſtones of a vaſt bigneſs. Young Conrad, ſon to the Marqueſs of Montferrat, has ſhut himſelf up in the place, and makes a gallant defence, being well ſeconded by the knights of S. John and the templars; on the eve of S. Silveſter, ſeventeen chriſtian galleys, with thoſe brave friars on board, ſailed out of the port with ten other Sicilian veſſels, commanded by general Margarit, a Catalan by nation, and attacked the fleet of Saladine in a manner before his eyes; the infidels were defeated; the great admiral of Alexandria and eight emirs were made priſoners; they took eleven ſhips, and a great number ran aground on the coaſt, which Saladine ſet on fire and burnt to aſhes, for fear they ſhould fall into the hands of the Chriſtians. That prince appeared the next day in his camp mounted on the fineſt of his horſes, whoſe tail and ears he had cut, making thus a publick acknowledgment of the defeat he had received, and of the trouble it gave him”.

To have a right notion of what paſſed at the ſiege of Tyre, it muſt be obſerved, that Saladine, after the taking of Jeruſalem, beſieged Aſcalon which the queen ſurrendred to him in conſideration of his ſetting the king her husband, the grand maſter of the templars and fifteen other noblemen at liberty; and by his treaty Guy de Luſignan made a ſolemn renunciation of the title of king of Jeruſalem. This prince with the queen his wife retired afterwards to a caſtle by the ſea ſide, where they were rather hid, than in a condition to defend themſelves. Saladine, without troubling himſelf about an

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enemy whom he deſpiſed, marched from Aſcalon to lay ſiege to Tyre, an ancient and famous city of Phœnicia, celebrated in holy writ for its king Hiram, the friend of Solomon, and renowned in hiſtory for the ſiege laid to it by Alexander the Great, againſt whom it held out ſeven compleat months, and had not been then taken, if that prince had not joined the iſle, in which it ſtands, to the main land, by means of a bank which he raiſed to fill up the arm of the ſea, which made it an iſland. The inhabitants, degenerated from the bravery of their anceſtors, and dreading the miſeries of a place carried by ſtorm, were preparing, upon Saladine's approach, to go to meet him, and offer him the keys of the city, when young Conrad, the laſt of the marqueſs of Montferrat's ſons, being come into the Holy Land out of zeal to contribute to his father's liberty, who was then Saladine's priſoner, encouraged them to make an honourable defence, and offered them his ſervice; but he added that he would not ſhed a drop of his blood for ſuch a coward of a prince as Guy de Luſignan, and inſiſted that if he had the good fortune, as he hoped, to preſerve the place, they ſhould engage by a ſolemn treaty to acknowledge him for their lord. The Tyrians, deſerted by their ſovereign, and left to themſelves, agreed to the condition. Conrad called in to his aſſiſtance a conſiderable number of the knights of S. John, who put themſelves at the head of the inhabitants, and ſoon made ſuch ſoldiers of them, that they ſeemed to be animated with the ſame ſpirit and courage; the very women did their part, either ſhooting arrows at the beſiegers, or carrying victuals to their husbands, who lay upon the ramparts. Never was the place more bravely defended from the time that Alexander the Great laid ſiege to it. Saladine, diſcouraged at the length of a ſiege that ſtopped the progreſs of his arms, reſolved to raiſe it, but before he decamped, he cauſed the marqueſs's father, whom he had taken priſoner at the battel of Tiberias, to be carried before the walls, and an herald being admitted into the place, declared to young Conrad that they were going that inſtant to cut off his father's head, if he would not ſurrender Tyre to the ſultan.

The young prince, divided between two duties which ſeemed to him equally indiſpenſable, was to determine whether he ſhould ſave his father's life, or abandon a Chriſtian people to whom he had pledged his faith. To extricate himſelf from this difficulty, he affected a firmneſs that went even to an indifference; "Go, ſays he, to the herald, tell your maſter from me that "he can't put a priſoner of war to death, that ſurrendered upon his parole, "without the utmoſt diſhonour to himſelf, and that, for my part, I ſhall "think my ſelf happy to have had a martyr of Jeſus Chriſt for my father." After this they began to ſhoot afreſh from the city; but the ſoldiers had private orders given them not to point their arrows towards the place where the old marqueſs was expoſed in chains. The ſultan, who had no particular reaſon to deſtroy that prince, from whom too he expected a great ranſome, ſent him back to priſon and raiſed the ſiege. No ſooner was he retired to a convenient diſtance, but the king of Jeruſalem quitted his retreat with a deſign to reap the fruit of young Montferrat's valour. He preſented himſelf before the place, and was going to enter as the ſovereign of it, but he found the gates ſhut, and the inhabitants cried out to him that they were ſurprized, he had forgot the duty he owed to his ſubjects during the ſiege; that he was come a little too late; that a braver perſon than he had taken his place and acquired the lordſhip of Tyre by the juſteſt of all titles, for having defended it valiantly at the hazard of his life againſt the infidels. Guy de Luſignan was forced to retire; but theſe reciprocal pretenſions raiſed a ſort of civil war between the two princes. The grand maſter of the templars, either becauſe he thought the king's cauſe the juſteſt, or by reaſon of the particular friend-

Will. Neubr. l. 3. c. 19. p. 432.

ſhip contracted between them during their common impriſonment, declared himſelf openly againſt the marqueſs of Monſerrat. He not only treated him as an uſurper, but hindred ſupplies of proviſions and ammunition from being brought into the place; and in prejudice of the common intereſts of chriſtianity, as well as in breach of that nice honour and fidelity that the nature of a truſt requires, he diverted to other uſes a conſiderable ſum of money which the king of England, charmed with the reputation of young Conrad, had ſent him to fortify Tyre and maintain a garriſon in it. This we learn from a letter of young Conrad's to the archbiſhop of Canterbury: "I am "become odious, ſays he, to Guy de Luſignan, formerly king of Jeruſalem, "and to the grand maſter of the templars, for having maintained, and for ſtill "maintaining the city of Tyre againſt all the efforts of the infidels. They "attack my honour, they wound my reputation; they hinder ſuccours from "entering into the place, and, what is of a more crying nature, the grand "maſter of the templars has ſeized the money that the king of England ſent "me; which obliges me to complain to you, with infinite concern. As for "the hoſpitallers I muſt neceſſarily commend them, and I call God and you "to witneſs my ſincere acknowledgments to men, who, ever ſince they "took arms for defence of the place, have been continually rendering us very "important ſervices; and far from detaining, as the templars do, that part of "the king of England's money which they were to furniſh us, we aſſure you, "they have ſpent above eight thouſand pieces of their own money in the "defence of Tyre; and to prevent its falling into the hands of the infidels, "who, notwithſtanding their formidable power, were obliged ſhamefully to "raiſe the ſiege, &c.

Proof X.

Saladine, having given over that enterprize, turned his arms, with better ſucceſs, againſt the principality of Antioch. He made himſelf maſter of twenty five towns and caſtles, into which he put ſtrong garriſons that kept the capital in a manner blocked up. The governors and magiſtrates in general, for fear of death or plunder, went a great way to meet the conqueror and receive their chains; all fell before ſo formidable a power, and the Chriſtians had nothing left but Antioch, Tyre and Tripoli.

The count of Tripoli, the wretched inſtrument of the loſs of the Holy Land, ſeeing his enemy dethroned and become a fugitive and vagabond in his own dominions, ſummoned Saladine, purſuant to their treaty, to put him in poſſeſſion of the crown, and deliver him the places of which he had facilitated the conqueſt by his flight at the battel of Tiberias: But the ſultan deſpiſing the traytor, whoſe treaſon had been ſo uſeful to him, anſwered his pretenſions only with the moſt cutting ralleries. The count, enraged at his breach of promiſe, and ſeeing himſelf odious and execrable to both ſides, fell into deſpair, his ſenſes † began to fail him, he ran diſtracted, and dyed ſoon after, raving perpetually with reſentment and rage. When they ſtripped him in order to lay him out, they found that he had turned Mahometan *. The counteſs his widow, by whom he left no iſſue, ſeeing herſelf without any reſſource, applied to Raimond, prince of Antioch, for aſſiſtance, and delivered up Tripoli and its dependences to him, as being the neareſt of kin.

The numerous armies of Saladine, and the rapidity of his conqueſts, leaving the Latin Chriſtians no hopes but from the princes of the weſt, they deputed William archbiſhop of Tyre, author of the hiſtory of the Holy Land, to go and implore their ſuccour. That embaſſador went firſt into Italy, and gave Urban III. who was then in the chair of S. Peter, an account of the fatal event of the battel of Tiberias, and of the loſs of Jeruſalem.

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† Ex doloris vehementia in amentiam verſus, horrenda morte defecit. Will. Neub. l. 3. p. 432.

* Res diſſimulari non potuit; nam corpore defuncti nudato, quia nuper circumciſionis ſtigma ſuſceperat, apparuit; unde palam fuit quod ſe Salahadino confœderans, ſectam Sarracenicam ceperat obſervandum, poſtquam Tripolis urbis dominium filius principis Antiochiæ de jure obtinuit parentelæ. Nangis ibid.

ALL Europe was in a conſternation at this diſmal news, and the pope is ſaid to have died of grief. Gregory VIII. his ſucceſſor, who ſate but two months in the holy ſee, appointed publick prayers and faſts upon the occaſion. The people of Italy, in the height of aſtoniſhment and affliction, cried out, that they were unworthy of the name of Chriſtians, and of ever having part in the kingdom of heaven, if they did not go to deliver the heritage of the ſon of God from the dominion of the infidels. A cotemporary writer adds, that the cardinals made a reſolution † to renounce all kind of diverſions and pleaſures, to receive no preſents from any that had cauſes depending in the court of Rome, and never to mount a horſe, as long as the Holy Land was trodden under foot by the infidels; to be themſelves the firſt in the cruſade, to go to the holy war on foot at the head of the pilgrims, and even to ſubſiſt by asking alms on the road. But there was a great deal more oſtentation in theſe diſcourſes than zeal and true piety. The cardinals ſtaid at Rome; no alteration appeared in their conduct, and the embaſſy of the archbiſhop of Tyre would have had no better ſucceſs than that of Heraclius, patriarch of Jeruſalem, before mentioned, had not the emperor Frederick I. Philip II. king of France, and Henry II. king of England, generouſly entered into the cruſade with moſt of the princes of Europe.

POPE Clement III. ſucceſſor to Gregory VIII. for want of more ſubſtantial ſuccours, named the archbiſhop of Tyre for legate of the holy ſee, and appointed cardinal Henry biſhop of Albano for his collegue. Theſe prelates prevailed with the kings of France and England to meet at a conference held between Trie and Giſors, a place that belonged then to the king of England as duke of Normandy. 1188. July 15. The archbiſhop of Tyre, overflowing with grief, laboured to inſpire into them the ſame zeal that he felt himſelf. He laid before that auguſt aſſembly the groans of the holy city that was again fallen under the tyranny of the infidels; the loſs of ſo many Chriſtians ſacrificed to the fury of the Barbarians; the captivity of ſome, the exile of others, and, what was ſtill more deplorable, the numbers of young children of both ſexes that were born free, now made ſlaves before they could be ſenſible of all their miſery, and to be brought up in errour after the infidels had prepoſſeſſed their minds and impoſed on their reaſon. He enlarged afterwards upon the various artifices and cruelties that theſe Barbarians tried one after another to pervert ſuch as were grown up, and he made ſo moving a deſcription of the diſmal condition the Latin Chriſtians were reduced to, that melting into tears himſelf, he drew them likewiſe from all his auditory.

THE two kings almoſt always at war with one another, were then ready to begin a new one; but upon this report of the miſeries of the holy city, all was pacified, and their claſhing intereſts united in the ſingle view of delivering Paleſtine from the dominion of the infidels. Philip and Henry embraced one another, put on the croſs, and promiſed to join their forces, and paſs by concert into the eaſt.

SEVERAL aſſemblies were held in their reſpective ſtates to raiſe the funds 1188. neceſſary for ſo great an armament; and they came to a reſolution both in France and England, that ſuch as would not take the croſs upon them, ſhould give at leaſt the tenth of all their goods, moveable and immoveable; which occaſioned this tax to be called the Saladine Tythe, becauſe the main end in levying this money was to defray the expences of the war to be carried on againſt that prince. The orders of the Ciſtertians, Chartreux, Fontevrault, and the congregation of the friar Lazars were exempt from this ſubſidy. Petrus Bleſenſis pretended, from their example, that the ſecular clergy ought not to be charged with it, and wrote upon that occaſion to Henry de Dreux biſhop of Orleans and couſin german to king Philip. "The prince, ſays he "to him in his letter [*], ought to exact nothing from the biſhops and clergy "but continual prayers for the ſucceſs of his arms; [†] if the king will needs "engage in this enterprize, let him not raiſe the expence out of the ſpoils of "the church and poor, but out of his own particular revenues, or the booty "that he ſhall take from the infidels, with which he ought to inrich the "church, and not plunder it under pretence of defending it. The church "is free, ſays he, in another place, in virtue of the liberty which Chriſt has "purchaſed for us; but if they load it with exactions, this is to reduce it to "a ſtate of ſervitude like Agar." We ſee here a gingle of words, the ſame that we have already ſpoken of; and that under the equivocal terms of the church and liberty, it looks as if the Chriſtian church was compoſed only of the clergy, or that the ſaviour of mankind had delivered us from ſomething elſe beſide ſin.

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† Firmiter inter ſe promiſerunt quòd de cætero nulla munera recipient ab aliquo qui cauſam habeat in curia; non aſcendent in equum quamdiu terra in qua pedes domini ſteterunt, fuerit ſub pedibus inimici. Roger de Hoveden. p. 636.

The eloquence of Peter Bleſenſis, which was ill employed on this occaſion, did not hinder the raiſing of immenſe ſums in France and England. Commiſſioners were appointed to collect the money, among which were an hoſpitaller and a templar deputed by the two military orders to ſolicite this armament, which they were to accompany themſelves, and to ſerve for the principal guides to it [‡].

Richard I. who had juſt ſucceeded Henry II. his father, when he received his crown, took upon him that prince's engagements for the relief of the Holy Land. He levied an army of thirty thouſand foot and five thouſand horſe, which he embarked, with the neceſſary ammunition and proviſions, on board a prodigious number of veſſels of different bulk. This imbarkation was made at Dover, from whence he paſſed into Flanders, and thence into Normandy; where he held a meeting of the eſtates of the countrey. 'Tis ſaid that during his ſtay in that province, a holy prieſt named Fulk, incumbent of Neuilli, famous for his ſermons, and a preacher of the cruſade, after great encomiums on the Engliſh prince's zeal for the ſuccour of the Holy Land, told him, with a couragious liberty, that to engage the bleſſing of heaven upon his arms, he ought to part with three pernicious paſſions, which he called the three daughters of that prince, pride, avarice and luxury, and
1189. that the king of England, the haughtieſt man on earth, anſwered him bluntly, with a taunting recrimination, "I cannot diſpoſe of my three daughters "better than by giving, as I do, the firſt to the templars, the ſecond to the "Ciſtertian monks, and the third to the biſhops of my own dominions." This prince ſoon after joined Philip Auguſtus at Vezelay on the frontiers of Burgundy, and after paſſing the Rhone they took different roads. The king of France marched towards Genoa, where his fleet was waiting for him, and the king of England went to Marſeilles where he embarked; and the general rendezvous was at the port of Meſſina in Sicily.

Before the two kings ſet out, and whilſt they were buſy in raiſing troops and money in their dominions, the two legates paſſed into Germany, and

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[*] Reverendiſſime & dilectiſſime pater mi, tuæ diſcretioni committo religioſorum quietem, pacem ſimplicium, cauſam Chriſti, & eccleſiæ libertatem. Epiſt. 112.

[†] Si autem propoſuit hujus peregrinationis iter arripere, non de ſpoliis eccleſiarum, non de ſudoribus pauperum viaticum ſibi & ſuis exhibeat, ſed de reditibus propriis aut de præda hoſtili bella Chriſti conficiat. Idem. Epiſt. 121.

[‡] Colligatur autem pecunia illa in ſingulis parochiis præſenti preſbytero parochiæ & archipreſbytero & uno templario & uno hoſpitalario, & ſerviente regis, & Clerico regis. Rog. de Hoveden. p. 641.

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came to Mentz, where the emperor Frederic I. called Barbaroſſa, was holding a general diet of the empire on the ſame ſubject. He was a prince eminent for his valour, and though advanced in years, yet he generouſly took the croſs upon him, together with Frederic duke of Suabia his ſon. Sixty eight princes, or great lords of Germany, as well eccleſiaſtical as temporal, followed the example of their ſovereign and put on the croſs; and in order to their march the general rendezvous of the troops was fixed at Ratisbonne, whither all that were engaged in the cruſade had orders to repair on the twenty third of April the year enſuing.

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THE Chriſtian part of Spain had no ſhare in this great armament of Europe. The kings of Caſtile, Arragon and Navarre had their hands but too full in oppoſing the Moors and Sarazens, who had ſeized, as is well known, upon the fineſt provinces of that great monarchy. The queen of Arragon, infinitely afflicted for the loſs of the Holy Land, and acquainted with the diſperſion and miſeries of its inhabitants, reſolved to found a monaſtery for ladies of the order of S. John, the better to preſerve the memory of ſo many illuſtrious knights of that order, as had lately periſhed in Paleſtine.

THIS princeſs, named Sancha, was daughter to Alphonſus king of Caſtile, and wiſe to another Alphonſus the ſecond of the name, called the chaſt, king of Arragon, ſon to Raimond Berenger count of Barcelona, and afterwards king of Arragon, whom we have ſpoken of before on occaſion of the treaty between that prince and the grand maſter Raimond Dupuy, touching the ſucceſſion to the crown of Arragon.

QUEEN Sancha his daughter, being married into a family that had long bore an affection to the order, eſpouſed the ſame ſentiments, and formed a deſign of founding a monaſtery of nuns hoſpitallers at Sixenne, a village ſituated between Saragoſſa and Lerida, and depending on the caſtellany of Emposta, a grand priory of the language of Arragon. The queen gave brother Garcia de Liſa, the then caſtellan, other conſiderable lands near Tarragona in exchange for it; and after communicating her project to Raimond Berenger, a knight and proviſor of the order in Arragon, this pious princeſs laid the foundation of a palace rather than a convent; and as ſhe conſidered that this houſe might ſerve one day for a retreat to her ſelf, and in future times to other princeſſes of the royal family, nothing was omitted with regard either to the magnificence and convenience of the buildings, or to the largeneſs of the encloſure about it, or in fine to the greatneſs and ſecurity of the revenues. This royal convent was founded for ſixty ladies of noble birth, who were to be admitted without any portion; and ſuch as were of the kingdom of Arragon or Catalonia were to be of an extraction ſo illuſtrious and ſo publickly known, that they ſhould have no need to produce their proofs.

WE have obſerved that hiſtorians do not tell us preciſely to what part of Chriſtendom the nuns hoſpitallers of the houſe of Jeruſalem retired after the loſs of that capital of Judæa. There is reaſon to think, that it was upon their account, that this pious princeſs founded this famous convent in the year following, to ſerve them for a retreat and aſylum; and we are the more inclined to embrace this opinion, becauſe the priory of Sixenne was founded immediately after the loſs of the holy city. But after all, as this is but a conjecture founded merely on the agreement of the time, we ſhall only obſerve by the by, that this foundation was followed by many others of the ſame order as well in Catalonia as in Italy, France and Portugal, which we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of hereafter.

THE monaſtery of Sixenne became ſoon the moſt famous in the kingdom. The king, at the queen's inſtance, endowed it with large revenues; pope Celeſtine III. put theſe nuns, like the hoſpitallers, under the rule of St. Au-

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Proof XI.

guſtine, as may be ſeen in the bull of that ſovereign pontif bearing date A. D. 1193. Their habit was a robe of ſcarlet or red cloth with a black mantle à bec, upon which was the white croſs with eight points directly upon the heart; they had a particular breviary: they wore at church rochets of fine linen; and in memory of the queen their foundreſs they held a ſilver ſcepter in their hands during the office and divine ſervice.

The prioreſs preſented to vacant benefices, and had even the privilege of giving the habit of obedience to ſuch prieſts as ſerved their church. She viſits even now her lands with her dames aſſiſting her, and is a member of the provincial chapters of the order in Arragon, has a voice and ſeat there after the caſtellan of Empoſta; and when the chapter of the order is held at Saragoſſa, the chapter of the cathedral ſend her her canonical portion as bendareſs of that church.

Queen Sancha, after the king her husband's death, retired into this monaſtery with one of the princeſſes her daughters, and it is ſaid, that both of them embraced the monaſtick profeſſion. As we ſhall have occaſion to mention this holy houſe again on occaſion of the alterations that happened afterwards in the government of it, we ſhall only obſerve here, that all manner of Chriſtian virtues were practiſed there in an eminent degree, that theſe nuns hoſpitallers got up at midnight to ſing praiſes to God; that their ſupplications and prayers were almoſt without intermiſſion, and theſe holy virgins were continually lifting up their pure and innocent hands to heaven to implore his bleſſing on the arms of the knights of S. John their brethren, and ask of God that he would be pleaſed to deliver holy Sion from under the ſlavery of the infidels.

This pious zeal, ſo general at that time of contributing to recover the kingdom of Jeruſalem, cauſed moſt of the nations of Europe to take up arms; and whilſt the king's of France and England, were making preparations for that glorious expedition, the moſt zealous, without ſtaying for thoſe princes, flocked from all quarters into Paleſtine.

We have ſeen above that Guy de Luſignan, upon his eſcape out of priſon, finding himſelf a king without a kingdom, retired at firſt to a caſtle in the county of Tripoli, where he afterwards muſtered together the broken remains of his fortune. Godfrey de Luſignan his brother brought him from the weſt a freſh body of troops of the cruſade; various adventurers, Greeks, Latins and Syrians joined him, and there was formed in a ſhort time a little army of ſeven or eight thouſand foot, and ſeven hundred horſe. This ſuccour, weak as it was, gave him nevertheleſs ſome hopes of ſeeing a change in his fortune: And to ſecure himſelf a place of retreat, that ſhould depend on no body but himſelf, he laid ſiege to S. John d' Acre, a ſtrong place with an haven capable of receiving the veſſels and ſuccours of the princes of the weſt. The hoſpitallers and templars joined the army: there arrived likewiſe three private cruſades, which advanced before the great armies that were expected out of Europe. The landgrave of Thuringia and duke of Gueldres commanded the firſt, which was entirely compoſed of Germans: there came another made up of the people of the north, Danes, Frieſlanders and Flemings: there arrived too a third, at the head of which were two princes of the houſe of Dreux, and a conſiderable number of the greateſt lords of the kingdom: there came thither at the ſame time ſome Venetians, Lombards and Piſans; and Conrad of the houſe of Montferrat, prince of Tyre, forgetting his diſputes with Guy de Luſignan, would needs ſhare in the perils and glory of the enterprize.

The Chriſtians began the ſiege, and carried it on at firſt with all the courage and application imaginable. Saladine had put a ſtrong garriſon into the

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place commanded by Caracos, an old captain of great reputation, under whom Saladine himſelf, before he roſe to that height of grandeur, made his firſt eſſay in arms. This general of the infidels made frequent ſallies; they were continually in action; and we may ſay that theſe ſallies were rather ſo many battels and engagements. Saladine on his ſide advanced with a formidable army to his ſuccour; the Chriſtians went out of their lines to fight him: Guy de Luſignan commanded the firſt body, compoſed of his own troops, of French, and the knights of S. John. The grand maſter of the templars was at the head of his knights, and the Germans, Frieſlanders and other people of the north fought under his banner. The fight laſted a long time with equal animoſity on both ſides, and with doubtfull ſucceſs, what appears moſt certain is, that the Chriſtians though they loſt the grand maſter of the templars, and a great many knights of his order, yet returned victorious into their lines, and Saladine could not force them to raiſe the ſiege, which was the only thing he aimed at.

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THAT prince did nothing afterwards, but endeavour to intercept the convoys of the Chriſtian army. This occaſioned a famine which was ſoon followed with a contagious ſickneſs. Theſe two plagues deſtroyed more ſoldiers than the ſword of the enemy. Guy de Luſignan ſaw four young princes his children taken off one after another, and queen Sybil his wife to whom he owed the crown.

THE death of that princeſs occaſioned afterwards new diviſions between the king her huſband, and the prince of Tyre. The queen of Jeruſalem left only one ſiſter named Iſabel, who at eight years of age was married to Humfrey de Thoron the third of the name. Conrad, a prince young and handſome, full of courage and ambition, found the way to pleaſe that princeſs. There was no want of reaſons to break off her contract with young Humfrey: The marriage being made againſt her will, perhaps in a prohibited degree as they pretended, furniſhed a pretext for it; it was at leaſt in thoſe times the common reſource of diſcontented huſbands. The princeſs's marriage was diſſolved, and the biſhop of Beauvais without any regard to publick decency, married her the next day to the prince of Tyre. In conſequence of this alliance and the princeſs's right, Conrad took on him the title of king of Jeruſalem; Guy de Luſignan on his ſide, maintained, that the character of royalty was never to be effaced, and that no body could in his life time aſſume the title of king in Paleſtine: And to make the diviſion ſtill greater, Humfrey de Thoron, Iſabel's firſt huſband, diſputed the ſentence, by which his marriage was diſſolved, and put in his claim to the crown. Thus this titulary kingdom, this ſovereignty without ſubjects, had in the ſame army and at the ſame time, no leſs than three kings, and the queen had two huſbands living: but as it was apprehended they might turn their arms againſt one another, they obliged them to refer the deciſion of their pretenſions to the award of the kings of France and England, who were ſet out from their dominions, and as they had advice wintered in Sicily.

Chron. de Nangis ad an. 1189.

1190.

DURING the ſtay thoſe two princes made in that iſland, Richard having heard much talk of Abbé Joachim, who paſſed with the people for a great prophet, ſent for him to Meſſina, and conſulted him about the ſucceſs of the cruſade. The Abbé, without any heſitation, told him that the holy city would not be delivered till the ſeventh year after its being taken by Saladine. “To what purpoſe then, ſaid the king of England, are we come ſo ſoon? “Your coming, replied the Abbé, was very neceſſary, God will give you “the victory over his enemies, and exalt your name above all the princes “of the earth”.

THIS pretended prophet bore a very doubtful character; ſome looked upon him as a ſaint, others took him for a cheat. 'Tis probable the man meant well and that there was more fanaticiſm than hypocriſy in his conduct; he was beſides a good man, and of an auſtere life, but he had cracked his brain by meditations, or rather, by his dreams on the revelations. He bragged that he had the key of that myſterious book and underſtood it as perfectly as S. John who wrote it. He took all his viſions and imaginations for truths, and if by chance he ſucceeded ſometimes in his predictions, he was miſtaken much oftner; as it happened upon what he had declared about the deliverance of the Holy Land as we ſhall ſee preſently.

IN the mean time the emperor Frederic, though ſeventy years of age, had advanced before theſe princes, ſetting out immediately after eaſter, A. D. 1189. This prince truly worthy of that auguſt title, after giving the law to the Greeks as he marched through their countrey, after defeating the ſultan of Iconium or Cogni who diſputed his paſſage, and having in ſpite of all the efforts of the Mahometans, made his way into Cilicia, fell ſick and died in that province upon bathing in the river Cydnus as ſome hiſtorians relate; though others pretend he was drowned in it. The military orders, and particularly that of the hoſpitallers, loſt in Frederic a powerful protector, that during the whole courſe of his reign had diſpenſed his benefactions and favours with great bounty to the order in general, as well as the particular members of it.

THE duke of Suabia his ſon led his army on to the camp before Acre: But it arrived there much reduced and weakened by the fatigues of the road, by ſickneſs and his own victories, which coſt him abundance of men, and a great many officers of diſtinction. The Germans, at their arrival in the camp, found the army of the beſiegers in no better a Condition; the continual ſallies of the infidels had much weakened it. The hiſtorian of this ſiege, who has left us a relation of it in verſe, tells * us a paſſage of the knights of S. John, who ſeeing the Turks in a ſally take a great number of priſoners, theſe brave warriors, ſays he, like a bear a going to be robbed of her whelps, got off their horſes, flew into the midſt of the enemies battalions, cut part of them in pieces, reſcued the priſoners, and then mounting on horſeback again, purſued the infidels to the walls of the city. But if the Turks were worſted on this occaſion, the change of air, the difficulty of being ſupplied with proviſions, the continual combats they were engaged in, and the ſickneſs that reigned, coſt the Chriſtians at leaſt as many men, and particularly thoſe of the weſt.

1191.

Petri de Duſburg, ſacerdotis ordinis Teutonici, Chronic. Pruſſiæ p. 13.

To make the miſfortune ſtill greater, the wounded ſoldiers of the Germans, whoſe language was not underſtood, laboured under great difficulties, not being able, in ſo melancholy a ſituation, to make either their ails or their wants known. Some German gentlemen of the towns of Bremen and Lubeck, that arrived by ſea, moved with the miſery of their countrymen, took the ſails of their ſhip, and made a large tent in which they put immediately the wounded of their acquaintance, and attended them with great charity. Forty perſons of quality of the ſame nation joined themſelves to them, and formed a ſort of hoſpital in the camp: This noble and charitable ſociety, like

* Hoſpitales millites ab equis deſcendunt,
Ut urſa pro filiis, cum Turcis contendunt,
Turci noſtrum aggerem per vim bis conſcendunt,
Hos ſagittis ſauciant, hos igne ſuccendunt,
Et hoſpitalarii equos aſcenderunt,
Et Turcos a latere maris invaſerunt,
Quos ad urbis mœnia per vim reduxerunt,
Et ex his in foveis multos occiderunt.

Monachi Florentini, Iconenſis epiſcopi, de recuperata Ptolemaide.

the knights of S. John and the templars became inſenſibly a new hoſpital and military order.

Pope Celeſtine III. at the requeſt of the emperor Henry VI. confirmed it afterwards in an authentick manner by his bull of Feb. 23, 1192. He preſcribed theſe new knights for their rule, that of S. Auguſtine, and for their particular ſtatutes he appointed them thoſe of the hoſpitallers of S. John in what regarded the ſervice of the poor and ſick, and the ſtatutes of the templars in what related to military diſcipline. This new order which was confined entirely to the German nation, was called the order of the teutonick knights of the houſe of S. Mary of Jeruſalem.

This name was given them, becauſe in the time that Jeruſalem was in the hands of the Latin Chriſtians, a German had, at his own expence, built an hoſpital and an oratory dedicated to the holy virgin, for the ſick of that nation. The habit of theſe new knights was a white mantle charged with a black croſs; they were obliged to the ſame three ſolemn vows, with the hoſpitallers of S. John and the templars. Before they took the habit, they were to ſwear that they were Germans, of noble birth and extraction, and bind themſelves for their whole life to the ſervice of the poor and ſick, and the defence of the holy places.

This laſt part of their inſtitution was common to all the three military orders, who were always the generous defenders of the Holy Land. Cardinal de Vitri, a cotemporary hiſtorian and even an eye witneſs, ſpeaking of the founding of theſe three orders, and applying to them what is ſaid in the book of Eccleſiaſtes, that a threefold cord is not quickly broken, adds to the teſtimony he had given in behalf of the two firſt orders, that it pleaſed divine providence to raiſe up a third, which was not leſs ſerviceable to the preſervation of the Holy Land. In fact it may be ſaid, that theſe three bodies were the principal ſtrength of the army, as well for going out on detachments as in repelling the ſallies of the garriſon: But as they were not duly ſeconded by thoſe of the cruſade, who were divided among themſelves, and as there were no chiefs with full command in the army, nor any regular diſcipline obſerved, the ſiege advanced but ſlowly, and was even ſuſpended in a manner by the differences that aroſe between Guy de Luſignan, and young Conrad, in which the lords of the cruſade embarked, every one according to his intereſt or inclination.

It was near two years that the ſiege of Acre had gone heavily on and been ſpun out to a tedious length, when Philip II. king of France, who had been detained till then at Meſſina by ſome new diſputes with the king of England who would not marry his ſiſter as he had engaged to do, parted abruptly from thence, and appeared at laſt off S. John d'Acre with a numerous fleet. This new reinforcement and the preſence of the prince who commanded it, put new life, as we may ſay, into the whole army compoſed as it was of different nations, whom their manners, language and intereſts had divided. The ſiege now was carried on in another manner; the ſoldiers as well as the officers ſought to ſignalize themſelves before the eyes of ſo great a king. That prince ordered engines to be made, which demoliſhed a pannel of the wall and made a large breach: The whole army cried out with eagerneſs to be led to the aſſault. Philip, who every day expected the king of England, with whom he had taken the croſs, would needs defer an enterprize, the ſucceſs and glory of which were certain, in order to ſhare them with his ally. But theſe conſiderations generous to exceſs made the Chriſtian army relapſe into a ſtate of inactivity; and the infidels making their uſe of it raiſed new fortifications within the place which was in a poſture of defence, at the king of England's arrival.

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THAT prince was Richard I. who had lately ſucceeded his father king Henry II. Queen Eleanor his mother had brought to him as far as Meſſina, Berengara infanta of Navarre, whom he was to marry. This princeſs and Jane of England, the king's ſiſter and widow of William II. king of Sicily, having expreſſed their deſire of making the voyage of the eaſt, Richard divided his fleet into two ſquadrons, and put the two princeſſes on board that which led the van. Both the ſquadrons met with a violent ſtorm in the Archipelago. The king of England made the iſle of Rhodes, and the ſquadron of the two princeſſes came to an anchor on good friday in ſight of Limiſſo in Cyprus; ſeveral veſſels that ran aground near that place were beat in pieces by the tempeſt. The ſovereign, or rather the tyrant of the iſland, was by his mother's ſide of the imperial houſe of the Comneni: The emperor Emanuel had made him governour of the iſland of Cyprus; but this governour revolted, aſſumed the title of emperor, and, under the weak reign of Iſaac Angelus, continued abſolute maſter of the iſle. He was by accident upon the coaſt when the princeſſes ſquadron appeared off it. That prince, perfidious and cruel in his nature, ordered the Engliſh ſhips that had run aground to be pillaged, and the ſoldiers and ſeamen that fell into his hands, to be laid in irons. He was even inhumane enough to refuſe letting the ſhip in which the two princeſſes were on board, come into his ports during the ſtorm. But the fair weather that followed, allowing the two Engliſh ſquadrons to join, Richard being refuſed the ſatisfaction he demanded for ſo barbarous a proceeding, forced his way on ſhore, ſeized on Limiſſo, cut in pieces the Greek prince's troops, purſued him without reſting from place to place, took him priſoner at laſt with the princeſs of Cyprus his only daughter, and made himſelf maſter of the whole iſland, reaping as much ſatisfaction from the vengeance he took on the outrage offered the two princeſſes as from the conqueſt of a kingdom. Richard, after ſo glorious an expedition, which had coſt him leſs time than a mere journey of pleaſure, and before he left Cyprus, eſpouſed the princeſs of Navarre. He ſet ſail afterwards with his priſoner, whom he carried after him in irons, as a trophy of his victory: The miſerable prince deſired to be treated with more moderation and put him in mind of his birth and dignity. The king of England, who deſpiſed him, ordered with a ſmile, that he ſhould be put in chains of ſilver, and the Greek prince, who was as vain as he was cowardly, thought himſelf much relieved and fanſied them to be leſs weighty, becauſe they were different from thoſe of the other priſoners. Richard arriving at the Chriſtian camp, put him into the hands of the knights of S. John, who ſent him to be kept in their fortreſs of Margat, and the two princeſſes at the king of England's inſtance, kept the princeſs of Cyprus with them, who was ſuſpected of having in her turn put chains of another nature on her conquerour.

As the iſle of Cyprus was too remote from England to be annexed to that monarchy, Richard ſold it to the templars for the ſum of three hundred thouſand livres. Thoſe military friars took poſſeſſion of it, and to ſecure their authority, threw a conſiderable body of their troops into it. But the harſhneſs of their government, and the haughty ways of theſe templars alienated the minds of their new ſubjects. Beſides the Cypriots, who followed the Greek rites, could not bring themſelves to obey thoſe Latin monks. This was the ſource, or at leaſt the pretext, of a well nigh continual war between the great men of that kingdom and the templars, who were obliged at laſt to abandon the iſland and deliver it back to the king of England, as we ſhall obſerve hereafter.

THAT prince arrived at the Chriſtian camp on June 8. A. D. 1191. I ſhall not enter into the detail of all that paſſed in this famous ſiege. The two kings diſtinguiſhed themſelves in it by an extraordinary valour; Richard eſpecially,

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eſpecially, by a daring reſolution, which carried him always into places of the greateſt dangers, from whence he ever came off victorious. But there was a certain fierceneſs in his manner that made him leſs agreeable. Saladine was no ways behind him in point of courage, he had all the bravery and intrepidity of the ſoldier with all the ſkill of the officer, and was every day making new enterprizes againſt the Chriſtians. The knights of the three orders exerted themſelves in all places; the templars, on one of theſe occaſions, loſt their grand maſter, and the hoſpitallers of S. John many of their knights; and the order would have been ſoon cut off in theſe continual combats, if the cruſades, which from time to time arrived from Europe, had not ſupplied it with new recruits. A great number of young gentlemen, charmed with the extraordinary valour of the hoſpitallers, took the croſs at their arrival from the weſt, preferring at the ſame time the croſs of the hoſpitallers before that of the templars, who ſeemed more proud and haughty than was ſuitable to the character of a religious ſociety: All the world,was for fighting under the banner of S. John; and thoſe who did ſo, were as ſo many pupils and candidates, out of whom ſuch were afterwards choſen for the religious profeſſion, as gave the beſt proofs of their being ſincerely called to it, and had diſtinguiſhed themſelves as much by their piety as their valour; two qualities which it were to be wiſhed the order would have as much regard to, in the admiſſion of knights at this time, as they have to the nobleneſs of their extraction.

WE have obſerved that the infidels, making their advantage of the leiſure the king of France had allowed them, out of a compliment to his ally of England, had fortified the place a new, ſo that it was no longer liable to be carried by ſtorm. They were forced to begin their attacks again, which coſt them abundance of men: A dyſentery too, which raged among the weſtern troops, occaſioned by their exceſſive eating of fruit, carried off a great number of ſoldiers.

THE jealouſy between the French and Engliſh began to break out; and to make the misfortune ſtill worſe, the old diviſions between Guy de Luſignan and Conrad of Montferrat were revived. The king of France declared for the latter; the king of England for Luſignan; the princes and nobility, after their example, divided into parties; and as there was always a ſecret emulation ſubſiſting between the two military orders, the hoſpitallers, declaring themſelves in favour of the king of Jeruſalem, was a ſufficient reaſon to engage the templars to quit his party, and embrace that of the prince of Tyre.

So general a miſunderſtanding making them leſs concerned about the ſucceſs of the ſiege, the biſhops that were in the camp omitted nothing to conciliate theſe fatal diviſions. Several conferences were held on this ſubject; at laſt it was agreed, that Luſignan ſhould keep the title of king of Jeruſalem during his life, but that the prince of Tyre ſhould be acknowledged in right of his wife indefeazable heir of the crown. The two pretenders conſented to theſe conditions, but Conrad reaped no advantage from this agreement. That prince having refuſed to do the ſeignior of the mountain juſtice in relation to a ſhip that the Tyrians had taken from him, was afterwards ſtabbed by two aſſaſſins, who, in the midſt of the moſt horrible tortures, and whilſt they flayed them alive, gloried in their having executed the barbarous orders of their cruel maſter.

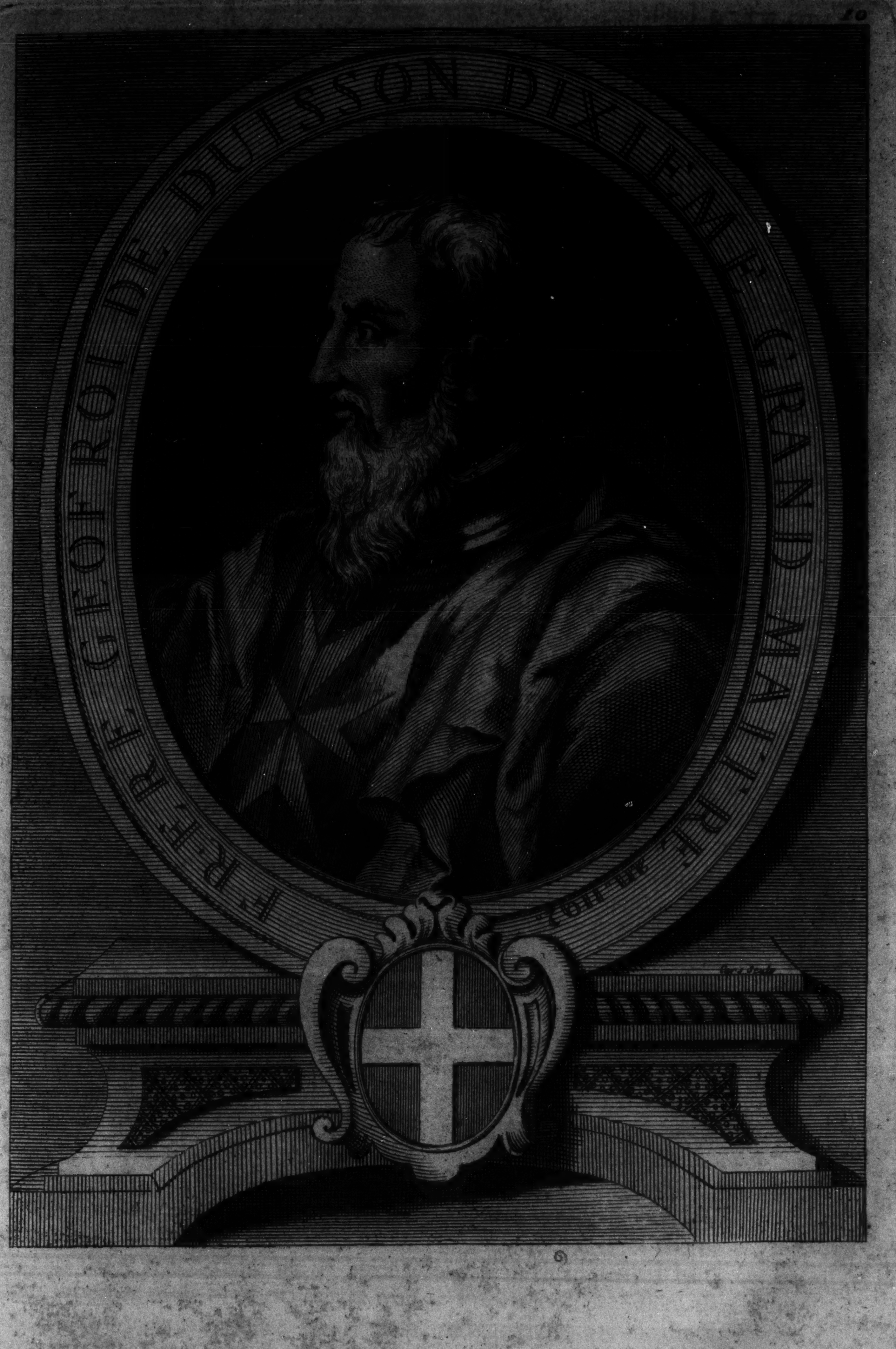
PEACE being thus reſtored in the army, they reſumed the care of the ſiege with new vigour. The attacks were in a manner continual, and the two kings, out of a noble emulation, puſhed the works ſo briſkly on their reſpective ſides, that there was ſoon a ſufficient breach to mount and give the aſſault. The infidels, after an incredible reſiſtance, ſeeing the outworks of the place taken, their towers ruined, a conſiderable breach made, and the braveſt knights of the Chriſtian army ready to mount it, demanded a capitu-

ERMENGARD DAPS. lation. Hoſtages were given on both ſides, the town was ſurrender'd, the garriſon, conſiſting of five thouſand men, with the govervor, yielded themſelves priſoners, on condition of being releaſed upon their cauſing the true croſs and the Chriſtian ſlaves that were in Saladine's hands, to be reſtored, or otherwiſe, of being left to the diſcretion of the conqueror. The Chriſtians 1191. took poſſeſſion of Acre on July 13, and made it afterwards their place of arms. They aſſigned different quarters for the ſeveral bodies and nations that had contributed to reduce it, and were able to defend and maintain it: The hoſpitallers of S. John transferred thither their principal reſidence, which, ſince the loſs of Jeruſalem, had been ſettled at Margat. 'Twas in Acre that their 1192. grand maſter Ermengard in the year following ended an illuſtrious life, which he had expoſed ſo often againſt the infidels, and in defence of the Chriſtians.

THE hoſpitallers, in a full chapter, choſe brother Godfrey de Duiſſon, an GODFREY DE DUISSON. 1192. old knight, for his ſucceſſor. It was none of this new grand maſter's fault that the taking of Acre was not followed with the conqueſt of Jeruſalem, the main deſign of the cruſade; but jealouſy of ſtate, diverſity of intereſts, emulation and animoſity, raiſed ſuch diviſions among theſe different nations, that all the effect of this mighty armament was the taking of a ſingle place. The cruſade being compoſed chiefly of volunteers, they quitted the army, and filed off by degrees, after a ſiege that had laſted near three years. Philip king of France was obliged to leave Paleſtine, and change the air, as the only remedy to recover him out of a violent diſtemper, which was not without ſuſpicion of poiſon, and made his hair and nails fall off. But at his going away he left in the Chriſtian army a body of five hundred men of arms and ten thouſand foot, under the command of the duke of Burgundy. The principal chiefs of different nations were going off from time to time, abandoning the Holy Land for a prey to the infidels. Richard king of England, before his departure, took Jaffa and Aſcalon, and made afterwards a truce with the Barbarians for three years, three months and three weeks; and, if we may believe the hiſtorians of that age, they added, for greater exactneſs, three days and three hours. It is ſaid, that Richard, before his departure, cauſed Guy de Luſignan to marry the princeſs of Cyprus, and made over to him the ſovereignty of that iſle, which the templars had reſigned back to him, and which the princes of the houſe of Luſignan poſſeſſed afterwards for near three hundred years. Henry count of Champagne, nephew to the king of England, and entirely attached to his intereſts, married at the ſame time Iſabella widow of Conrad, and by that marriage obtained a right to the kingdom of Jeruſalem, which he was in hopes to clear of the Sarazens.

THESE hopes were raiſed ſtill higher by the death of Saladine, which happen'd at Damaſcus on March 13, 1193. That infidel prince, one of the greateſt captains of his age, thought upon the retreat of the Chriſtians, to enjoy the fruit of his victories in triumph, but death ſtripped him of all at once. When he felt himſelf near his end, he ordered the officer that carried his ſtandard in battel to put in its ſtead a piece of cloth deſigned for his winding ſheet, and carrying it through the ſtreets, to cry aloud, See here all that the great Saladine, conqueror of the eaſt, carries off with him of all his conqueſts and treaſures. They ſay, that before he expired, he diſtributed conſiderable ſums to all the poor of Damaſcus, without diſtinction of Mahometan, Jew, or Chriſtian, whether he was perſuaded that charity, or at leaſt bare humanity, ſhould be extended indifferently to all that are in miſery, or elſe perhaps, though he had profeſſed Mahometaniſm all his life, yet he might, in his laſt moments, be in doubt which of the three religions was the beſt and the true one. At the ſame time he divided his dominions between his eleven ſons, who, after his death, thought of nothing but ruining one another. But Saſadine, the brother of Saladine, and companion of his victories, made his advantage of theſe divi-

ſions,


10
FRERE GEOFROI DE DUISSON DIXIEME GRAND MAITRE

ſions, attacked his nephews one after another, made away all of them that fell into his hands, and raiſed at laſt an empire to himſelf very little inferior to that of Saladine's. Theſe diviſions, and other civil wars that broke out afterwards between the children of Saladine, gave the Latin Chriſtians time to breath.

Pope Celeſtine III. to ſupply them with ſuccours, publiſhed a new cruſade, contrary to the truce concluded by the king of England, which was ſtill ſubſiſting; and it is even ſaid that they received an expreſs order from the pope not to pay any regard to it. A great number of German barons put on the croſs, came to Meſſina, and from thence paſſed into the Holy Land. Waleran, brother to the duke of Limburgh, having broke the truce by ſome hoſtilities, Saſadine, provoked at this infraction, laid ſiege to Jaffa, carried it by ſtorm, and put above twenty thouſand Chriſtians to the ſword. The Chriſtians in Paleſtine ſeemed to be on the brink of ruin, if the civil war between the infidels had not afterwards obliged Saſadine to renew the truce for ſix years. The count of Champagne, after this treaty, returned to Acre, where looking out of a window upon the troops as they paſſed in review, the bar that he leaned on failing, he fell into the caſtle ditch, and was killed.

The grand maſter of the hoſpitallers, conſidering that ſo ſmall a ſtate as the kingdom of Jeruſalem, encompaſſed, as it was, with formidable enemies, could never ſupport it ſelf without a king, propoſed, ſome time after that prince's death, to the queen his widow, to marry Amaury de Luſignan, who had juſt before, upon the death of Guy his brother, ſucceeded to the crown of Cyprus. He repreſented to her, that, her ſtate being ſurrounded with powerful enemies, ſhe might draw conſiderable ſuccours from that iſle in the neighbourhood of Paleſtine; and beſides Cyprus might ſerve her for an honourable retreat, if by misfortune the infidels ſhould compleat the conqueſt of her own territories. The queen readily approved a propoſition, in which ſhe found, at the ſame time, her own intereſt and that of the ſtate. The grand maſter undertook the negociation, and managed it with ſuch conduct, that, without expoſing the queen, he brought the king of Cyprus to court her alliance. Nothing more was wanting to put the finiſhing hand to this great affair, but his preſence. He was by no means at a loſs for pretences to go to Acre; he ſaw the queen, was well received by her, and after they had, for form ſake, communicated their deſign to the grandees of the ſtate, they were married by the patriarch, and afterwards ſolemnly proclaimed king and queen of Jeruſalem and Cyprus.

Humfrey de Thoron, this princeſs's firſt husband, could not, without uneaſineſs, ſee her diſpoſe ſucceſſively of her perſon and crown to ſo many princes, who perhaps had leſs right to them than he. But as right without power to ſupport it, is little regarded in the caſe of ſovereigns, this unfortunate lord found no body concerned at his misfortune: He was forced, for his own ſafety, to ſay nothing of his pretenſions, and, like a divinity without a temple, he remained without any worſhip or adorers.

The grand maſter, who had acted ſo great a part in the queen's laſt marriage, did not long ſurvive the rejoicings which attended that ceremony; he died almoſt at the ſame time; 1194. and we have ſcarce any account left us of his government. The ignorance, in which people of quality were brought up at that time, has deprived us of the knowledge of a great number of facts that might have embelliſhed this hiſtory; but in thoſe firſt ages of the order, the knights made much more uſe of their ſword than their pen; I can't ſay indeed whether moſt of them could read. This at leaſt is certain, that either for want of capacity, or out of modeſty, we have not one knight for above four hundred years, that has vouchſafed to give us an account of ſo many remarkable events, as are with difficulty traced out in national hiſtories and collections of treaties and publick inſtruments.

The end of the Second Book.

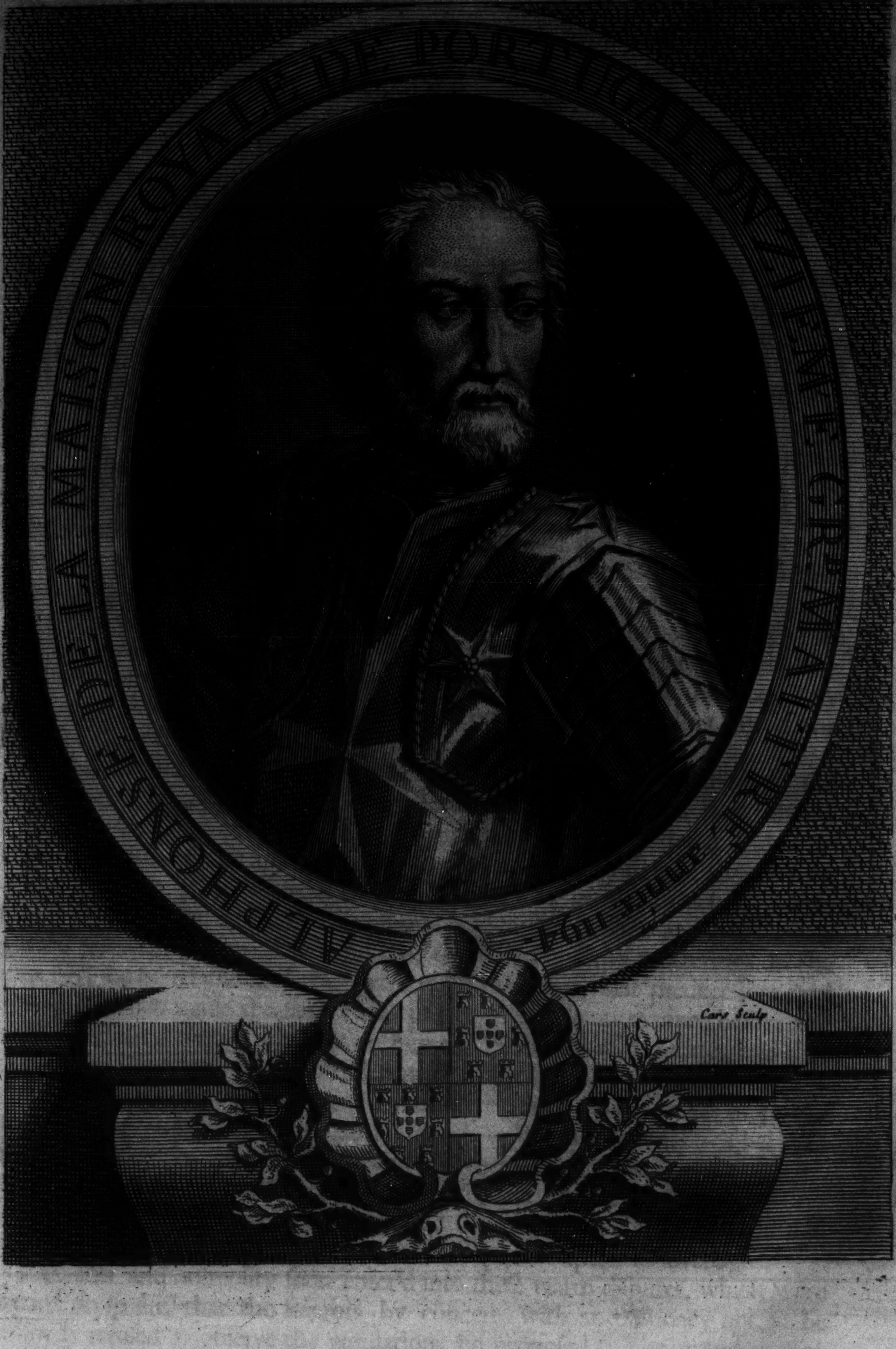
THE
HISTORY
OF THE
Knights Hoſpitallers
OF
S. JOHN of JERUSALEM,
Styled afterwards,
The KNIGHTS of Rhodes,
And at preſent,
The KNIGHTS of MALTA.

BOOK III.

IT is hard to ſay, whether it be the great diſtance of the times, or the negligence of the firſt hiſtorians, that we are to charge with our ignorance of the houſe and extraction of the firſt grand maſters, and particularly of the ſucceſſor of Duiſſon. This ſucceſſor, in the ancient chronicles, is called brother Alphonſus of Portugal. The common opinion is, that he was deſcended from the princes of that nation; but they do not tell us what branch he came of; only they agree that it was of an illegitimate line. Some modern authors pretend that his name was Peter, and that he was ſon to Alphonſus I. king of Portugal. However this be, all writers that have mentioned him, repreſent him as a perſon of diſtinguiſhed valour and piety, equally exact in the regular and military diſcipline, a ſcrupulous obſerver of the ſtatutes, but naturally proud and haughty; and it ſoon appeared, after his promotion to the grand maſterſhip, that the orders he gave in relation to the government of the ſociety, had a tincture of his own rough diſpoſition.

Alphonsus of Portugal. 1194.

Scarce


ALPHONSE DE LA MAISON ROYALE DE PORTUGAL ONZIEME GR.D MAITRE. anno 1194
Cars Sculp.

ALPHONSUS OF PORTUGAL.

Scarce was he acknowledged as grand maſter, when having his mind filled with notions of a perfection hardly practicable among warriours, and out a view of reforming the abuſes that had crept into it, he called a general chapter in the town of Margat, whither the order had, after the loſs of Jeruſalem, transferred its reſidence. To cover his main deſign the better, he ſet himſelf at firſt only to rectify a certain abuſe which often confounded the ſecular gentry with the profeſſed knights. Thoſe gentlemen, upon their return into the weſt, and in their provinces, affected to wear the croſs of S. John of Jeruſalem. To underſtand rightly this particular fact, it muſt be obſerved that ſuch gentlemen as engaged themſelves in the cruſades or in pilgrimages, when they arrived in Paleſtine, ſerved as volunteers under the banner of the order. There were ſome likewiſe that ſent their children young into Paleſtine to be bred up in the houſe of S. John, under the diſcipline of the knights, as the beſt ſchool to form them in the art of war.

Both the one and the other, as long as they ſtaid in the Holy Land, and fought under the ſtandard of the order, were allowed to wear the croſs; but they abuſing this indulgence, on their return into Europe, ſo as to found a claim of right upon it, the grand maſter, to prevent their being confounded with the profeſs'd knights, procured a ſtatute to be paſſed in the chapter, that they ſhould be conſidered only as auxiliary troops, and not be allowed to wear the croſs, but only when they were fighting againſt the infidels under the banner of the order.

From this particular article of reformation, the grand maſter proceeded to others that concerned chiefly the knights profeſſed; and to get them receiv'd the more eaſily, he began with his own houſe and equipage, which he reduced to a major-domo, a chaplain, two knights, three eſquires, a turcopolier and a page. To each of the ſeveral officers of his houſhold, he left only one horſe to carry them. With regard to his perſon, he reſerved only two led horſes and a mule, an equipage indeed exceeding modeſt, but not very ſuitable to the governor of a great military order, who was every day at the head of an army.

From this particular regulation he aſſumed a right of reforming all the knights in general; after upbraiding them with what he called their luxury and effeminacy, he propoſed ſeveral regulations; their diet, habit and equipages, all paſſed under a ſevere examination, and a rigid reform. It can't be denied, but the grand maſter's intentions were very good; his deſign was to revive the diſcipline eſtabliſhed by Raimond Dupuy, which had been much relaxed ſince that time. It is reported, that hearing ſome mutterings in the aſſembly, he asked them, if they were more nice than their predeceſſors, and if they had not made the ſame vows in the moſt ſolemn manner before the altar. In vain did they repreſent to him the difference of the times, and that the way of life which he propoſed was incompatible with the duties of a continual war, and with the obligation they were under, ſince the loſs of Jeruſalem, of being every day either on horſeback or in the trenches. This only ſerved to make him raiſe his voice, and tell them with a tone and air of arbitrary command, I will be obeyed, and I'll hear no reply. The whole aſſembly at theſe words broke out into loud complaints, and an old knight told him the chapter was not uſed to hear their ſuperiors ſpeak as ſovereigns.

Passion and animoſity ſoon enter'd into theſe warm diſputes, which were carried on ſo far, that the knights by concert, with an obſtinacy not to be juſtified, refuſed to obſerve the regulations he propoſed. The grand maſter, on his ſide, though only deſcended from a royal houſe by a by-blow, yet to prove, as it were, his legitimacy, affected all the ſtate and haughtineſs of the throne. Neither ſide caring to make any abatement, it came at laſt to an open

Alphonsus of Portugal.

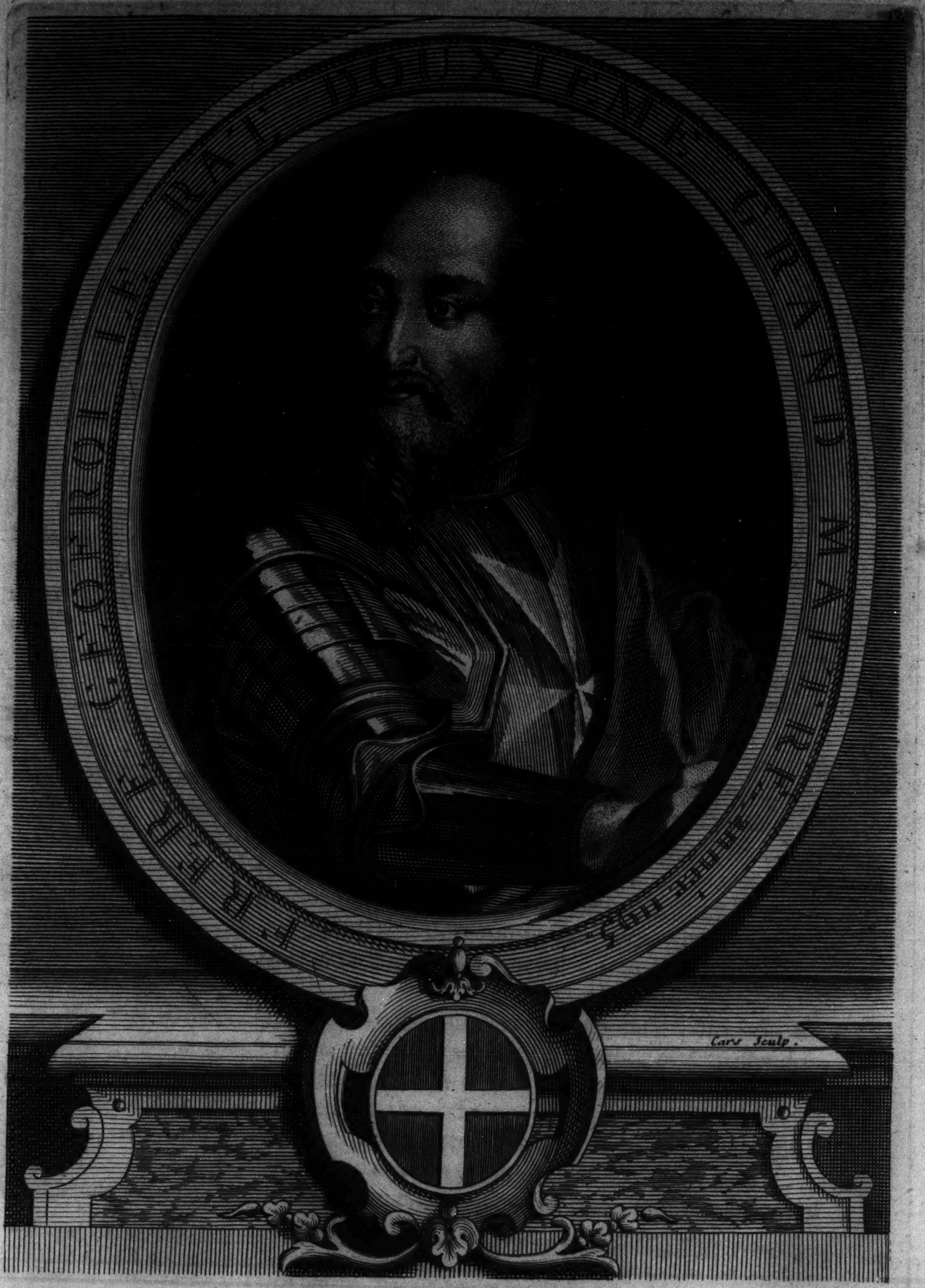
open revolt. The order fell into a ſort of anarchy; and the grand maſter finding he was to expect no more obedience from his knights, abdicated his dignity, and retired to Portugal. He was yet more unhappy there, and died at laſt in the civil wars that he engaged in. This we learn from ſeveral hiſtorians, though they are not agreed either as to his own name, or that of the prince from whom he derived his being.

Geoffroy le Rat.

The order, after his abdication, choſe for his ſucceſſor brother Geoffroy le Rat, of the language of France, a venerable old man, good natur'd, courteous, and no way forward; qualities which recommended him to the ſuffrages of his brother knights. There happen'd, almoſt at the ſame time, a new revolution in the principality of the leſſer Armenia, the conſequences of which he prevented by his good conduct and management. We have obſerved, that two brothers, the moſt conſiderable of the nobility of that nation, the one called Rupin of the mountain, and the younger Livron or Leon, had, after the death of the renegado Melier, ſeized that little kingdom. Bohemund III. prince of Antioch, and now count of Tripoli, puſhed on by a boundleſs ambition, and in hopes of enlarging his own dominions at the expence of his neighbours, had prevailed with the prince of Armenia to come to Antioch, under pretence of a conference, and to enter into meaſures with him againſt the infidels, their common enemies, and had cauſed him to be arreſted there. Livron, ſome time after, turned his own artifice againſt him, and, under pretence of treating for his brother's liberty, came to the rendezvous better attended than Bohemund, cut his retinue and convoy in pieces, took and carried him to a ſtrong place, where he kept him priſoner, and would not at firſt hearken to any negociation of peace.

Each nation took arms in favour of their prince. The infidels, their neighbours, would not have failed making their advantage of a war ſo prejudicial to the Chriſtians; but the patriarch and grand maſter, who ſaw the fatal conſequences of this difference, interpoſed to make it up. Livron would not at firſt hearken to any propoſal, either becauſe governing the kingdom during his brother's captivity, he did not care to part with the ſovereign authority, or perhaps, as the event ſhewed, becauſe he deſigned to draw greater advantages from the treaty. However it was, he would not conſent to the exchanging of the two priſoners, but upon condition that the principality of Antioch ſhould, for the future, hold of that of Armenia, and that, as the pledge of a ſincere reconciliation between the two houſes, the eldeſt ſon of the prince of Antioch ſhould, before his father was ſet at liberty, marry Alice the only daughter of Rupin, and that the iſſue of that marriage ſhould be declared, after their father, preſumptive heirs of the principality of Antioch, but without any pretenſions to that of Armenia, till after the death of Livron himſelf. Hard as theſe conditions were, Bohemund, impatient of recovering his liberty, ratified them all, and, after conſummation of the marriage, the two captive princes were releaſed. He of Antioch returning into his own territories, to make proviſion for prince Raimond his ſecond ſon, gave him the county of Tripoli; and after the death of his eldeſt, in prejudice of the children which that young prince had left of his marriage with the princeſs of Armenia, he reſolved likewiſe to have him acknowledged for his ſucceſſor in the principality; which occaſioned great diſputes, as we ſhall ſhew hereafter.

In virtue of the truce which was ſtill ſubſiſting with Safadine, and the other ſucceſſors of Saladine; the Chriſtians of Paleſtine, and the two military orders, which were all the defence they had, enjoy'd a little reſt: Both of them owed this tranſient quiet to a dreadful famine which then afflicted
1196. Egypt. That great kingdom, as is well known, owes all its fertility to the regular inundations of the Nile, which, ſpreading its waters over the ſurface


FRERE GEOFROI LE RAT DOUXIEME GRAND MAITRE anno 1195
Cars Sculp.

GEOFFROY LE RAT.

of the earth, leaves behind it a ſlime mixed with nitre, that fattens the ground, and produces plenty in all the provinces through which it flows. This inundation had failed the former year, as we learn from a letter of the grand maſter of the hoſpitallers to the prior of England of the ſame order. We ſee there, that the miſerable Egyptians were reduced to the extremity of browzing, like beaſts on graſs, that fathers were not aſhamed to ſell their children for a livelihood, and that all Egypt was like a large charnel-houſe, but with this difference, that the dead lay there expoſed without burial, and ſerved for food to ravenous animals. PROOF I.

PALESTINE, adjoining to Egypt, and ſupplied from thence with moſt of its corn, ſuffer'd by this general famine; 'tis the ſubject of the grand maſter's letter to the prior of England. He adds, that the Italian war, occaſioned by the rebellion of the towns of Lombardy againſt the emperor, was another ſcourge that afflicted the order; that the grand priory of Barletto in the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, from whence the order and convent uſed to receive conſiderable ſupplies, particularly in corn, furniſhed them almoſt nothing, by reaſon of the wars between the popes and emperors. "We are "forced, adds the grand maſter, to buy every thing at an exorbitant price, "as well for the ſubſiſtence of our knights, as for the troops which are in "the pay of the order; which has obliged us to contract conſiderable debts, "greater than we can pay without the ſupply we expect from our brethren "of the weſt." He concludes with exhorting him to ſolicite the king of England to ſend troops into the eaſt, while the Egyptians were ſtill labouring under the miſeries of that calamitous ſtate, to which they were reduced, and at ſo favourable a juncture, as the concluſion of the truce, now juſt ready to expire, when they might hope, if an army ſhould arrive from Europe, to make a ſecond conqueſt of the Holy Land, and re-enter gloriouſly into Jeruſalem.

I DO not pretend to determine whether the expence the order of S. John was at in maintaining conſtantly a ſtanding body of troops, or a ſpirit of intereſt, which is but too ordinary in communities, induced the grand maſter to deliver himſelf in this language: But certain it is, that James de Vitri, then biſhop of Acre, and afterwards cardinal, a cotemporary hiſtorian, that lived himſelf upon the ſpot, affirms *, that, in his time, the hoſpitallers and templars were as powerful as ſovereign princes; that they poſſeſſed principalities, cities, towns and villages, both in Aſia and Europe, and that in provinces which lay at a diſtance from Paleſtine and the head ſeat of the order, they had their procurators, knights, who were ſtyled præceptors, and were very diligent in improving their eſtates, the revenue of which they remitted afterwards to the treaſury of each order.

IF we may believe Matthew Paris, another cotemporary hiſtorian, the hoſpitallers were at that time in poſſeſſion within the bounds of Chriſtendom of no leſs than nineteen thouſand manours †, a term which the Gloſſaries explain differently, with regard to the different countries wherein they are ſituated; but, generally ſpeaking, by the term manour or manſe, is meant as much land as a plough with two oxen can till in a day. And the ſame Engliſh hiſtorian informs us, that only nine thouſand of theſe manours belonged

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* Amplis autem poſſeſſionibus tam citra mare quàm ultra ditati ſunt in immenſum, villas, civitates, & oppida exemplo fratrum hoſpitalii Sancti Joannis poſſidentes, ex quibus certam pecuniæ ſummam pro defenſione Terræ Sanctæ, ſummo eorum magiſtro, cujus ſedes principalis erat in Jeruſalem, mittunt annuatim: Pari modo ſummo & principali magiſtro hoſpitalis Sancti Joannis procuratores domorum, quos præceptores nominant, certam pecuniæ ſummam ſingulis annis tranſmittunt. Jac. de Vitriaco hiſt. Hier. p. 1084.

† Habent inſuper templarii in chriſtianitate novem millia maneriorum; hoſpitalii vero novem decem præter emolumenta & varios proventus ex fraternitatibus & prædicationibus provenientes & per privilegia ſua accreſcentes. Matt. Paris ad ann. 1244 in Henr. III. l. 2. p. 615.

GEOFFROY LE RAT. to the templars; hence aroſe that ſecret jealouſy between the two orders which flamed out afterwards, and put them on every ſlight pretence upon taking arms, and making open war upon one another.

THERE was at that time in Paleſtine a gentleman named Robert de Margat, who, as a vaſſal of the hoſpitallers, was in quiet poſſeſſion of a caſtle ſeated near that of Margat, and holding of it. The templars, under colour of ſome old pretenſions, ſurprized the place, and made themſelves maſters of it by open force. This gentleman, thus driven out of his home with all his family, complained to the hoſpitallers his lords, who, after the loſs of Jeruſalem, reſided, as we have already obſerved, at Margat. Theſe knights, tranſported with courage, and miſled by a falſe nicety of honour, ſally out immediately with a body of troops, clap ladders to the caſtle, ſcale the wall ſword in hand, carry the place, and drive out the templars in their turn. This private affair ſoon turned to a general quarrel between the two orders, and the hoſpitallers were never met afterwards without being attacked. Their friends too intereſted themſelves in the quarrel, and moſt of the Latins were divided. A civil war was kindling inſenſibly in a ſtate where there was no ſovereign of authority ſufficient to repreſs the enterprizes of two parties ſo powerful and ſo exaſperated. The patriarch and the Latin biſhops were the only perſons that interpoſed to put an end to diſſentions, of which the infidels would not fail to make their advantage. Out of regard to them, the two orders agreed to a ſuſpenſion of arms, and referred, as moſt Chriſtian princes did at that time, the deciſion of their differences to the pope.

1198. CARDINAL Lothair, of the houſe of the counts of Segni, ſcarce thirty ſeven years of age, had juſt ſucceeded pope Celeſtine III. in the chair of S. Peter. He was a prelate of irreproachable life and converſation, learned for the time he lived in, a great lawyer; but unluckily too much prepoſſeſſed in favour of the falſe decretals, which he made the rule of his conduct; though all of them ſpurious writings aſcribed to the popes of the three firſt centuries, and forged in the middle of the ninth by a notorious falſifier called Iſidore, who, by publiſhing theſe ſuppoſititious acts, gave a terrible blow to the ancient diſcipline of the church, particularly in the point of eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction and the rights of biſhops. And though theſe falſe decretals are now a-days as much cryed down as they deſerve to be, and the moſt zealous partiſans of the court of Rome are forced to give them up; yet all that they do is to diſparage the author, without troubling themſelves to repair the miſchief that he did in ſome ages of ignorance. Innocent was very well qualified to remedy this diſorder, had he been but maſter of as much critical learning and penetration, as he had zeal and paſſion for the adminiſtration of juſtice.

'TWAS before this ſovereign pontif that the affair of the two military orders was brought. The hoſpitallers, on that occaſion, deputed to Rome brother d' Iſigni prior of Barletto, and brother Auger præceptor of another houſe in Italy. The templars ſent thither, on their part, brother Peter de Villeplane and brother Thierry. Innocent having examined into the pretenſions of both ſides, order'd, by a preliminary ſentence, before he would pronounce upon the merits of the cauſe, that the hoſpitallers ſhould deliver back to the templars the caſtle they had taken from them; and that, after the templars had reſided there quietly for the ſpace of a month, the gentleman, who was the former proprietor of the caſtle, ſhould have liberty to cite them, before the judges at Margat, to produce their title and the evidences of their claim; but that the hoſpitallers, to avoid all ſuſpicion of partiality in their own magiſtrates and judges, ſhould, on this occaſion, have recourſe to thoſe of the principality of Antioch, or the county of Tripoli; that the order of S. John ſhould make choice of perſons of integrity; that this choice, notwithſtanding, the templars ſhould be allowed to except againſt, and challenge any of theſe foreign magiſtrates that they ſuſpected, but withal if they refuſed to ſubmit to the verdict which ſhould be afterwards brought in, the hoſpitallers ſhould be impowered to put their vaſſal again in poſſeſſion of his caſtle.

Proof. II.

We have a letter of this pope to the grand maſter and the whole order of the hoſpitallers, wherein he repreſents to them with much force and perſuaſiveneſs, how unſuitable their proceeding, and that of the templars was to the character of religious, if, ſays Innocent, we may give the name of religious to men who are for deciding their rights by force and methods of violence. He adds, that though he knew well enough in the main what party had right and juſtice on its ſide, yet he had choſen rather to make up the affair by an amicable compoſition, which the deputies of the two orders had agreed to in his preſence, than to pronounce a rigorous judgment which would have fixed a ſlur upon the party which had done the wrong. He goes on exhorting them both to maintain unity and peace with one another, and at the ſame time enjoins them in virtue of their holy obedience, and on pain of excommunication, to determine the differences that ſhould ſtart up between them in the manner directed by the rules which pope Alexander III. preſcribed them. Innocent concludes his letter with threatning ſuch as ſhould prove refractory, with all the weight of his indignation.

Some foreign judges, according to his direction, took cogniſance of this affair; the pretenſions of the templars were declared groundleſs; the gentleman, who was vaſſal to the hoſpitallers, was again put into poſſeſſion of his caſtle; peace and quietneſs were reſtored between the two orders, at leaſt in appearance, and the pope ſatisfied with their ſubmiſſion, wrote afterwards to both, recommending to them the intereſts of the king of Cyprus.

We have already taken notice, that after the death of Guy de Luſignan, prince Amaury his brother inherited his crown, and that this prince having afterwards married Iſabel, queen of Jeruſalem, ſhe had prevailed with him to fix his reſidence in Paleſtine, in a ſtate ſurrounded on all ſides by the infidels. But Amaury, having advice that the iſle of Cyprus was ſcarce in a quieter condition, that the inhabitants being of the Greek church could not bring themſelves to obey a Latin prince, and that the emperor was tampering with them underhand by his emiſſaries to gain them over to a re-union with the Greek empire; this king of Cyprus wrote to the pope to lay before him the neceſſity he was under of returning immediately into his iſland to ſecure his authority there.

1198.

Innocent was afraid, leſt upon this prince's retreat, the hoſpitallers and templars, ſeeing no longer any body above them in dignity, ſhould both pretend to the government of the ſtate; to prevent therefore a competition that muſt neceſſarily have very terrible conſequences, he conjured the king in the moſt preſſing terms, not to abandon what was ſtill left of the inheritance of Jeſus Chriſt, for a prey to the infidels and Barbarians. But at the ſame time to obviate the diſturbances, that might be raiſed in the iſle of Cyprus in his abſence, the pope wrote to the prince of Antioch, to the count of Tripoli his ſon, and to the grand maſters of the hoſpitallers and templars, recommending to them to take care of the king's concerns, and if neceſſity ſo required, to ſend into the iſland a body of forces ſufficient to maintain the royal authority there. “ Amaury, ſays the pontif in his letters, having been
“ pleaſed to leave his own dominions, and the delicious abode of the iſle of
“ Cyprus to dedicate himſelf to the defence of the Holy Land, it is but juſt
“ that the Chriſtian princes, his neighbours, ſhould intereſt themſelves in the
“ preſervation of his crown”.

History gives us no account of what theſe princes did, upon this occaſion, nor does it appear, that the templars, who were odious to the Cypriots, and had been forced to give up the ſovereign authority they had over them, ſent any ſuccours into the iſland. But we learn from the antient memoirs of the hoſpitallers that the king, in concert with the grand maſter, choſe out of them ſome knights whom he entruſted with the government of that kingdom, and who paſſed over thither with a body of troops, capable of preventing and cruſhing the ill deſigns of the malecontents.

There happened ſhortly after a ſurprizing revolution in the empire, and at Conſtantinople, which drew likewiſe a great number of hoſpitallers to that capital. For the better underſtanding ſo extraordinary an event, it muſt be obſerved, that the ſpirit of cruſading, notwithſtanding ſuch a ſeries of ill ſucceſs as we have mentioned, ſtill reigned in France. By the perſuaſion and moving diſcourſes of the miniſter of Neuilli, an infinite number of princes, lords and gentlemen put on the croſs under the command of the marqueſs of Montferrat, an excellent general, and brother to the prince of the ſame name, who made that noble defence againſt Saladine at the ſiege of Tyre. The difficulty was how to get this new army of the cruſade into the Levant.

Experience had ſhewn, that the way by land, through the territories of the Greek and Mahometan princes, was equally difficult and dangerous. To avoid this inconvenience, the principal lords of the cruſade ſent deputies to Henry Dandalo duke or doge of Venice, propoſing to him, in conſideration of a ſum of money to be agreed on and paid before hand, to furniſh ſhips for tranſporting their army to S. John d'Acre. They entered into a negotiation upon this ſubject, and agreed at laſt by a ſolemn treaty, that, in conſideration of eighty five thouſand marks of ſilver, the republick ſhould be obliged to tranſport four thouſand knights or eſquires, and twenty thouſand foot into Syria with their arms, and all neceſſary proviſions and ammunition. The Venetians acquitted themſelves of all the conditions of this treaty, and furniſhed even a much greater number of veſſels, and ſhips than they were obliged to, that they might not look like mere paſſengers, in this voyage; and to have ſome ſhare in the merit of the cruſade, they fitted out at their own expence fifty galleys, with good land forces on board, and the doge, though fourſcore years old, and decayed in his ſight, was to mount the admiral, and make the voyage as one of the cruſade.

There was nothing now that hindered theſe French princes and noblemen from ſetting ſail, but want of money; but it happens frequently through accidents not to be foreſeen that it is not ſo eaſy to execute a treaty as to ſign it. A great many of the French, to avoid paying their quota of the contribution agreed on, had, inſtead of going to Venice, embarked at Marſeilles and different ports of Italy; ſo that the princes and noblemen who came at the head of the army to Venice, after ſelling their plate, gold chains and rings, could raiſe only fifty thouſand marks of ſilver; and for want of the thirty five thouſand remaining, the treaty was in danger of breaking off, and this holy deſign of miſcarrying, when the zeal, magnanimity and ability of the doge provided for all difficulties, and brought on the affair again.

Imprimerie Royale. An. 1657.

When we ſee the conduct of this illuſtrious doge in the relation of Geoffrey de Villehardouin, 'tis hard to determine which ought moſt to be admired, either his profound ſagacity in council, or his courage and capacity in the conduct of an army, or his wonderful skill and contrivance in managing the tempers of men. Attentive always to the intereſts of his countrey, and ſtill more to his own glory, he propoſed, for the advancement of both, and in concert with the great council of the republick, to diſcharge the cruſade of the thirty five thouſand marks remaining, upon condition that, after their imbarkation, and before they left the European ſeas, they would, by the way, aſſiſt him in reducing the town of Zara in Dalmatia, which was part of the old demeſne of the republick, but had ſome time before, out of a turbulent humour revolted to Bela, king of Hungary. Part of the gentlemen of the cruſade, and eſpecially the pope's legates, with ſome prieſts and monks, put ſcruples into the ſoldiery as if it was unlawful to employ againſt Chriſtians the arms which were deſigned againſt the infidels. But as it was impoſſible to go without the Venetian fleet, as the ſedition and revolt of the inhabitants of Zara was a dangerous precedent, and moreover, as the princes of the cruſade might be uſeful to obtain reaſonable conditions for them, the doge's propoſal was accepted. They ſet ſail, and after a favourable voyage, landed in Dalmatia and inveſted Zara. 1202. The place did not hold out long againſt ſo conſiderable an army; the inhabitants opened their gates to their old maſters; Nov. 10. but this diverſion having ſpent the ſeaſon proper for their paſſage into Paleſtine, they were obliged to winter in Dalmatia.

Upon the approach of ſpring the army of the cruſade was preparing to re-imbark, when there arrived embaſſadours from Alexis Comnenus, whoſe ſiſter Irene was married to Philip duke of Suabia, and emperor elect of Germany. The Greek prince ſent theſe deputies to ſolicite the princes, as they had employed their arms in favour of the Venetians, to make the like enterprize for reſtoring his father, the emperor Iſaac Angelus, to the throne of Conſtantinople, another Alexis brother to that emperor, having deprived him of his crown, and keeping him ſhut up in a dungeon; a new incident that requires a fuller explanation.

We have obſerved in ſeveral places of this work, and it is plain from the original hiſtorians, that the ambition and treachery of moſt of the Greek princes had made the throne of Conſtantinople a ſcene of the moſt bloody tragedies. The emperor Manuel Comnenus, that perfidious prince, who, in concert with the infidels, procured the deſtruction of the emperor Conrad the third's army, dying, after a reign of conſiderable length, left the empire to his ſon, a young prince hardly thirteen years old, contracted to Anne or Agnes of France, daughter of Louis VII. king of France. But after a reign of three months, if we may give that name to the government of ſo young a prince who was himſelf governed by prince Andronicus his uncle or couſin, the traiterous Andronicus cauſed him to be ſtrangled, and ſeized the empire.

Isaac Angelus of the ſame houſe of the Comneni, but only by the female 1195. ſide, under pretence of revenging the young emperor's death, ſurprized the tyrant, got him into his power, and, after putting him to death with the moſt cruel tortures, ſet up himſelf for emperor. He had reigned already near ten years, when his brother Alexis, whom he had ranſomed out of captivity among the infidels, formed a dangerous conſpiracy againſt him, ſeized his perſon, and deprived him at once of his ſight and crown. Young Alexis, Iſaac's ſon, made his eſcape, and, to ſecure himſelf againſt his uncle's cruelty, took refuge at the court of the emperor Philip of Suabia. Philip, buſy in oppoſing Otho of Saxony, his competitor for the empire, was not in a condition to give young Alexis any conſiderable ſuccour: But theſe two princes hearing with what facility the princes of the cruſade had reduced Zara for the Venetians, flattered themſelves that it was not impoſſible to engage them in their behalf to turn their arms againſt the uſurper. With this view, whilſt the Chriſtian army was ſtill in Dalmatia, young Alexis ſent embaſſadors to implore their aſſiſtance againſt a tyrant and a traytor, who had dethroned his own brother, and kept him loaded with irons, and buried as it were in a dungeon. Theſe motives, of ſuch a nature as could not but move the generoſity of the princes of the cruſade, were ſeconded by offers of conſiderable ſums; and young Alexis promiſed, after the emperor his father's reſtoration, to put on the croſs, and join the Chriſtian army with ten thouſand men.

1202.

Nangis ad An. 1203.

THE French and Venetian nobility, of which that army was compoſed, reflecting that the laſt cruſades of Europe had miſcarried only through the perfidiouſneſs of the Greek princes, and that ſo long as they could not be aſſured of Conſtantinople, and of the ſtraight which joins Europe in a manner with Aſia, it would be almoſt impracticable to tranſport the chiefs of the cruſade into Paleſtine and maintain them there, entered into a negotiation with the embaſſadors. The doge, entruſted with the common intereſts of both nations, managed it with his uſual capacity, and, after ſeveral conferences, came to an agreement with the miniſters of the Greek prince, that in caſe the princes of the cruſade reſtored the emperor Iſaac to his throne, the father and ſon ſhould pay the Latins two hundred thouſand marks of ſilver for the charge of the war; that young Alexis ſhould join their army in perſon and march with them into the eaſt; or elſe, if the intereſt of the emperor his father detained him at Conſtantinople, they ſhould ſend a reinforcement of ten thouſand men of their beſt troops, with a year's pay advanced; and that in order to ſecure the conqueſts which they hoped to gain either in Egypt or Paleſtine, they ſhould always maintain a ſtanding body of five hundred horſe there at their expence. The princes, out of a religious motive, and to engage the pope, the primum mobile of the cruſades, to allow of this diverſion, inſiſted likewiſe, that the embaſſadors ſhould oblige themſelves by this treaty in their maſter's name, in caſe God bleſſed the arms of the cruſade with ſucceſs, to exert their authority, and uſe all their endeavours to put an end to the ſchiſm, and bring the Greek church under ſubjection to that of Rome. The embaſſadors having no other reſource, ſubſcribed to every thing, and returned into Germany, from whence prince Alexis ſet out immediately, and came with the utmoſt expedition to Dalmatia, and upon his arrival ratified the treaty made by his embaſſadors with the princeſs of the cruſade,

1203.

Alexis III.

THESE Latin adventurers, if we may give that name to the princes and noblemen that compoſed this little army, finding their own private intereſt as well as that of religion in this treaty, ſet ſail with a favourable wind, and, landing in the territories of the Greek empire, advanced up to the walls of Conſtantinople. Six thouſand French, and about eight thouſand Venetians, in a foreign land, and an enemy's country, without proviſions, or any other ſuccour but their courage and their arms, undertook the ſiege of the capital of a great empire, in which 'tis ſaid, there were not fewer than two hundred thouſand men armed for its defence. The ſoldiers of the cruſade made ſeveral attacks both by ſea and land; all the leaders did wonders, and particularly the illuſtrious doge of Venice, then above eighty years of age, and though his ſight was almoſt gone, he put himſelf at the head of his troops, where by his example ſtill more than by his words, he animated his men, gave the proper orders, and commanded in the action. The Greeks on the other hand lined the wall with archers and ſoldiers, who, with ſhowers of arrows, ſtones and fire works, repulſed the beſiegers, and there was no appearance that a handful of Latins could carry a place defended by an innumerable multitude of people. But the uſurper, ſtung with the remorſe of his conſcience, and ſtill more uneaſy with the fear of being delivered up by ſome ſecret enemies to the lords of the cruſade, fled away by night in a bark with his family and treaſures, and his flight made the ſoldiers and inhabitants drop their arms, and open their gates to the Latins; the ſelf ſame day a tyrant deſerting his own army, and become a fugitive, the lawful prince delivered out of priſon and re-eſtabliſhed on the throne, and the courtiers with the principal citizens applauding a ſucceſs which the evening before they had oppoſed with all their forces. The firſt care of the old emperor was to make prince Alexis his ſon, partner with him in the empire, this ceremony was performed on Aug. 1, 1203. The chiefs of the cruſade attended him afterwards into moſt of the provinces of the empire, where they eſtabliſhed his authority. But they were ill recompenſed for it: Alexis ſeeing himſelf quiet on the throne, put off, under various pretences, paying the ſums he was obliged to by the treaty. His wiles were his ruin; the Greeks, afraid of being made ſubject to the church of Rome, hated him, and the breach of his word, rendered him odious to thoſe of the cruſade.

1204. A PRINCE of the family of Ducas, called Murzulphle, becauſe of his thick eye brows which met together, formed a deſign to dethrone him: He got, by baſe compliances, and a continued ſeries of flattery, the aſcendant over his mind; he governed the empire abſolutely, and at the ſame time that he perſuaded the prince not to comply with the demands of the Latins, his emiſſaries gave out, that the emperor detained them at the gates of Conſtantinople only to force the inhabitants to acknowledge the pope's authority. The people hereupon mutiny, run to arms and cry that Alexis ought to be depoſed. The emperor Iſaac his father, worn out with years, died at that time of grief to ſee his misfortunes break out a freſh: Alexis in confuſion applies to his benefactors, and conjures them to ſend ſome of their troops into the city for his ſecurity. The marqueſs of Montferrat, forgetting his ingratitude, promiſed to come to his relief, and it was agreed, that one of the gates of the city ſhould be kept open for him the night following. The perfidious Murzulphle gives private notice of it to the mutineers, this news encreaſes the uproar; the whole city take up arms, and reſolve to elect a new emperor. Murzulphle, the ſilent ring-leader of the revolt, miſtruſting the inconſtancy of the people, to make a tryal of the danger, cauſed a young man of great birth, but no intereſt, to be choſen emperor. His name was Nicholas Canabe. The falſe Murzulphle ſeeing all the people out of averſion to his nephew, running in to put the crown upon his idol, ſecretly ſecures the perſon of that phantom of an emperor, and goes at night to the palace, awakens the prince, and adviſes him to withdraw from the fury of a mutinous populace that were in queſt of him, as he ſaid, to put him to death. The young emperor abandons himſelf to his perfidious advice, follows him; and Murzuphle, under pretence of concealing him, carries him into a loneſome part of the palace, where the unhappy prince, as ſoon as he entered, was ſeized and put in irons. The uſurper ſtrips him of his buskins wrought with eagles, and the other marks of the imperial dignity, puts 'em on himſelf, and, attended with his relations and accomplices, preſents himſelf to the people; exhorts them to break off all correſpondence with the Latins, and propoſes to make a war upon them. This diſcourſe, which flattered the animoſity of the unruly multitude, is received with great applauſe. They proclaim him emperor on the ſpot, and not to let the zeal of the people cool, he gets himſelf crowned. Hiſtory does not tell us what became of poor Canabè, who diſappeared at once, and was never heard of afterwards. As to the emperor Alexis, whoſe life gave him great uneaſineſs, he twice together cauſed poiſon to be mixed with that prince's food, but the poiſon not working quick enough, this barbarous wretch, impatient to be rid of him, went into the dungeon, where he was ſhut up, and ſtrangled him with his own hands.

How juſt an indignation ſoever the lords of the cruſade had againſt young Alexis, yet they lamented his unhappy fate, and reſolved to revenge his death.

GEOFFROY LE RAT.

death. War was proclaimed againſt the tyrant, who made preparations to carry it on, and put the inhabitants in arms. The troops of the cruſade laid ſiege to the place a ſecond time; they brought the ſame courage to the enterprize; and, without amuſing themſelves with the ordinary forms of war, they attempted a ſcalado, and, after a combat, which laſted almoſt the whole day, they ſeized upon ſome towers, where they fortified themſelves during the night. They were reſolved to carry on the attack at break of day, but were agreeably ſurprized by ſome of the inhabitants, who informed them that the uſurper was fled. In the morning they renewed their attack, when the weak reſiſtance they met with, and the terrible diſorder and confuſion the city was in, made them ſoon ſenſible that the ſurprizing news was true. The French and Venetians enter Conſtantinople ſword in hand, break into the palace and houſes of the principal nobility, and commit all thoſe diſorders which are the ordinary effects of the fury and greedineſs of the ſoldiery.

THE next buſineſs was to elect an emperor: The chiefs of the cruſade referred the choice to twelve electors, ſix of them French, and ſix Venetians; and it was agreed, that whatever nation the emperor was of, the patriarch ſhould be taken out of the other. If the doge had been a competitor for the empire, 'tis certain he would have had the beſt intereſt. But that wiſe prince, conſidering that the imperial dignity in a Venetian would be the ruin of a republick government, renounced it both for himſelf and his nation; ſo that there was nothing more to do, but to make a good choice among the French and other nations that compoſed the army. Moſt of the votes ſeemed determined in favour of the marqueſs of Montferrat; and indeed it looked as if they could not, without injuſtice, refuſe that dignity to a prince, whom they had choſen already, out of ſo many others, to be their own general, and who, by his valour and conduct, had made them maſters of Conſtantinople. But the politick doge, dreading his great qualities, and afraid of ſeeing the empire united to the dominions which that prince was already poſſeſſed of in Italy, determined moſt of the electors in favour of Baldwin count of Flanders, from whom there was no ſuch danger to be apprehended. That prince was crowned with great ſolemnity in the church of S. Sophia. Thomas Moroſini was choſen patriarch of Conſtantinople; and the marqueſs of Montferrat had afterwards, for his ſhare, the kingdom of Theſſalonica, and the Venetians moſt of the iſlands of the Archipelago.

BALDWIN could not be ignorant of the averſion which his new ſubjects had to the government of a prince ſubject to the church of Rome. To remove this prejudice, and bring them to an uniformity of belief, ſo neceſſary to the tranquillity of a ſtate, he procured, from pope Innocent, ſome clergy and monks remarkable for their learning and virtue, who uſed their endeavours to put an end to the ſchiſm, and unite the two churches. He invited at the ſame time the hoſpitallers of S. John into his dominions, gave them conſiderable eſtates in the provinces which held of the empire, and reſtored them the poſſeſſion of the two houſes which they had in Conſtantinople, till the uſurper Andronicus drove them thence. Geoffrey de Ville-hardouin, marſhal of Champagne and Romania, tells us, in his hiſtory, that Matthieu de Montmorency, one of the chief leaders of the cruſade, dying in this famous expedition, was buried at Conſtantinople in the church of S. John of the hoſpital of Jeruſalem †.

See the epiſtles of Innocent III. Books 13, 14, 15, 16.

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† Lors lor avint une mult grant meſavanture en l'oſt que Mahius de Montmorency que ere un des meillor chevalier del royaume de France, & des plus priſiez & des plus amez fû mors, & ce fû grant diels & grant domages, un des greignors qui avint en l'oſt, d'un ſeul home, & fû enterrez en une yglise de Monſeignor S. Jehan de l'hôpital de Jeruſalem. Ville-hardouin, p. 80.

THERE was not a Chriſtian prince within either Aſia or Europe, but would have ſome hoſpitallers in his dominions. Magnificent hoſpitals and churches were at that time built for them at Florence, Piſa and Verona. Beſides theſe foundations for the knights, the hoſpital nuns of the ſame order had ſome conſiderable houſes in thoſe three cities, in which theſe pious ſiſters made piety, charity, and all Chriſtian virtues flouriſh. We muſt not omit to mention here the bleſſed ſiſter Ubaldina, whoſe memory is held in ſingular veneration at Piſa, and over all the order. This holy nun was born about the middle of the twelfth century, at the caſtle of Calcinaya, in the county of Piſa. As ſoon as ſhe was of age to chuſe for her ſelf, ſhe took the habit, and profeſſed herſelf in the houſe of S. John de Piſa. Nature formed her generous and beneficent; grace render'd her charitable; ſhe was the mother of the poor; the ſick met with a relief always at hand in her aſſiduous care; there was no kind of miſery but ſhe brought a remedy for it, or gave conſolation under it; and when her duties allowed her ſome moments to herſelf, ſhe ſpent them before the croſs, and in a continual meditation upon the death and paſſion of our divine Saviour.

THAT ſhe might be worthy to partake of the benefits of that great myſtery, ſhe crucified her body with ſurprizing auſterities. From the time of her profeſſion ſhe never left off her hair cloth, a board ſerved for her bed, her faſtings were continual, her food bread and water with a few roots: She was particularly induſtrious in her penances; ſhe ſought eagerly after all occaſions of practiſing ſome ſecret mortification; had ſhe a taſte, a bias, a natural inclination or averſion for any thing, as ſoon as ſhe perceived it, all was ſacrificed; ſhe was, as we may ſay, a continual martyr; and if her ſex and profeſſion did not allow her to bear a ſhare with the knights her brethren in the torments to which they were expoſed when they fell into the hands of the infidels, it may be ſaid, that, by the pious cruelties wherewith ſhe mortified her body, ſhe was their companion in ſufferings, and the croſs which ſhe wore outwardly was not ſo much an ornament as a mark and character of that which ſhe had ſo deeply engraved in her heart. 'Twas in a continual exerciſe of theſe virtues that the bleſſed Ubaldina died about A. D. 1206. The authors of her life 1206. mention ſeveral miracles which it pleaſed God to work by her interceſſion; but the firſt and greateſt of all was a lively faith, an unbounded charity, a ſpirit of mortification, and that combination of virtues, of which, for the honour of the order of S. John, it may be ſaid, there were at that time very eminent examples.

WE have ſeen above, that the grand maſter, at the requeſt of Amaury de Luſignan, king of Cyprus, and at the pope's recommendation, had ſent a body of knights into that iſland to keep the ſubjects thereof in the obedience they owed their ſovereign. That prince king of Cyprus, and king likewiſe of Jeruſalem, in right of queen Iſabel his wife, died this year without any iſſue by her; and the queen outliving him but a few days, the two crowns, which, by their marriage, had been united upon their heads, were divided again by their death.

MARY, the eldeſt daughter of queen Iſabel, and Conrad of Montferrat prince of Tyre her ſecond huſband, was acknowledged heireſs of the crown of Jeruſalem; and Hugh de Luſignan, ſon to Amaury by his firſt wife, ſucceeded the king his father in the crown of Cyprus. This young prince married the princeſs Alice, half ſiſter to Mary by the mother's ſide, and daughter of Iſabel and Henry count of Champagne her third huſband. The Chriſtians of Paleſtine, finding themſelves deſtitute of a ſovereign, who was as neceſſary to keep the great lords of the kingdom in their duty, as he was to oppoſe the arms of the infidels, ſent the biſhop of Acre, and Aimar lord

Geoffroy le Rat.

of Cæſarea in right of his wiſe, as their deputies to king Philip Auguſtus, to deſire him to recommend a husband to them for the young queen of Jeruſalem that would be capable of defending her dominions.

The king named them John de Brienne, a young nobleman, full of valour, wiſe, capable of governing a ſtate, and of commanding an army, ſuch a one indeed as the preſſing occaſions of the Holy Land and a tottering throne required. The young count, not conſidering the vaſt number of enemies wherewith that little kingdom was encompaſſed, ſuffered himſelf to be dazzled with the empty title of king, and the circumſtance of owing it entirely to his own merit and reputation. He received the king's propoſal with all due acknowledgments, and having taken ſuch meaſures as he thought neceſſary with the embaſſadors of Paleſtine, he ſent them away before him, charging them to aſſure the queen and grandees of the kingdom, that he would come to Acre with a formidable army, and in a condition, after the truce was expired, to begin the war again with ſucceſs.

The embaſſadors, returning into the eaſt, gave out, that the count de Brienne would arrive immediately at the head of a powerful cruſade, compoſed of the moſt warlike nations of Europe, and commanded moſt of them by their own ſovereigns. They even named the princes who had put on the croſs, the number of their troops, and the fleets they were to put to ſea. The noiſe of this armament, which they were magnifying continually, as it commonly happens, in ſpeaking of things at a diſtance, and ſuch as flatter our hopes, raiſed the courage of the Chriſtians and alarmed the infidels. Safadine propoſed to the council of regency to prolong the truce, offering in that caſe to reſtore them ten ſuch towns or caſtles as lay moſt for the convenience of the Chriſtians.

The grand maſter of the hoſpitallers, who, by the knowledge he had of the affairs of Europe, did not ſee that any ſuch mighty ſuccours could be ſent as the embaſſadors gave them hopes of, was of opinion that they ſhould make their advantage of the fear of the infidels, and accept the truce they propoſed. The maſter of the teutonick order, and moſt of the lords and barons of the countrey, were of the ſame ſentiments; but the grand maſter of the templars and the prelates oppoſed it, though, ſays Sanut *, the advice of the grand maſter of the hoſpitallers was certainly beſt. The very propoſing of it indeed by the hoſpitallers was a ſufficient reaſon to make the templars contradict it. This grand maſter of the hoſpitallers died about A. D. 1206. The hiſtorians of that time do not acquaint us with his extraction; but there is in Touraine a very ancient and noble family of the name of Rat, from which, in all probability, this grand maſter was deſcended. The order choſe in his place brother Guerin de Montaigu, a Frenchman by nation, and of the language of Auvergne, who, in a ſhort time after his election, did conſiderable ſervice, to the Greek Chriſtians of Armenia Minor.

Proof III.
1206.
Guerin de Montaigu.

Pope Innocent III. writing to the biſhops of France, repreſents to them, in one of his letters, the miſerable ſtate of the Latin Chriſtians of the eaſt, according to the advices he had received from thoſe parts. The ſovereign pontif adds, that, to make the misfortune ſtill greater, Raimond count of Tripoli, ſecond ſon to Bohemund III. prince of Antioch, and Leo king of Armenia, conſented for the ſucceſſion of that principality, even before the ſovereign's death; that the inhabitants of Antioch, ſupported by the templars, had declared themſelves for the count, and the hoſpitallers had taken the king's part; that the infidels too had engaged in the quarrel to make their advantage of it; that the ſultan of Aleppo was raiſing forces in favour of the

Ep. 271. vide Ep. 370. ejuſdem, quæ extat apud Rog Hov. fol. 454 edit. Lond. an. 1598.

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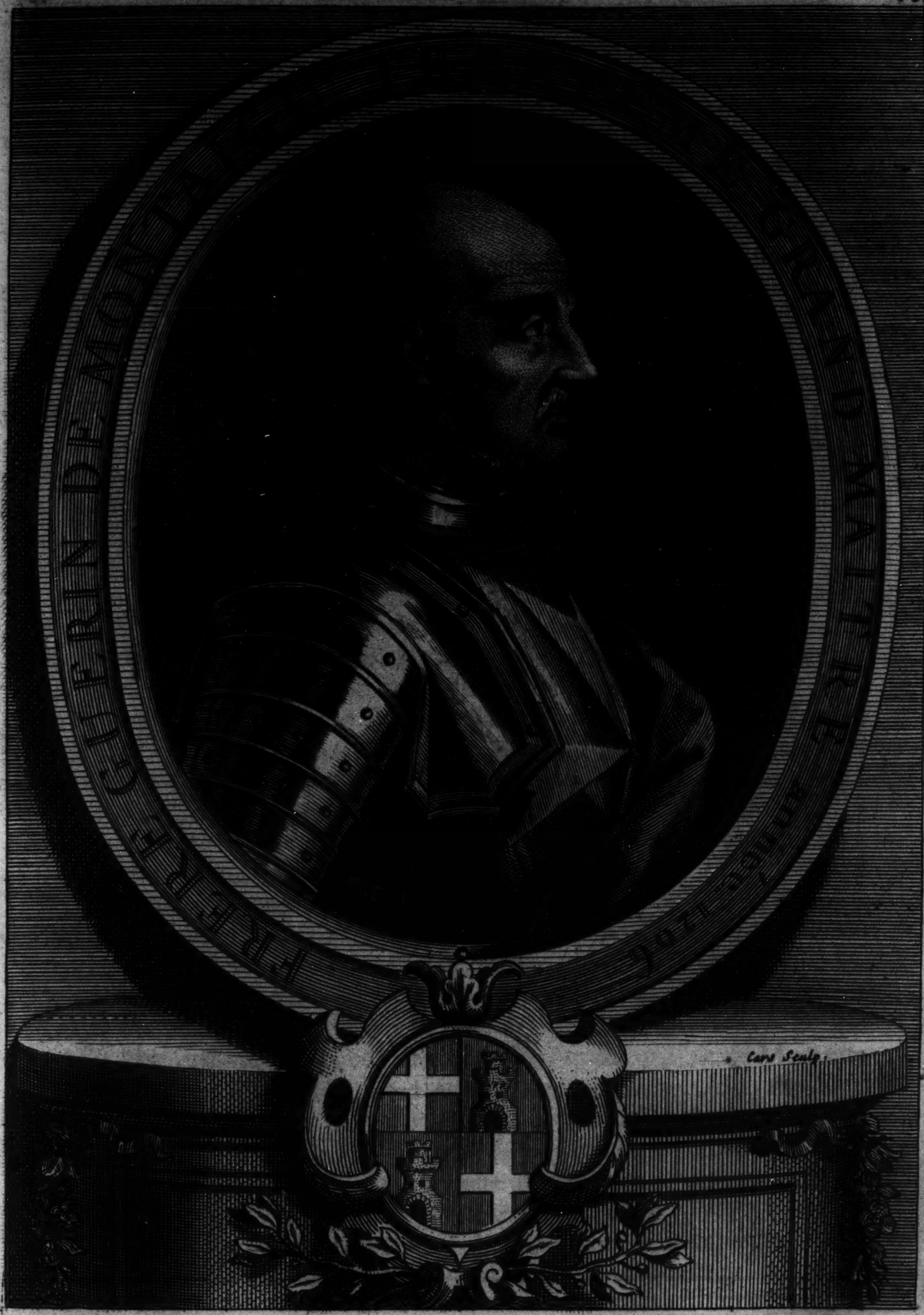
* Magiſtri quoque hoſpitalis & Alamannorum cunctique barones treugas prolongare vellent; magiſter tamen templi, ac prælati, licet eſſet utilius, minime aſſenſerunt. Mar. Sanut. c. 3. p. 206.

count

13.


FRERE GUERIN DE MONT
GRAND MAITRE
anno 1206
Caro Sculp.

count of Tripoli; that Dennequin, another Turkiſh prince, was leading a conſiderable ſuccour to the king of Armenia; and, what is more deplorable, continues the pontif, Safadine, ſultan of Egypt and Damaſcus, the mightieſt of all the infidels, has levied numerous armies, without declaring as yet in favour of any party, and, in all appearance, with a view to make his advantage of all events, and to raiſe his empire on the ruin of both.

WE have obſerved already, that of the marriage contracted between young Bohemund, eldeſt ſon of the prince of Antioch, and Alice daughter to Rupin of the mountain, there was iſſue a ſon, named alſo Rupin, who, after the death of young Bohemund his father, purſuant to the treaty of peace made with Leo king of Armenia, his great uncle, had been declared, by old Bohemund his grandfather, preſumptive heir of his dominions. But Raimond count of Tripoli, ſecond ſon to old Bohemund, pretended, that ſuch declaration ought not to take place, and that the right of ſucceſſion, immediately after the prince his father's death, belonged to him, and not to his nephew: Theſe were the pretenſions of the two contending parties.

THE king of Armenia, though brought up in the ſchiſm, ſeeing his dominions ſurrounded by thoſe of the Latin princes, pretended to reconcile himſelf to the catholick church. He had wrote ſeveral times to the pope to declare, that he acknowledged his authority, and had likewiſe obliged his patriarch, whom the Armenians call the catholick, to take the like ſtep. But, to ſpeak the truth, this union was only temporary, and the pretended ſubmiſſion of the Armenians laſted no longer than they had need of the protection of the holy ſee.

LIVRON renewed his proteſtations at this juncture, and, at the ſame time, made preſſing inſtances to Innocent, intreating him to require the templars to make no more oppoſition to the rights of his nephew, but to conform themſelves to the conduct of the hoſpitallers, who, ſaid he, after being convinced of the juſtice of young Rupin's claim, had declared in his favour. This prince, in another letter, deſires the pope to interpoſe his authotity, that this great affair might be determined in an amicable manner, and begs that he would be pleaſed to take upon himſelf the nomination of impartial judges; among which, he particularly recommends to him the grand maſter of the hoſpitallers.

WHILST this difference was in agitation at the court of Rome, Soliman de Roveniddin ſultan of Iconium, of the race of the Selgeucidian Turcomans, enter'd Armenia, at the inſtance of the count of Tripoli, and deſtroyed all before him with fire and ſword. Leo gave immediate advice of it to the pope; and that pontif, at his requeſt, engaged the hoſpitallers to undertake the defence of his dominions. The grand maſter de Montaigu drew a ſtrong body into the field and joined him; upon which, they marched againſt the ſultan, and, after ſeveral engagements, and a bloody and obſtinate battel, the Turcoman prince was defeated, his army cut in pieces, and thoſe that eſcaped from the ſword of the conquerors, had great difficulty to get back into Bithynia, with the ſultan who commanded them. 1209. PROOF IV.

THE Armenian prince, either out of gratitude, or to engage the hoſpitallers ſtill more cloſely in his intereſts, granted them, in property, the town of Saleph, with the fortreſſes of Chateauneuf and Camard. He ſent the deed of this grant to pope Innocent III. who confirmed it by his bull, bearing date in the thirteenth year of his pontificate. The ſovereign pontif prevailed afterwards with the count of Tripoli to agree to a truce with the king of Armenia, and order'd the two legates, that he kept in the eaſt, to force the refractory ſide to it by all ſpiritual methods, and to make uſe likewiſe of the aſſiſtance and arms of the hoſpitallers to maintain peace in that

part

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part of Chriſtendom. Prince Rupin, nephew to Livron, two years after, made the like application to pope Honorius III. to obtain the aſſiſtance of the hoſpitallers, as may be ſeen in the brief of that pope. This was not the firſt time that the popes had made uſe of the arms of the hoſpitallers, in the eaſt, againſt princes that did not think themſelves bound by the thunders of the Vatican.

THOSE pontiſs employed them no leſs ſerviceably at the ſame time againſt the Moors and Saracens of Spain; and Mahomet Enacer Miramolin king of Morocco, having entred Caſtile at the head of a formidable army, brother Guttiere d'Ermegilde, prior of the hoſpitallers of Caſtile, upon the orders he received from Rome and from the grand maſter, came to offer his ſervice to king Alphonſus VIII. at the head of a large number of knights, and of the vaſſals of the order.

RODERIC archbiſhop of Toledo ſpeaking of theſe knights in his hiſtory: The military brothers the hoſpitallers, ſays that * prelate, inflamed with zeal, took up arms in this countrey to maintain our holy religion, and drive the infidels out of Spain.

A FAMOUS French hoſpitaller, called brother Guerin, miniſter of ſtate to Philip Auguſtus, and general of his army, rendered at the ſame time ſervices every way as important to the church, and to his countrey. He was brought up in this kingdom in a dangerous hereſy, which, under pretence of a higher ſpiritual perfection, undermined the foundations of religion. A clergyman of the dioceſs of Chartres, named Amaury, a ſubtle logician, was the author of it. At leaſt Rigord, a contemporary hiſtorian, affirms, that the diſciples of this doctor maintained publickly, that as the laws of the old teſtament given, as they ſaid, by the eternal father, had been aboliſhed by the goſpel, and the new law of Jeſus Chriſt; ſo this was to be ſuppreſſed in its turn by the law of charity, which was the work of the holy ghoſt; that under this law of pure love, the uſe of the ſacraments was as unneceſſary, as that of the legal ceremonies of the old law. He added, that paradiſe and hell had no exiſtence but in the imagination of men; that the pleaſure of doing good works, was the true paradiſe, and that ſin and ignorance, made all our hell. He required nothing of his followers, for the whole practice of religion, but only the love of God, the flame of which, he ſaid, was capable of purifying even adultery it ſelf.

THESE errors, being ſpread abroad by men of parts and eloquence, perverted great number of perſons, and particularly abundance of women, who are always fond of novelty. Brother Guerin † of the order of the hoſpitallers of S. John of Jeruſalem, who, in the reigns of Philip Auguſtus, and Louis VIII. his ſon, had a great ſhare in the government, employed his pains and autho-

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* Fratres etiam militiæ hoſpitalis, qui fraternitatis caritati inſiſtentes devote, zelo fidei, & Terræ Sanctæ neceſſitate accenſi, defenſionis gladium aſſumpſerunt. Hi ſub uno priore Guterrio Ermegildi, &c. Roderic. Toletanus, t. 2. l. 8. c. 3. p. 130. de rebus Hiſpanicis.

† Hault conſors aviez ou bon veſque Garin,
Par Deu & par ſon ſens euſtes moult d' amis,
Proudom fu, & l' Ajax ſçachié certainement,
Bien le ſceut votre peres qui l' ama durement,
Moult fu de haut conſeil & de tous biens fu plains.
Et ere bien entechiez de loyal cuer certains,
Puis le tens Charlemaine, qui fu un Arceveſques,
Qu' en apela Turpin, ne fu ſi bon Eveſques
Volontiers eſſauçoit l'onor de ſainte Egliſe,
Sire, & les vos droits gardoit il ſans faintiſe.
Moult l' ama li bons Rois qui Felipes ot non
Et apres votre peres qui Dex face pardon,
Et la bon Roine l'amoit & tenoit chier,
Qu' en votre cort n' avoit nul meillor Conſeiller. Joinville p. 165.
in the ſermon of Robert de Sainceriaux.

rity to ſtop the progreſs of this new ſect. He was one of the moſt learned men of his age, and at the ſame time the greateſt officer of his nation; and it was not eaſy to determine, whether, in the management of the ſtate, his valour or his piety and wiſdom had the aſcendant. During a vacancy of the dignity of chancellor, the king had appointed him to do the functions of it. The chancery being vacant, ſays the hiſtorian of that time, this wiſe miniſter took care to have the principal leaders of theſe fanaticks puniſhed: There were ſeveral that acknowledged their errors, and the moſt obſtinate went to join themſelves to the Albigenſes a ſort of Manichees who admitted two principles, a good and an evil one, to which they aſcribed all the actions of men. They were called Albigenſes, from the town of Albi in Languedoc, moſt of the inhabitants of which were infected with this hereſy. The pope, to extirpate them the ſhorteſt way, cauſed a new cruſade to be preached up againſt them, annexing the ſame indulgences to it, as were granted for the war of the Holy Land, requiring from ſuch as engaged in it only forty days ſervice.

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Rigordus de Geſtis Philippi Auguſti Franc. Regis. p. 208. ann. 1209.

This eaſy way of getting indulgences, drew an infinite number of the cruſade into Languedoc, and deprived the Chriſtians of the Holy Land of their ſuccour; which was the cauſe why John de Brienne, at his ſetting out for Jeruſalem, could not poſſibly get together above three hundred knights, inſtead of thoſe mighty armies, that were to inſure him an eaſy entrance into Paleſtine. They were ſtrangely ſurprized to ſee him land at the port of Acre, with ſo ſmall a company, ſufficient indeed for the retinue of a king, but contemptible in regard to the hopes that had been given them, and to the neceſſities of the ſtate.

Nevertheless that lord, after marrying the young queen, took the field, to ſignalize his acceſſion to the crown by ſome action worthy of his courage. He ravaged at firſt all the frontiers of the enemy, and took ſome caſtles of ſmall conſequence; but ſeveral bodies of Sarazens advancing to beſet him, he was obliged to retire; and thought it advantage enough to have made his eſcape from ſuch mighty enemies.

He wrote immediately to the pope, to give him an account in what condition he found the Holy Land; and added, that what they called the kingdom of Jeruſalem, conſiſted only in two or three places, which they could maintain no longer than the civil wars laſted between the brother and ſons of Saladine, and that unleſs a new cruſade was ſent into Paleſtine, he ſhould ſoon be a king without a kingdom or ſubjects.

Innocent was ſenſibly affected with this ſad news. That pontif, like moſt of his predeceſſors, beſides the zeal which made him intent upon the recovery of the Holy Land, intereſted himſelf particularly in theſe wars, whereof the popes were regarded as the heads, and wherein their legates pretended to command with an authority ſuperior to the generals, and even the princes that engaged in theſe pious expeditions; a new ſort of ſovereignty, unknown in former ages, which, under pretence of oppoſing the invaſions of infidels, ſubjected vaſt armies of Chriſtians to the popes orders, and in many inſtances when ſovereigns were at the head of them.

The pope, full of theſe great views, and deſigning to ſuccour the new king of Jeruſalem, was throughly perſuaded, that nothing but a new cruſade could bring thoſe numerous armies into the field, that were the terrour of the Barbarians. To raiſe therefore troops, in moſt of the dominions in Chriſtendom, he reſolved, after the example of Urban II. the firſt author of the cruſades, to call a general council: And beſides the bulls for that purpoſe, he cauſed publick notice to be given of it by a great number of eccleſiaſticks and religious, who ſpread themſelves over all Europe, and in their ſermons cried up the merit of

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1210. ſuch voyages, and exaggerated perhaps a little too much the general indulgences, which were annexed to them. But the execution of this pious deſign, was ſuſpended by a formidable alliance made againſt France, in which a great number of the ſovereigns of Chriſtendom were engaged. Theſe princes made preparations of war on all ſides, and when troops were every where in motion, the pope ſaw it was by no means proper to require any biſhops to take a journey; and the rather, becauſe, when they ſhould be met together, they could not propoſe, at ſuch a time, to draw any ſuccour from France and Germany, the ſureſt reſources of all the cruſades.

Otho IV. emperor of Germany, was at the head of this league againſt France, and among his allies were John king of England, the counts of Flanders, Holland, Boulogne and Saliſbury, natural brother to the king of England, Henry duke of Brabant, Frederic duke of Lorain, Thibault count of Luxemburgh, and Philip de Courtenay marqueſs of Namur, ſon of Peter de Courtenay count of Auxerre. It may perhaps be ſurprizing to ſee, among the enemies of France, the duke of Brabant, who was the king's ſon in law, the count of Bar his ſubject, whoſe ſon too was in the French ſervice, Ferrand de Portugal a vaſſal of the crown, to whom the king had given the heireſs of Flanders in marriage, and the marqueſs of Namur, a prince of the royal blood; nor could theſe princes be well excuſed from the crime of defection and rebellion, if it was not known that ſome of them held their principal territories under the empire; that they were feodataries of it, and that, if they had not joined the emperor's army, that prince, who had invaded the Low Countries with an army of an hundred thouſand men, would have begun with ſtripping them of their great fiefs. Hence it is, that the count of Bar, though a vaſſal of the crown, to preſerve the county of Luxemburgh, was obliged, contrary to his inclination, to furniſh his quota of troops to the emperor, and lead them in perſon to the imperial camp.

The principal chiefs of this alliance were ſo perſuaded that the king could not reſiſt them, that they had beforehand divided his dominions amongſt them, and diſmember'd the fineſt provinces of this great kingdom from the body of the monarchy.

The emperor indeed had reſerved the ſovereignty in chief, and the ſupreme demeſne of the crown to himſelf; but the king of England claimed for his ſhare all the provinces about the Loire; Renaud de Dammartin count of Boulogne, a ſecret enemy of the king, and the warmeſt promoter of the league, had ſet his heart on the Vermandois and the neighbouring provinces, which lay convenient for him, and the count of Flanders was promiſed Paris, the iſle of France, and that part of Picardy which adjoyns to Paris.

1214. This was, as we may ſay, to ſell the bear's skin before he was killed; theſe princes had to do with an enemy not eaſy to be beaten. Philip II. king of France, ſo juſtly ſtyled Auguſtus by poſterity, without being daunted at the number and force of his enemies, advanced towards Peronne at the head of forty thouſand men, moſt of them well diſciplin'd troops, beſides thirty five thouſand militia drawn aut of the neighbouring provinces, which formed a large body of infantry. Moſt of the princes and barons of the kingdom attended the king; the gentry was ſummoned, all the gentlemen flew to the ſuccour of their countrey, and no other knights were as yet known, but ſuch as had acquired that glorious title by their valour, and had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by uncommon bravery in the fields.

The king of France, at the head of this brave gentry, thought himſelf invincible, and though he had little more than ſixty thouſand men in his army, he reſolved to carry the war into the enemy's countrey; he left Peronne the twenty third of July, fell into Flanders, and encamped near Tournay.

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nay. The emperor, on the other hand, advanced as far as Mortagne, which is but three leagues diſtant from it, and intrenched himſelf there. Beſides above two hundred thouſand men that he had in his army, he was poſted too advantageouſly to be forced in his camp.

The king, to draw him out of his intrenchments, made a motion towards Hainault. The emperor taking this march for a flight, and fearing that, in his retreat, he ſhould ravage the province of one of his allies, marched the ſame way, and arrived in the plain of Bouvines, on Sunday July 27. The king was come thither only ſome hours before him, and, as he thought of nothing but penetrating into Hainault, his van-guard had already paſſed a bridge that he had laid over the Marque, when he was advertiſed by his ſcouts, that the allies were advancing in order of battel, i. e. with ſtandards diſplayed, their horſes barded, and the ſerjeants, a ſort of dragoons, attached to the ſervice of the men of arms, ordered to diſmount, and marching a foot before them. The king immediately diſpatched the hoſpitaller Guerin, who acted as marſhal de bataille, to take a view of the enemy. The long experience he had acquired in the wars of the eaſt, and the laurels he had gathered in a ſeries of engagements with the infidels, made him fill that honourable poſt, without the leaſt jealouſly or envy from the greateſt lords of the kingdom.

History has not tranſmitted to us either his ſurname, or that of his family. 'Tis certain, that as he was an hoſpitaller of S. John, he muſt have been of noble extraction: This is all we can ſay on that head. His piety and learning had occaſioned his being elected biſhop of Senlis; but he was not yet conſecrated, and we are going to ſee on this occaſion new proofs of his capacity in the art of war. Rigord, a cotemporary hiſtorian, who was in the king's retinue, ſpeaking of this knight, "He was, ſays he, a very " brave officer, of admirable conduct, of a ſteddy judgment, and ſo great " penetration, that he ſaw into all events that could happen." Le Breton, another cotemporary hiſtorian, adds, "That he had the entire affection and " confidence of the king his maſter, and was the firſt perſon in the kingdom " after him. Yet, ſays Rigord, though this illuſtrious knight ſhone with " all the luſtre that royal favour could give him, he never would, in the height " of his authority, quit the habit of his order, which he wore always under " his armour." Such was this famous hoſpitaller, who did ſo much honour to his nation and his order. The king, who depended entirely on him for the conduct of the army, having ordered him, as we have juſt ſaid, to go and view the enemy, he took Adam viſcount de Melun, one of the braveſt noblemen in the kingdom, along with him; and, putting himſelf at the head of a body of horſe, he advanced to a riſing ground, from whence he diſcovered the march and diſpoſition of the army of the allies, and leaving the viſcount in that poſt, with orders to amuſe the enemy without engaging, he returned in all haſte to the king, and told him, that he was much miſtaken if he was not going to be attacked by the emperor.

Philip immediately called a council of war; it was there debated whether the troops ſhould continue to paſs the river, or whether the van-guard that had croſſed it, ſhould not be ordered to march back again and give battel to the enemy. Moſt of the general officers were of opinion that they ſhould avoid an engagement that day, becauſe it was an old cuſtom of the nation never to fight on a Sunday; they ſaid the French had always made a ſcruple of ſhedding blood on that holy day; beſides, the ſoldiers were fatigued with a long march, and the allies being ſo much ſuperior in troops, it was proper to wait the coming up of the gentry, who were on their march to join the army; and therefore they ought to make all the troops paſs

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paſs to the other ſide; that the river would ſerve for a barrier, and the enemy would not hazard paſſing it in ſight of ſo ſtrong an army as the king's.

The hoſpitaller Guerin, who from his long experience in the art of war, judged that they could hardly avoid an engagement, told them that they debated about a matter which was not in their power; that the enemy was too near, and if they continued paſſing the whole army over the river they would expoſe their rear and hindermoſt troops to be cut in pieces. Nevertheleſs as he was almoſt the only perſon of this opinion, and the emperor's troops had, at that very moment, made a motion as if they would march towards Tournay, it was reſolved, by a majority of voices, to paſs over the river, but the emperor's army wheeling about, and falling at once upon the body commanded by the viſcount de Melun, fully juſtified the ſoundneſs of Guerin's judgment. The king ſaw plainly, there was no avoiding an engagement, ſo the van was immediately ordered to repaſs the river, and the knight who acted as marſhal de bataille, drew up the forces in order of battel, aſſigning every troop their proper poſt. Superior in capacity to the enemy's generals, he contrived to get the ſun in his back, which darting in the enemy's eyes, afforded him the ſame advantage, eſpecially in the heat of the dogdays, as Hannibal had againſt the Romans, at the battel of Cannæ. The monk Rigord, the king's chaplain and phyſician, who in this battel kept always near his maſter's perſon, ſays, "that he ſaw the hoſpitaller Guerin, after "having ranged the army in Battalia, ride among the ranks, paſs along the "ſquadrons and battalions, and exhort every one to fight bravely for the defence of their king and countrey." He adds, "that this illuſtrious knight, after "the ſignal of battel was given, on account of his election to the biſhoprick of "Senlis, would not engage among the combatants, but contented himſelf with "giving his orders and directing the different brigades of the army to be led on "at the time there was occaſion for them."

There was ſcarce ever a battle in France diſputed for ſo long a time; all cloſed in together, and fought with equal fury: The king performed prodigies of valour; ſixſcore French gentlemen were kill'd by his ſide, and he himſelf had like to have been loſt, he received a ſtroke of a lance in his throat; his horſe was ſlain under him, himſelf trampled under the horſes feet; two ſingle gentlemen, Montigny and Triſtan, to ſave their maſter, made him a rampart with their bodies, and ſuſtained all the efforts of the enemy. The king leaps upon Triſtan's horſe, and putting himſelf at the head of a body of his gentry that had not run to his ſuccour, charges the enemy a freſh, and breaks through a ſquadron of Germans that made head againſt him; nothing is able to ſtand againſt the fury of the French, who before the eyes of their prince, and breathing vengeance for the danger he had run, make a terrible ſlaughter. They puſh on, they pierce even to the perſon of the emperor, who was in the center of that ſquadron. De Trie gives him a thruſt with his ance which makes his cuiraſs uſeleſs; Mauvoiſin ſeizes the bridle of his horſe, and the young count of Bar, whoſe father as count of Luxemburg, was in the army of allies, ſeizes the emperor by the neck: Desbarres ſeneſchal of Anjou coming up, takes him by the middle to pull him off his horſe; all of them ambitious of the honour of taking an emperor priſoner: but the Germans coming up in ſhoals to his ſuccour, drive off the French, open him a way to retreat, and that prince mounting a freſh horſe, ſtill ſtunned with the danger he had been in, without any regard to his glory, betakes himſelf to flight. The king ſeeing him gallop off, could not help ſaying with a ſmile, to the lords about him, "my friends, you'll ſee nothing more of "him to day but his back."

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The emperor, by his flight, carried off moſt of the troops; thoſe whom their courage ſtill kept in the field, and who reſolved to diſpute a victory already loſt, were cut in pieces. The counts of Flanders, Boulogne and Saliſbury, Euſtace of Hainault, an hoſpitaller of S. John, Hugh Manges preſident of the emperor's council, and thirty lords bannerets, were taken priſoners. Otho, deſpiſed by the Germans, abdicated afterwards the empire. The king of England, odious to his ſubjects, paſſed the reſt of his days in a civil war, and the victory of Bovines, ſo exceeding glorious to Philip, reſtored peace and tranquillity over all Europe.

The pope, to improve the preſent calm, and engage the princes of the weſt in a common league againſt the infidels, called a general council at Rome, in the church of Latran. This was the twelfth œcumenical one and the fourth of Latran. There were preſent at it four hundred and twelve biſhops, including two patriarchs and ſeventy one primates or metropolitans: There came thither embaſſadors from Frederic II. king of Sicily, emperor elect of Germany, from Henry emperor of Conſtantinople, from the kings of France, England, Hungary, Jeruſalem, Cyprus and Arragon. The pope opened the council with a very moving diſcourſe concerning the loſs of the Holy Land, and the obligations that all Chriſtians were under of endeavouring to deliver it from the yoke of the infidels. “ That land, ſays he, which was watered with “ the blood of our divine Saviour, is profaned, and the place where the ſon of “ God was adored, is become a temple of the Devil; what a ſcandal and reproach is it, that the ſon of Hagar ſhould keep the mother of all the faithful in bondage. We muſt break her chains, my deareſt brethren, I am “ ready to put my ſelf at your head: I give up my ſelf entirely to your diſpoſal; ready, if you think it proper, to go my ſelf to kings, princes and people, “ to try if I can, by the force of my cries, engage them to take arms and “ revenge the injuries done to the Saviour of mankind, who is now chaſed “ out of the land which he purchaſed with his blood, and in which he “ accompliſhed the myſteries of our redemption.”

1215.
Matt. Paris, ad an. 1213.
Abb. Uſperg.

Conc. Lat. 4.
Sermo prim.

His diſcourſe drew tears from the whole aſſembly; the princes and lords that were preſent agreed unanimouſly to put on the croſs; and the fathers of the council made a particular decree, by which they fixed the rendezvous of the cruſade on June 1. A. D. 1217. “ Then, ſays the council, ſuch as will “ paſs by ſea ſhall aſſemble at Meſſina or Brunduſium, and the land armies “ ſhall begin their march the ſame day.”

The biſhops, after breaking up, preached the cruſade, in their dioceſes, with great zeal and ſucceſs. The emperor Frederic, Andrew king of Hungary, Leopold duke of Auſtria, Louis duke of Bavaria, and an infinite number of princes and prelates, French, Hungarians, Dutch, Frieſlanders and Norwegians put on the croſs: But every one, at taking that badge of his engagement, reſerved to himſelf the right of fixing the time of his departure for the Holy Land and his ſtay in it; which he regulated according to the ſtate of his health or ſituation of his affairs. Thus the emperor, whom they thought obliged to put himſelf at the head of the firſt body of the cruſade, was hinder'd by the troubles of Italy; and beſides, he had not yet received the crown of the empire at Rome; a ceremony which the popes of thoſe times had forced the princes, that were elected emperors, to ſubmit to.

1216.

Andrew, king of Hungary, was the firſt that ſet out for the ſuccour of the Holy Land, at the head of an army compoſed of different nations; he was a prince highly valuable for his piety and an extraordinary zeal for the adminiſtration of juſtice. He marched his army by land as far as Venice, where he embarked for Conſtantinople. This prince, before he left his dominions, received a letter from pope Honorius III. who, two years before, had

had ſucceeded Innocent III. That pontif exhorted him to undertake nothing in the war againſt the infidels without the knowledge and advice of the grand maſter of the hoſpitallers. The king, in anſwer to this, told him, that he was ſo well ſatisfied of the grand maſter's valour and capacity, that he had wrote to him already agreeable to his holineſs's ſentiments, and had deſired him to meet him in the iſle of Cyprus about the feaſt of our lady in September, as well to confer together upon meaſures relating to the campaign, as to take the benefit of the grand maſter's ſquadron for his ſecurer arrival in the port of S. John d'Acre. Theſe circumſtances we learn from the very brief which this pope ſent to the grand maſter and the whole order of the hoſpitallers, exhorting them, in the moſt preſſing terms, to give the king of Hungary, the duke of Auſtin, and all the leaders of the army, their advice, and the ſuccour they might ſtand in need of. Sept. 8.

THE king of Hungary, before he paſſed the Boſphorus, was obliged to ſtay ſome time at Conſtantinople to wait the arrival of the Italians that engaged in the cruſade, who were daily expected. During his abode in that great city, there happened, in his dominions and in his own houſe, a fatal accident, which ſhorten'd that prince's ſtay in the eaſt, and made him leſs ſerviceable to the Latin Chriſtians of Paleſtine. His majeſty, when he was leaving his own territories, committed the regency of them to the palatine of the kingdom, named Bancbannus, whoſe zeal and fidelity he had long experienced: He recommended to him at parting to preſerve peace with the princes his neighbours, and particularly to adminiſter exact juſtice to all his ſubjects, without regard to the birth or dignity of any perſon whatſoever. The palatine, during the king's abſence, omitted nothing to make a ſuitable return to the confidence he was honoured with; and whilſt he was entirely taken up with the affairs of ſtate, his wife, a lady of admirable beauty, endeavoured, by her conſtant attendance about the queen, to divert the melancholy which the abſence of the king her husband might occaſion.

SUCH was the ſituation of the court of Hungary when the count of Moravia arrived at it; he was the queen's brother, and ſhe loved him tenderly: Nothing was to be ſeen at firſt but feaſts and diverſions; but, in the ſequel, the flattering poiſon of love crept in among theſe innocent amuſements: The count of Moravia became deſperately enamour'd with the regent's wife, and had the aſſurance to declare his paſſion to her: The lady, who was yet more virtuous than ſhe was beautiful, anſwered him only by the ſterneſs of her looks: Reſiſtance produced its uſual effect, and the criminal deſires of the count became thereupon but the more violent. His paſſion, which was gaining ground continually, threw him at laſt into a deep melancholy: He cared no more for plays, diverſions, ſhows, and all thoſe vain amuſements, with which the great world ſo ſeriouſly idle away their time: Solitude was his only pleaſure; but the queen, out of a complaiſance, natural to women for this ſort of malady, to wean her brother from ſo loneſome a way of life, made uſe of various pretences to keep the regent's wife about her, or to ſend for her whenever ſhe removed from the palace. The lady eaſily ſaw through the diſhonourable motives of this ſeeming fondneſs, and, to avoid all converſation with the count, feigned her ſelf for ſome time to be ill; but that pretence being over, and her own birth, as well as her husband's quality, not allowing her to be abſent any longer from court, ſhe returned to the palace. The count, for fear of diſobliging her, diſſembled his ſentiments, and a behaviour full of reſpect ſucceeded in appearance to the violence and extravagance of his paſſion.

Bonfin. Dec. 2. p. 279.

THE regent's wife, encouraged by this diſcreet conduct, continued going to court, when the queen, under pretence of talking to her in private, led her into a by-place of her apartment, where ſhutting her in, ſhe abandoned her to the criminal deſires of her brother, who, by concert with the queen, was hid in the cloſet. The regent's wife went thence with confuſion in her looks, and reſentment in her heart; ſhe immured herſelf in her houſe, where ſhe did nothing but bewail in private the count's villany and her own diſhonour. But the regent being one day about to take his place in her bed, the ſecret broke from her, and carried away by the exceſs of her anguiſh, "Don't come near me, ſir, ſays ſhe, ſhedding at the ſame time a torrent of "tears, but quit a wife that is no more worthy of the chaſte embraces of her "husband; a wild wretch has violated your bed, and the queen his ſiſter "was not aſhamed to betray and deliver me up to his violence; I had before "now taken vengeance on my ſelf for their crime, if religion had not re"ſtrained me from making away with my ſelf. But that prohibition of the "law does not regard an injured husband: I am too criminal, ſince I am de"flowered; I aſk my death of you as a favour, to keep me from ſurviving "my ſhame and my diſhonour."

THE regent, though in the height of affliction, and in all the fury of reſentment, told her, "That an involuntary fault was rather a misfortune "than a crime, and that the violence done to her body did not ſully the pu"rity of her ſoul; that he begg'd of her to be eaſy, or, at leaſt, to take care "to conceal the occaſion of her ſorrow. A common intereſt, adds he, "obliges us both to diſſemble ſo horrible an outrage, till we can revenge it "in a manner ſuitable to the enormity of the offence."

HIS deſign was to make the count feel the firſt effects of it; but hearing that he was gone away privately to return into his own countrey, the regent, enraged that his victim was eſcaped, turned all his reſentment againſt the queen her ſelf; he went to the palace, and perſuading the queen to go into her cloſet, under pretence of ſhewing her ſome letters, which, he ſaid, he had juſt received from the king, as ſoon as he ſaw himſelf alone with her, after reproaching her with the criminal correſpondence ſhe had held with the count, and her treachery to his wiſe, the furious palatine plunged his dagger in her heart; and, going out of the cabinet in a rage, he publickly, before the whole court, proclaimed his ſhame and his vengeance.

WHETHER it was ſurprize or reſpect that hinder'd them, no body offer'd to meddle with him; he mounted his horſe without any obſtacle, and taking ſome noblemen with him, who had been witneſſes of this fatal cataſtrophe, he ſet out for Conſtantinople, where he arrived before the king left that city. He went immediately to the palace where that prince dwelt, and preſenting himſelf before him, with an intrepidity hardly to be parallel'd, "Sir, ſays he to him, when I received your laſt orders at your leaving Hun"gary, you recommended to me, in a particular manner, to do exact juſtice "to all your ſubjects, without regard to any one's rank or condition: I have "done it ſo to my ſelf; I have killed the queen your wife, who had proſtituted "mine; and, far from ſeeking my ſafety in an unworthy flight, I here bring "you my head; diſpoſe as you pleaſe of my life; but remember that it is ei"ther by my life or death that your ſubjects will judge of your equity, and "whether I am guilty or innocent."

THE king heard this ſurprizing diſcourſe without interrupting him, and even without changing colour; and when the regent had ended, "If the "caſe be as you ſay, replies the prince to him, return into Hungary, con"tinue to adminiſter juſtice to my ſubjects, with as much exactneſs and ſeve"rity as you have done it to your ſelf; I ſhall ſtay a ſhort while in the Holy "Land, and at my return I'll examine upon the ſpot whether your action "deſerves commendation or puniſhment."

THUS Bonſinius, the hiſtorian of Hungary, relates the fact: But Duglos, commonly called Longinus, pretends, that the death of that princeſs was cauſed by a conſpiracy of ſome Hungarian lords, who were incenſed at the queen for bringing ſome German princes, her relations, to court, and giving them the principal poſts of the kingdom. There are other authors too who maintain that this princeſs died before the king her husband quitted Hungary to go to the Holy Land.

BE that as it will, his majeſty embarked ſoon after, and arrived, without any obſtacle, in the iſland of Cyprus. He found there the grand maſter of the hoſpitallers of S. John, with the principal officers of his order, and, after conferring with them about the ſtate of affairs in the eaſt, he put to ſea again with Hugh de Luſignan king of the Iſland. They had a proſperous voyage, and, without meeting with any oppoſition from the infidels in their paſſage, the whole Chriſtian fleet arrived in the port of S. John d'Acre. The king of Hungary, on his landing, would not lodge in the palace of the king of Jeruſalem, which was made ready for him, either to prevent any diſpute about the ceremonial among the ſeveral princes then at Acre, or becauſe the fatal death of the queen, and the tragical circumſtances that attended it, were true, as Bonſinius pretends, and the crime ſhe was accuſed of, the vengeance that one of his ſubjects had dared to take of it, and the doubt he was tormented with by fits as to the queen's guilt and the regent's fidelity, all this had thrown him into a deep melancholy. He retired to the hoſpitallers and near the grand maſter, whoſe pious and ſolid diſcourſes were more agreeable to the temper of his mind. There is no deſcribing the religious ſentiments which that prince felt in ſeeing the charity practiſed in that holy houſe with regard to the poor and pilgrims; and what increaſed his ſurprize and admiration, was to ſee thoſe knights, ſo fierce and dreadful when armed in the field, become like other men in their houſe, and employ themſelves, in virtue of their obedience, in all the moſt humbling offices about the poor and ſick.

THE king of Hungary would needs viſit at the ſame time the towns of Margat and Carac, which the hoſpitallers were ſtill maſters of: He found there the ſame regularity and diſcipline, as in the principal houſe of S. John d'Acre, i. e. he ſaw there a number of holy friars and brave ſoldiers, all inflamed with zeal for the conqueſt of the holy places. There is indeed no reproaching theſe military friars with any thing, but a little too much niceneſs in regard to the templars, upon what the men of the world call the point of honour.

1218.

Reg. Honorius III. t. 1. f. 276. Rain. t. 13. num. 16. p. 280.

THIS prince deſired to be admitted into the order as a brother, that ſo he might partake in the good works of the hoſpitallers. He gave ſeven hundred marks of ſilver to the order for ever to be levied every year upon the ſalt works of Saloch in Hungary; and as the knights of Carac were continually in action againſt the infidels, he ſtipulated expreſſly in the deed of his grant, that of theſe ſeven hundred marks, ſixty of them ſhould be applied to the particular occaſions of Raimond de Pigna, governor of the fortreſs of Carac, and his ſucceſſors, in the ſame government. The inſtrument of this endowment is ſtill ſubſiſting in the archives of the vatican, and there is an extract given of it in Rainaldi's continuation of Baronius.

WE ſee there the atteſtation that this prince gives to the merit and virtue of theſe knights; “ Lodging, ſays he, in their houſe, I have ſeen them “ feed every day an innumerable multitude of poor, the ſick laid in good “ beds and treated with great care, the dying aſſiſted with an exemplary “ piety, and the dead buried with proper decency. In a word, continues “ that prince, the knights of S. John are employed, ſometimes like Mary in “ contemplation, and ſometimes like Martha in action; and this noble militia

“ conſecrate their days either in their infirmaries, or elſe in engagements “ againſt the infidel Amalekites and the enemies of the croſs.” It is thus, that the king of Hungary ſpeaks of them *.

THAT prince, having advice that Coradine, ſultan of Damaſcus, and ſon to Saſadine, had taken the field, in order to beſiege S. John d'Acre, drew immediately out of the town, and advanced towards the enemy with the kings of Jeruſalem and Cyprus, the two grand maſters of the hoſpitallers and templars, the maſter of the teutonick order, and all the troops that were in the place. The infidels, ſurprized at ſo expeditious an armament, and the boldneſs with which the Chriſtians marched againſt them, intrenched themſelves with care: Several of their parties however that went out a foraging were cut in pieces. Coradine did not think it adviſable, in this juncture, to come to a deciſive engagement, againſt an army that had three kings at its head; but retired into his own territories. The Chriſtians purſued him for ſome time, ravaged his frontier in their turn, and then, as winter was coming on, they ſeparated. The king of Cyprus went to Tripoli, where he fell ſick and died, a little after he quitted the army. The king of Hungary, before he left Paleſtine, bathed himſelf, with all his troops, in the river Jordan, on S. Martin's eve; a religious ceremony, uſed out of devotion by pilgrims, when they were not hinder'd by the Turks and Sarazens. In fine, this prince, after having ſpent three months in Paleſtine to perform his vow, being preſſed by the remembrance of the misfortunes that had ſince his abſence happen'd in his kingdom, ſet out upon his return thither. All the inſtances that the patriarch of Jeruſalem could make him, nay the terrors of excommunication which that prelate thunder'd out againſt him, could not keep him longer in the Holy Land; and, after a long voyage and various dangers, he arrived ſafe in his dominions. His firſt care upon his return was to have the affair of Bancbannus tried before him; and after hearing the witneſſes himſelf, and examining the various circumſtances of that unhappy affair, he was equitable enough to declare the regent acquitted of the queen's death.

THE king of Jeruſalem, the duke of Auſtria, and the hoſpitallers, after his departure, advanced into the enemy's countrey, and refortified the caſtle of Cæſarea, whilſt the templars and teutonick knights, on the other hand, built, or rather repaired, a fortreſs ſituate on an eminence adjoining, which was called the caſtle of the pilgrims. Theſe two places covered S. John d'Acre, and ſerved at the ſame time to extend their contributions upon lands at that time in the hands of the infidels.

AFTER this expedition, the king, the duke of Auſtria, the two grand maſters, and the maſter of the teutonicks, returned to S. John d'Acre, where arrived, about the ſame time, a conſiderable fleet of Germans, Frieſlanders and Dutch, commanded by William I. count of Holland; a ſuccour which very ſeaſonably ſupplied the place of that which they had juſt loſt by the precipitate departure of the king of Hungary.

THE king of Jeruſalem, ſeeing himſelf ſuſtained by theſe troops of the cruſade, and having advice that they were likewiſe preparing a new army in moſt of the ports of Italy, reſolved to carry the war into Egypt, thereby to oblige the infidels to abandon Paleſtine; and in a great council, at which

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* Nec immerito cùm illic hoſpitati videremus innumerum pauperum cœtum diurno paſtu quotidie ſuſtentari, feſſos languidiorum artus lectiſterniis, variiſque ciborum copiis refici, mortuorum corpora cum debita veneratione ſepeliri, ut in genere ſingulorum referamus quæ per ſingula generum enarrare non poſſumus, ut Mariam & Martham, ſacratiſſimum ſæpe dictæ domûs hoſpitalis collegium nunc variis ſincerè contemplationibus, nunc contra Dei adverſarios & hoſtes Crucis Chriſti, adverſus etiam Amalec inceſſabili perfectæ militiæ conflictu de die in diem dimicare. Rainaldus t. 13. n. 16. p. 280.

were preſent the king, the duke of Auſtria, the grand maſters, and the biſhops, it was agreed to beſiege Damiata, the moſt regular fortification of that kingdom. This reſolution being taken, they embarked their troops at the latter end of May and ſet ſail; the Chriſtian army in three days time landed in Egypt, and made their deſcent, without any oppoſition, in a place ſituated weſtward of Damiata, and ſeparated from it only by an arm of the Nile.

1218. The Chriſtians at firſt met with no reſiſtance, but in a large tower or caſtle, fortified as well as art could make it at that time, built in the middle of that arm of the Nile, and bravely defended by the garriſon. My deſign is not to enter into the detail of all that paſſed at the attack of this advanced work, which covered the town of Damiata: I ſhall only obſerve, after Matthew Paris, that the knights of S. John, on this occaſion, ſupported their ordinary reputation. Theſe warlike friars, tying two ſhips together to make them ſteddier, advance boldly to the wall, clap ladders to it, mount through the midſt of fireworks, javelins and ſtones, and, without being daunted at the fall of their companions, puſh on to gain the top of the rampart. But the maſt of one of the ſhips failing, the ladders broke, and moſt of the knights falling into the water, and, encumber'd with the weight of their armour, were drowned *. The loſs of theſe brave ſoldiers did not cool the courage of their companions of the order and the cruſade; they renewed the ſcalado ſeveral times, but ſtill without ſucceſs, till the Germans at laſt clapping a new invented machine to the walls, made themſelves, by that means, maſters of the tower, the taking of which opened a way for attacking the place.

The ſultan foreſeeing that the loſs of this advanced work would draw after it that of Damiata, is ſaid to have died of grief. The Latin hiſtorians call this ſultan by the name of Safadine, but the Arabians give him that of Melic-el-adel-Aboubeker ſon of Job: He had fifteen ſons, and, ſome time before his death, had divided his dominions between the ſix eldeſt. Melic-el-Camel, the eldeſt of all, had Egypt, and Coradine Syria: Haran, a town of Meſopotamia, was Achrof's ſhare, and Boſtra in Arabia, that of Salech-Iſmael; the two next had likewiſe ſome towns for their portion. The nine others continued in the territories, and under the power of their elder brothers; and, to provide for their ſubſiſtence, Safadine had ſettled two of them in Jeruſalem, where they enjoyed the tribute that the weſtern Chriſtians paid at the gates of the city. Two others diſcharged the ſame office at Mecca, and enjoyed likewiſe the revenues ariſing from the offerings of the Mahometan pilgrims, who flocked thither in great numbers from Aſia and Africa. As for the five laſt, they had, in all probability, ſome penſions aſſigned them ſuitable to their birth and rank in the ſtate.

The Chriſtians, in the mean while, continued the ſiege of Damiata with great vigour, and received about that time new ſuccours from the weſt. A cruſade, compoſed of Italians, French, Germans and Engliſh, arrived in Egypt, and joyned the camp. The pope had put cardinal d'Albano at the head of this army, as legate of the holy ſee, a prelate proud and haughty, ſelf-conceited, and one who would always have his own opinion carry it in the council of war, before even the ſentiments of the king and his generals, as if the pope, with the bulls of his legation, had given a cardinal the talents neceſſary to form a great captain. The ſultan of Egypt, on the other hand, called in his brother the ſultan of Syria to his ſuccour, a prince that loved war, and managed it with ſucceſs, but cruel, bloody, and the only one of all

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* Hoſpitalariorum, proh dolor! ſcala confracta, ſimili modo cum malo cecidit, & milites ſtrenuos & alios armatos in Nilum demerſit. Matt. Paris, ad an. 1218. t. 2. p. 301.

the children of Saſadine that reſembled him moſt, as well in his vices as his valour.

THE young ſultan, beſides the army which he commanded in perſon, made likewiſe new levies, and before he ſet out for Egypt, demoliſhed the fortifications of Jeruſalem, and levelled the walls, deſigning thereby either to ſtrengthen his army with the garriſon of the place, or to prevent the Chriſtians, who, he apprehended, if they took Damiata, would return into Paleſtine, and fortify themſelves in the capital, which was the great aim of all their enterprizes.

THIS prince in a march of twenty days croſſed the deſerts, which divide that kingdom from Egypt, and joined ſultan Camel his eldeſt brother who was advanced to meet him: After this junction they drew near the Chriſtian camp, in order to force them to raiſe the ſiege. The beſieged were every day making ſallies with all their forces, and the beſiegers were at the ſame time obliged to ſuſtain the attacks of the two ſultans, who tryed all manner of ways to throw ſuccour into the place.

THE Engliſh hiſtorian, whom I cited above, tells us, that the three military orders * were in a manner the only perſons who made head on all ſides, againſt the enemy; and were, as he ſays, like a wall of braſs to ſhield the reſt of the ſoldiery on all occaſions; that the hoſpitallers behaved themſelves always with extraordinary valour; that in the laſt ſally before the place was taken, the marſhal of the order was killed at the head of his company, that many of the knights had the ſame fate, and that ſome were taken priſoners.

THE Sultan ſeeing with pain, that he could not carry his point, and cauſe the ſiege to be raiſed; for the obtaining a peace, and to ſave Damiata the key of his kingdom, he offered the Chriſtians to reſtore them the true croſs that was taken at the battel of Tiberias, to deliver up the city of Jeruſalem, and even advance the money neceſſary to rebuild the walls, and repair the fortifications. He offered too the caſtle of Thoron, and ſome other places, but inſiſted on keeping Carac and Montreal, two fortreſſes ſituated on the edge of Arabia, from whence the Chriſtian garriſons, in their excurſions had often carried off the caravans, that were going out of devotion to Mecca; and this prince, who was religious in his way, and according to the principles of his ſect, choſe rather to ſubject himſelf to an annual tribute, than reſtore two places, the ſoldiers of which might diſturb the Mahometans in the exerciſe of that part of their religion.

FROM the little we know of the character and manners of theſe different nations, it is plain that we can't conſider theſe wars which laſted ſo long, under any other notion, than as religious wars, and this in regard of the infidels, as well as the Chriſtians; both making it a part of their worſhip to viſit at leaſt once in their life the tomb of the author of their religion. The popes and caliphs equally annexed ſpiritual recompences to thoſe pious voyages; and if there came ſhoals of Chriſtian pilgrims from the weſt to Jeruſalem, Mecca drew at leaſt as many Muſſulmen from Aſia and Africa; errour cloaking it ſelf with the ſame motives as truth.

1219. THIS was the reaſon which induced the ſultan to keep the caſtles of Carac and Montreal; ſaving this article, that prince wiſhed with paſſion to ſee the ſiege of Damiata raiſed. The king of Jeruſalem for his part, was of opinion to accept of conditions that anſwered all the wiſhes and deſires of the

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* Rex vero Jeruſalem cum templariis, & domo Teutonicorum & hoſpitalis ſancti Johannis impetum paganorum ſuſtinuerunt, & pro muro fuerunt fugientibus, quoties illas ſuas facies oſtendebant. Matt. Paris in Henr. III. ad ann. 1219.

Templarii triginta tres capti ſunt, vel interfecti cum mareſchallo hoſpitalis ſancti Johannis & fratribus quibuſdam ejuſdem domûs. Idem. ib. tom. 2. p. 306.

cruſade; but the legate who aſſumed an unlimited authority in the army, maintained that the ſultan's propoſals ought to be rejected, and that the critical moment was come for making an entire conqueſt of Egypt, the fate of which would determine that of the kingdom of Jeruſalem. The imperious legate's ſentiment prevailed in the council of war over that of the king of Jeruſalem, who vexed to find that he was not maſter of his own troops, under pretence of fetching new re-inforcements, retired to S. John d'Acre. The ſucceſs nevertheleſs ſeemed at firſt to juſtify the legate's advice; Damiata was carried in an attack made by night, or rather was taken for want of men to defend it; the inhabitants and ſoldiers being all deſtroyed either in engagements, or by famine, and want of proviſions, above fourſcore thouſand men died in the place during the ſiege. The Chriſtians entering the town found every where a diſmal ſolitude, and the few inhabitants they met with in ſome houſes, had ſtaid there only becauſe they were ſo weak, that they had not ſtrength to get out of doors. Cardinal James de Vitri, who was at this Siege, bought a good number of ſucking children, deſigning to have them baptized, but above five hundred of them, he ſays, died ſoon after, in all probability of the famine, which they and their mothers had ſuffered.

1220. The legate, proud of this good ſucceſs, and ſeeing himſelf abſolute maſter of the army, made them advance into the heart of Egypt, contrary to the advice of all the chiefs, and engaged between the branches of the Nile. The ſultan opening the ſluces, and cutting the banks of the river, it overflowed the place where the Chriſtians were encamped: They then found themſelves ſhut up in an iſland with as little ability to ſubſiſt there, as to get out of it; this firſt misfortune was ſoon ſucceeded by a famine, and the army being ready to ſtarve, was forced to make a truce of eight days with the infidels. To get bread to eat, and liberty to retire, they were obliged to quit Damiata, and deliver up all the ſlaves and priſoners that were at Acre and Tyre. The Sarazens on their part engaged to reſtore the true croſs, and all the captives they had at Babilon in Egypt, or grand Cairo and Damaſcus; to conduct the army to a place of ſafety, and ſupply them with proviſions in their retreat. Every thing was executed punctually on both ſides, except the reſtitution of the true croſs, which the infidels in all probability had loſt. The Chriſtian army diſperſed after this accident, and the legate's preſumption hindered the king of Jeruſalem from recovering his kingdom.

Yet as in publick misfortunes every one labours to vindicate himſelf at the expence of others, the private enemies of the knights of S. John and the templars, accuſed them to pope Honorius III. of having diverted to their own profit the vaſt ſums that were remitted out of Europe into Paleſtine, for the expences of the cruſade, and the ſubſiſtence of the army. This calumny was ſpread through moſt countries of Chriſtendom, the pope thought himſelf obliged to examine into it, and wrote upon that occaſion to the legate, the patriarch and chief leaders of the army. Publick and private informations were given in, but they ended only in the confuſion of the ſlanderers; the legate, the patriarch, and the principal officers of the army, wrote back to the ſovereign pontif, that they heard, with grief, the abominable calumny with which ſome had endeavoured to blacken the reputation of the military orders; that they themſelves were witneſſes to the contrary, and that theſe generous knights had ſpent the revenues of the two houſes, and exhauſted their ſubſtance, to ſupply the expence of the ſiege; that the order of S. John alone had advanced above eight thouſand byzantines; that they had loſt abundance of their knights, and that purſuant to the ſpirit of their inſtitution, they had prodigally thrown away their lives and fortunes in the defence of the Chriſtians. The pope being acquainted with the truth of the matter, to do the knights the juſtice that was owing to them, ordered the legate himſelf to proclaim their innocence in his name: And this pontif wrote at the ſame time to the biſhops of France, England and Sicily to take care in their ſeveral dioceſes to extinguiſh ſo black a calumny. "We will, and require you, adds the "pope*, to honour, love and cheriſh them, as the nobleſt defenders of chri"ſtianity."

PROOF V.

THERE could be no ſurer proof given at that time of the purity of a perſon's faith, and his adherence to the holy ſee, than by taking the habit of one of the military orders; ſeveral princes themſelves and many of the greateſt lords, would die, and be buried with the croſs: 'Twas with this view that Raimond count of Tholouſe, and marqueſs of Provence, took the habit. 'Tis well known, that this prince one of the greateſt and moſt powerful feodatories of the crown of France, was ſuſpected of having cauſed a legate of the pope's to be diſpatched; and of favouring the Albigenſes; and on that account, had been join'd in an excommunication pronounced againſt thoſe hereticks his ſubjects, and in conſequence thereof deprived of the greateſt part of his dominions. There was nothing of ſo mortifying and humbling a nature in canonical penances, but he ſubmitted to it, in order, to get freed from that fatal cenſure; but thoſe who had ſhared in the ſpoil, kept the doors of the church always ſhut againſt him, for fear of opening him a door into his dominions. They would willingly have owned him as a catholick, if he could have been brought to renounce the county of Tholouſe: In fine that prince, who had ſo much reaſon to preſerve the dominions which he derived from his anceſtors for young Raimond his ſon, thought he ſhould find better acceſs, and leſs difficulty with the pope, than with his legates and miniſters, and reſolved to go to Rome. As ſoon as he arrived there, he demanded an audience of the pope, which was eaſily granted. The pope conſidering the birth, the dignity and age of that prince, received him in full conſiſtory. Raimond, after mentioning the greatneſs of his anceſtors, their virtues, and the purity of their religion, made a confeſſion of his faith, and laying his hand upon his breaſt, to vouch the truth of his diſcourſe, he proteſted by all that is dear to a Chriſtian, that he had never departed from the principles of the faith, nor from the ſubmiſſion he owed to the vicar of Jeſus Chriſt. He inſiſted next on the ſhameful penance which the legates had impoſed upon him, and which he had gone through in the town of S. Giles, where he was dragged in ſight of his ſubjects with a halter about his neck, and laſhed in the moſt ignominious manner. He denied abſolutely the murder of the legate that had been the cauſe of it, and concluded with complaining of Simon de Montfort, general of the league againſt the Albigenſes, who under the veil of religion, ſought only to raiſe himſelf a great eſtate, and poſſeſſions in Languedoc.

IT is ſaid that the pope could not refrain from tears, at the relation of this prince's misfortunes, and that he wrote likewiſe to the legates in his favour: But whether they were perſuaded that Raimond was an heretick in his heart, or whether they pretended ſo, only to perpetuate a inquiſition, the whole authority of which was veſted in them, they paid little regard to the pope's orders. This prince, to undeceive the publick at leaſt, ſome time after his return from Italy, declared by a publick and authentick deed, that he obliged himſelf to take the habit and croſs of the hoſpitallers, and that in caſe he was prevented by death, his intention was, that they ſhould bury

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* Volumus & præcipimus ut eos tanquam veros Chriſti athletas & præcipuos Chriſtianæ fidei defenſores ſtudeatis honorare, diligere ac fovere, eorum ſuper hoc declarantes innocentiam, & fidei virtutis conſtantiam prædicantes. In archivo Vaticano ex regiſtro Honorii III. tom. 2. fol. 30.

him in the Church of the hoſpitallers at Tholouſe: There was not in that age a more authentick mark of perfect catholiciſm.

His hiſtorian relates, that from that time, this prince, in imitation of the hoſpitallers, fed a certain number of poor every day, and cauſed them to be cloathed annually. He was ſeen, ſays he, every morning at the church of Notre-Dame de la Daurade on his knees, and bareheaded, making long and fervent prayers, and in a word, practiſing all the exerciſes of a true hoſpitaller. 'Twas in this diſpoſition, that he was ſeized with a fit of an apoplexy; he ſent immediately for Jourdain abbot of S. Sernin, to reconcile him to the church, and give him the ſacraments, and at the ſame time the hoſpitallers of Tholouſe were made acquainted with the extremity the prince was reduced to. But when the abbot of S. Sernin arrived, he had loſt his ſpeech, yet he lifted up his eyes to heaven; his hands were joined together, he gave all the ſigns of repentance that can be required of a good Chriſtian, and in his looks might be read the ſentiments of his heart. The hoſpitallers of S. John coming in haſte, threw over him a mantle of the order which ſome were for pulling off under pretence of the excommunication, but the count held it faſt with his hands, and devoutly kiſſed the croſs ſowed upon the mantle: He died preſently after, and the abbot of S. Sernin, frighted as he was with
1221. the thunder of the Vatican, with which that prince was ſtruck, could not help ſaying to the ſtanders by, Pray to God for him, I believe him ſaved; he pretended too to keep his body, becauſe he died in his pariſh. But the young prince would have his father's intentions obſerved; the hoſpitallers carried him into their houſe, which he had choſen for his burial. Yet by reaſon of the excommunication, they durſt not bury him in the church, but put him decently in a coffin, where his ſkull was found whole in 1630.

1222. July 14. France in the year following loſt king Philip II. and the order of the hoſpitallers a generous benefactour. This prince falling ill, and finding himſelf in a weak condition, made his will, and among a great number of pious legacies, bequeathed one hundred thouſand livres to the king of Jeruſalem for the defence of the Holy Land, and the like ſum to the hoſpitallers of S. John and the templars*. Brother Guerin or Garin, firſt miniſter, who had ſuggeſted theſe holy legacies to the king, was named executor together with Bartholomew de Roye chamberlain of France, and brother Aimer treaſurer of the temple. The queen, after the king her huſband's death, founded a priory at Corbeil for thirteen chaplains of the order of the hoſpitallers, upon condition of ſaying there every day three maſſes, for the reſt of the ſoul of that great prince. The foundation was approved by the grand maſter de Montaigu and by the council of the order, and confirmed by the bulls of pope Honorius III.

See le miroir Hiſtor. l. 13. c. 15. p. 166.

1223. In the mean time, as the affair of the Holy Land was at that time the common affair of all Chriſtendom, a famous aſſembly was held at Ferentino, in the Campagna di Roma, to conſider of ſuccours to be ſent thither. Pope Honorius III. and the emperor Frederic II. came to Ferentino, the one from Rome and the other from his kingdom of Sicily; and from beyond ſea arrived John king of Jeruſalem, the patriarch of that city, the legate Pelagius, the biſhop of Bethlehem, Guerin de Montaigu grand maſter of the hoſpitallers, a commander of the templars, and Herman de Saltza, fourth maſter of the Teutonicks or German knights. The pope preſſed the emperor to perform the promiſe he made when he put on the croſs, of leading in perſon a powerful ſuccour to the Holy Land: And to engage him in the affair, the empreſs Conſtantia his wife being dead, Herman de Saltza propoſed a match between him and the princeſs Yolante, only daughter and heireſs of the king of Jeruſalem; the maſter of the Teutonicks managed this negociation ſo skilfully, that the marriage was agreed on, and the emperor promiſed, with an oath, to go into Paleſtine, in two years from the next midſummer. He afterwards married the princeſs, but, contrary, to his expreſs promiſe given to the king of Jeruſalem, of letting him enjoy that kingdom for his life, he obliged him, by a forced abdication, to reſign the crown. The pope was mediator of this great affair: It was the intereſt of theſe pontifs to remove the ſovereigns of Europe, and eſpecially of Italy, as far from their countries as might be. The emperor's voyage and reſidence in Paleſtine rid him of the preſence of a mighty prince, who would abate nothing of his ſovereign authority, ſo finding his own intereſt in Frederic's being at a diſtance, and to make ſo harſh a proceeding appear leſs odious in the eyes of Brienne, he repreſented to him, that ſo potent a prince as Frederic would defend the Holy Land with more zeal and warmth, and that he would make much greater efforts if he fought for his own intereſts, than if he was only to defend a crown which he ſaw actually upon another's head, and the ſucceſſion whereof could not but appear to him at a great diſtance. John de Brienne gave his conſent to what he could not help.

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* Rex Philippus viam univerſæ carnis ingreditur, relinquens tria millia librarum Pariſienſium in ſubſidium Terræ Sanctæ, centum millia in manibus regis Joannis, & centum millia in manibus magiſtri hoſpitalis, & centum millia in manibus magiſtri templi. Sanut. l. 3. c. 10. p. 210.

THE pope did not fail to notify this new diſpoſition to moſt of the ſovereigns of Europe, that they might ſerve as witneſſes of the emperor's engagements. The late king of Jeruſalem, and the grand maſter of the hoſpitallers, travelled afterwards over France, Spain, England and Germany, to obtain ſuccours. France immediately paid in all the money which Philip Auguſtus had left by his will for ſo holy an expedition. Thibaud, count of Champagne and king of Navarre, who was joined by Peter de Dreux, formerly count of Bretagne, and ſeveral French lords, Richard earl of Cornwall brother to Henry III. king of England, and a great number of Engliſh gentlemen, put on the croſs, but they ſet out for the Holy Land moſt of them at different times. The emperor had ſent his lieutenants before with a good body of troops, till, as he ſaid, he could go thither in perſon. But as Paleſtine was then deſtitute of the preſence of its king, and without any chief of ſufficient authority, moſt of theſe ſuccours became unſerviceable, through the different views of the commanders. There was no regular deſign formed and purſued; one made a truce with the infidels, and another broke it, without conſidering the injury that ſuch a conduct muſt do to the affairs and reputation of the Chriſtians. The military orders too were ſtill divided; every one's aim was ſolely for himſelf; and when the grand maſter of the hoſpitallers returned to S. John d'Acre, he found Paleſtine in a manner without any government, and deſtitute of that bond ſo neceſſary in civil ſociety, and which makes all the members join together to promote the common good of the ſtate.

THE count of Tripoli, a fierce and enterprizing prince, had taken the advantage of his abſence to ſeize ſeveral caſtles, which either belonged to the order, or were in their cuſtody †. He ſeized likewiſe a houſe of theirs at Tripoli, where he cauſed one of the knights to be flay'd alive, and another, that oppoſed theſe violences, to be ſtabbed. The grand maſter, at his return, demanded ſatisfaction for theſe cruelties, but not obtaining it, he wrote to the pope, who uſed his good offices and remonſtrances with the count, but in vain. The ſovereign pontif was obliged at laſt to excommunicate him, but neither was this ſufficient to bring him to a compliance. Then the grand maſter, with the pope's leave, entering the count's territories at the head of the hoſpitallers, the ſight of thoſe troops made more impreſſion on that cruel and ſavage prince, than all the thunders of the Vatican. Raimond made the order a reaſonable ſatisfaction for the injuries he had done them, and reſtored all that he had uſurped. The grand maſter, at the pope's inſtance, threw likewiſe part of his troops into Cyprus, on pretence that the coaſts of that iſland were frequently infeſted by Corſairs: But the true reaſon was to hinder, at the ſame time, Raimond prince of Antioch, who had married queen Alice, widow of king Hugh, from ſeizing on that kingdom, to the prejudice of Henry, who was ſtill a minor.

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† Domum ipſam quam ipſi habent apud Tripolim capiens violenter, rabie concitatus diabolica, unum ex ipſis excoriari, & alium, ut dicitur, occidi fecit, præter id quod quibuſdam eorum crudeliter & inhoneſtè tractatis damna eis gravia & injurias irrogavit. Rainaldi tom. 13. 1226. num. 55, 56, 57. p. 638 & 639.

Sanut. l. 3. c. 10. p. 221.

1225. The emperor, being employed in Lombardy againſt the rebel towns, which had enter'd into a league to throw off his authority, deſired the pope to diſpenſe with his voyage to the Holy Land for two years longer. The ſovereign pontif granted his requeſt upon the following conditions; that the term of two years ending in Auguſt, he ſhould go over in perſon within that time; that for the two years following he ſhould maintain two thouſand knights there; that, at three different times, he ſhould defray the paſſage of two thouſand other knights with their equipages, at three horſes a knight; that he ſhould keep fifty gallies well mann'd in the port of S. John d'Acre; that he ſhould depoſite a hundred thouſand ounces of gold for the expence of this armament in the hands of John de Brienne, the patriarch and the maſter of the Teutonick order; and in caſe it ſhould pleaſe God to take him out of the world before he could paſs into the Holy Land, or his voyage ſhould be deferred, that then this great ſum ſhould be diſpoſed off according to the advice of the grand maſters of the hoſpitallers and templars; all which conditions the emperor ſubmitted to, as appears from that prince's diploma, recited by Rainaldi *.

FREDERIC having obtained the time he moved for, employed it honourably in making preparations ſuitable to ſo great an enterprize. An hundred gallies and fifty ſhips were fitted out, by his orders, in the ports of the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily; and ſeveral German princes, with an infinite number of the cruſade, repaired to Brunduſium. In the middle of Auguſt, A. D. 1227, that is, within the term he had ſtipulated with the pope, the emperor himſelf embarked with a fleet that carried near forty thouſand men. But, after three days ſail, he fell ſick, as did alſo ſeveral princes and lords of his court, and among the reſt the landgrave of Heſſe. The landgrave's illneſs growing dangerous, the phyſicians were of opinion that the land-air would be of more benefit to him, than all the remedies of their art; they thereupon put into the port of Tarento, where the landgrave died, leaving his wiſe Elizabeth, daughter of Andrew king of Hungary, in a ſtate of widowhood, a princeſs not above twenty years of Age, and of great virtue. The emperor eſcaped with only ſome fits of an ague; but pope Gregory IX. (who had juſt ſucceeded Honorius III.) a pontif that treated ſovereigns with a high hand, being perſuaded, notwithſtanding the landgrave's death, that the emperor's illneſs was a mere pretence, excommunicated him publickly in the great church of Anagni, where he then was. The ſovereign pontif uſhered in this ſolemn ceremony with a ſermon, in which he took for his text theſe words of the goſpel, " It muſt needs be that offences come," and enlarging

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* Et ſi nos, quod Deus avertat, in terra illa vel citrà ante paſſagium memoratum obire contigerit, vel aliàs quacunque de cauſa forſitan non tranſierimus, rex & patriarcha, & magiſter domûs Teutonicorum ad laudem & conſilium magiſtrorum hoſpitalis & templi, ac aliorum proborum hominum de terra expendent eandem pecuniam bona fide ſicut melius viderint expedire utilitati Terræ Sanctæ. Rain. tom. 13. ad ann. 1225. num. 4. p. 347.

much upon S. Michael's victory over the dragon, he fell abruptly upon the excommunication which he was going to thunder out againſt the emperor. I give this ſhort taſte of the pope's ſtyle, becauſe the ſtyle oftentimes ſhews the genius and character of the age. Gregory wrote afterwards circular letters to all the biſhops, to acquaint them with the ſeverity he thought himſelf obliged to uſe with regard to that prince: He had fixed, ſays the pope in that letter, the month of Auguſt, A. D. 1227. for the laſt moment of his departure, and yet he was ſcarce at ſea a few days, before, under pretence of ſickneſs, he landed again, and returned to enjoy a lazy life as uſual. The pontif, writing in particular to the biſhops of Apulia, ſays, "Since the emperor Frederic neglected his own ſalvation, and deferred performing the "vow he had made of going to the Holy Land, we have drawn againſt him "the medicinal ſword of S. Peter, publiſhing, out of our great tenderneſs "for him, the ſentence of excommunication againſt him."

THE emperor, ſurprized and provoked at the pope's conduct, ſent, on his part, a publick letter, by way of manifeſto, to all the ſovereigns of Chriſtendom, wherein, after appealing to God for the reality of the ſickneſs, which had forced him to put aſhore, he complains, in very bitter terms, of the pope's precipitation, and declared that he would put to ſea again as ſoon as he had recovered his health. In the letter that he wrote in particular to the king of England, which Matthew Paris has tranſmitted down to us, he runs out into invectives againſt the court of Rome: "The Romans, ſays he, are "inflamed with ſuch a paſſion for ſcraping money together out of all the "countries of Chriſtendom, that, after draining the revenues of particular "churches, they are not aſhamed to rob even ſovereign princes, and endeavour to make crowned heads their tributaries. You have your ſelf, ſays he to the king of England, "had a very ſenſible proof of this in the perſon "of king John your father. You have that of the count of Tholouſe, and "of ſo many other princes, whoſe dominions they have laid under interdicts, "which they would never take off, till they had put on their chains, and "ſubmitted to be ſlaves. What may not be ſaid of the unheard-of exactions "which they impoſe upon the clergy, and the open or palliated uſuries with "which they infect the whole Chriſtian world? And yet, in ſpite of theſe notorious robberies, theſe blood-ſuckers would palm the court of Rome upon "us for the church our mother. The ſpirit and conduct of both ſhew us "plainly the difference between them: The court of Rome ſends its legates "into all quarters with power to puniſh, ſuſpend and excommunicate; "whereas the true church, acted by a ſpirit of charity, ſends out her miniſters only to propagate the word of God; the one aims at nothing but "amaſſing wealth, and gathering what ſhe has not ſowed, but the other has "depoſited her treaſures in holy monaſteries to provide for the poor and pilgrims; and yet theſe Romans, unworthy of that honourable name, without either courage or nobility, ſwelled with a vain opinion of their learning, would fain ſet themſelves up above kings and emperors. In a word, adds that prince, "the church was founded upon poverty and ſimplicity, "and no body can lay any other foundation than that which was laid by "Jeſus Chriſt himſelf, who is the corner ſtone as well as architect thereof *. 1228.

THOUGH there is no excuſing the rough language that runs throughout this letter, yet it is certain that the popes often made uſe of this pretext of the cruſades, to keep princes and their ſubjects in a dependence on the court of Rome: Nor is it leſs true, that moſt ſovereigns, on the other hand, were not ſorry to ſee the dukes, counts, and other great vaſſals of

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* Sed aliud fundamentum nemo poteſt ponere, præter illud quod poſitum eſt à Domino Jeſu, ac ſtabilitum. Matt. Paris in Henr. III. A. D. 1228. p. 347, & 348.

their crowns, go abroad on theſe remote expeditions, and by their abſence, which was often followed by their death, leave them a more abſolute authority in their dominions: Thus did intereſt and ambition make their advantage of a pious inſtitution, which was originally deſigned only to deliver the churches of the eaſt out of the tyranny of infidels.

In the mean time the two grand maſters of the hoſpitallers and templars, and moſt of the prelates of Paleſtine, wrote to the pope, acquainting him with the miſerable and calamitous ſtate to which they were reduced, by the emperor's not arriving in Auguſt. The militia of the cruſade, ſay they, which were come into Syria to the number of near forty thouſand men, are gone back into the weſt, on board the ſame ſhips that brought them: There are only about eight hundred knights that ſtay behind, and theſe all demand leave to return, or inſiſt that we break the truce. A council was held upon this occaſion, and the duke of Limburg, who commands here for the emperor, was of opinion to begin the war again; but it was argued, that this would be a dangerous undertaking with forces ſo much inferior to thoſe of the Sarazens, and that withal it was not very honourable to break a treaty which had been confirmed by the moſt ſolemn oaths. Thoſe of the council who were of the duke's ſentiments, replied, that the pope having in general excommunicated all ſuch of the cruſade as did not actually repair to the Holy Land, though he knew very well that the truce was to laſt two years longer, it was plain that the viſible head of the church did not expect that they ſhould keep it. Hereupon they have reſolved to march to Jeruſalem, and, in order to come the eaſier at it, and to facilitate the conqueſt of that capital, they have determined to ſecure Cœſarea and Jaffa, the fortifications of which were afterwards to be rebuilt.

The letter ended with very preſſing inſtances for new ſuccours: The pope inſerted a copy of it in one of his letters, which he addreſſed to all the Chriſtian world, bearing date December 23, 1227; from whence it is no difficult matter to conclude, that it was his intention they ſhould break the truce that had been made with the infidels.

1228. March 23.

In the mean time, he continued thundering againſt the emperor with more animoſity than zeal; he even excommunicated him afreſh upon Maundy Thurſday: But the Roman barons, and all the people, ſcandalized at the pope's paſſion, and to ſee him treat a Chriſtian emperor, and king of the Romans, in ſo ſhameful a manner, took up arms in his favour.

The pontif, who ſaw with pain that he was not maſter in the capital of the Chriſtian world, retired to Perugia with all his court. The emperor was not ſatisfied with only driving him out of Rome. That prince, cruel and revengeful in his nature, uſed great ſeverities towards all whom he thought attached to the pope: The hoſpitallers and templars, devoted to the intereſts of the holy ſee, ſuffered cruel perſecutions from the emperor's officers in the dominions that he poſſeſſed in Italy*; they turned theſe knights, under various pretences, out of the lands which they poſſeſſed, took all from them, even to their very ſlaves, and plundered their houſes. The emperour did not ſtop here, but, to make the pope feel the weight of his reſentment, he ſent troops into his territories, who ravaged Marca d'Ancona and the patrimony of S. Peter; and, as if he had a mind to inſult the power of the keys, he made uſe, in this expedition, of Sarazen ſoldiers his ſubjects in Sicily, that their incredulity might make them proof againſt excommunication.

This we learn from a letter of the pope's directed to the biſhops of Apulia; " That we might not ſeem, ſays the pontif, to compliment men to the

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* Tum etiam quia templarios & hoſpitalarios bonis mobilibus, & immobilibus quæ habebant in regno, temerè ſpoliavit. Rain. ad. ann. 1228.

“ prejudice of the church's intereſt, we have publickly excommunicated the emperor Frederic for not going to the Holy Land, or ſupplying the money and troops he had promiſed; and for ſtripping the hoſpitallers and templars of their poſſeſſions in the kingdom of Sicily. We followed this excommunication with a general interdict upon all churches, where he ſhall offer to aſſiſt at divine ſervice; and if notwithſtanding our juſt inhibition, he does aſſiſt there, we ſhall proceed anew againſt him, as againſt a declared heretick. In fine, if he continues to deſpiſe the cenſures of the church, we ſhall abſolve all thoſe that have ſworn fidelity to him of their oath, particularly his ſubjects in Sicily, becauſe according to the ſentiments of pope Urban II. we are not obliged to keep faith with thoſe that oppoſe God and his ſaints, and deſpiſe their commands:” a maxim directly oppoſite to that of Jeſus Chriſt, who ſaid, that his kingdom was not of this world, and that we muſt render to Cæſar the things that be Cæſar's.

Yet, whether the emperour feared the conſequences of theſe threats, or was apprehenſive that John de Brienne, who had made only a forced abdication of the crown of Jeruſalem, might get before him and re-eſtabliſh himſelf on the throne of Paleſtine, he reſolved at laſt to ſet out upon his voyage thither. But before he embarked, to hinder the pope from taking any advantage of his abſence, he wrote him word, that he had left full powers with Rinaldo duke of Spoleto to make an amicable determination of all differences between them. The pope was far from approving a voyage that ſeemed to render the excommunication null, and therefore wrote back to him, that he expected he ſhould not croſs the ſea as one of the cruſade, till he was abſolved from the cenſures of the church. But the emperour, not regarding this prohibition, embarked at Brunduſium, and arrived happily in the port of S. John d'Acre on Sept. 8. A. D. 1228.

The patriarch with his clergy, the two grand maſters of the hoſpitallers and templars at the head of their knights, the magiſtrates and all the nobility and gentry then in Acre, went to receive him at landing with all the marks of reſpect due to his dignity. But orders coming afterwards from the pope to the patriarch, to denounce him publickly excommunicated, with an expreſs injunction to the military orders not to obey him*; brother Guerin de Montaigu, grand maſter of the hoſpitallers, and the grand maſter of the templars acting by concert, refuſed openly to join the army, if the emperor gave the word of command in it. Though this prince had but eight hundred horſe and ten thouſand foot, yet he took the field and advanced towards Jaffa, the fortifications of which they had reſolved ſhould be rebuilt, before they engaged in the ſiege of Jeruſalem. The emperor, beſides theſe troops, was likewiſe followed by the Teutonick knights, who being his ſubjects did not think themſelves obliged to pay any deference to the pope's orders. The hoſpitallers and templars, though they would not join the body of the army, followed at a diſtance, for fear the Chriſtians ſhould fall into ſome ambuſcade of the Sarazens. The emperor being very ſenſible how neceſſary their ſuccour was to him, thought it beſt to diſſemble a little in ſuch a juncture. He conſented to a negotiation, and after ſeveral expedients had been propoſed it was agreed, that without mentioning the emperor, the council of war ſhould iſſue out orders in the name of God and Chriſtendom†, and after this

Chron. de Nangis ad 1232 ex Spicil. tom. 11. p. 522.

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* Prohibentur quoque hoſpitalarii, templarii & Alamanni illi attendere, vel in aliquo obedire. Idem lib. 3. part 11. c. 12. p. 213.

† Magiſtri hoſpitalis ſancti Joannis & templi reſponderunt quia à ſummo pontifice cui obedire volebant, erant prohibiti ei obſequi vel parere, pro utilitate tamen terræ & populi chriſtiani parati erant juxta alios pergere, dummodo præcepta vel banna ex parte ſua nullatenus proclamarentur. Sanut ibid.

precaution, which the knights thought themſelves obliged to take upon account of the pope's orders, they joined the army, which marched without oppoſition to Jaffa, and reſtored the fortifications of the place.

AFTER the emperor's departure, Rinaldo moved for an audience of the pope to treat of peace, but the pontif refuſed to hear him: So Rinaldo continued to make war upon the pope's ſubjects, pillaging the open countrey, and taking towns; and it is reported, that in the heat of action and the tranſport that attends the carrying of places ſword in hand, ſome prieſts and clergymen were killed, others maimed, and ſeveral hanged.

“ THE emperor, ſays the pope in one of his letters written to cardinal “ Romanus, makes uſe of the Sarazens, his ſubjects, to deſtroy the houſes of “ the hoſpitallers and templars, who have hitherto preſerved what is left of “ the Holy Land with their blood *.” He adds, that the templars having, upon a certain occaſion, recovered, by force of arms, the effects belonging to them, which the Sarazens had carried off, a lieutenant of the emperor's came up, wreſted them out of their hands by main force, and gave them back to the infidels; “ For, continues the pope, thoſe knights, ſo brave in “ their perſons, and ſo terrible to the Sarazens, profeſs, by their inſtitution, “ never to draw their ſwords againſt Chriſtians †. This lieutenant more-“ over turned them out of their houſes, and took from them a hundred in-“ fidel ſlaves, which the two orders had in the convents of the two Sicilies: “ It looks as if his deſign was to deſtroy the two orders, or at leaſt to reduce “ them to depend, for the future, entirely upon the emperor.”

THE pope, to oppoſe ſomething more terrible to the emperor than excommunications and manifeſto's, levied two armies, putting at the head of the firſt John de Brienne, whom the emperor had forced to abdicate the crown of Jeruſalem; the counts of Celano and Roger d'Aquila, ſubjects of Frederic, but rebels againſt him, and protected by the pope, commanded the other; and in this war, the leaders of both parties committed unſpeakable cruelties, as if the pope's ſoldiers were afraid of being out-done in inhumanity by the Sarazens in the emperor's army.

1229. Matt. Paris, ad an. 1229. p. 353.

THOMAS Daquin, one of the emperor's lieutenants, did not fail to give him advice of it: “ The pope's troops, ſays he in his letter, burn villages, “ carry off the cattel, impriſon the inhabitants, and oblige them, by force of “ torments, to ranſom themſelves; there is no ſort of cruelty but they exer-“ ciſe it on your ſubjects, without conſidering that they commit all theſe vio-“ lences in the territories of a Chriſtian emperor, who is actually in arms “ for the defence of the Holy Land. All the clergy of the empire cry out, “ and demand with what conſcience the common father of Chriſtians can “ make war on the firſt prince of Chriſtendom, and whether he has forgot “ that when S. Peter was drawing his ſword, our Lord ordered him to put it “ up in the ſcabbard, ſaying, whoever ſmiteth with the ſword, ſhall periſh “ by the ſword. They are aſtoniſhed too how a perſon, that excommuni-“ cates robbers and incendiaries every day, can now thunder out the cenſures “ of the church againſt the king of the Romans. Take proper meaſures, “ ſir, for the ſecurity of your people, and withal of your own perſon, for “ John de Brienne, who refuſes you the auguſt title of emperor, has ſhips in “ readineſs in moſt of the ports of Italy to ſurprize you in your return.”

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* Chriſtianis odium exhibet manifeſtum ad exterminandas domus hoſpitalis & fratrum militiæ templi, per quas reliquiæ Terræ Sanctæ hactenus ſunt obſervatæ. Matt. Paris ad ann. 1228. p. 348, & 349.

† Ipſis non audentibus juxta ordinis ſui inſtituta manum armatam contra Chriſtianos erigere. Matt. p. ibid.

The emperor had advice afterwards, by other letters, that the pope's generals, after driving the Imperialiſts out of Marca d' Ancona, had forced them to retire into the kingdom of Naples; that they had ſeized S. German's, and moſt of the other towns in that kingdom, as far as Capua; that the pontif's emiſſaries had prevailed with ſeveral towns * in Lombardy to take up arms in his favour; that this new alliance made war upon ſuch other places as ſtill preſerved their allegiance to the empire, and that the pope had ſent a legate in their army, who directed all the ſteps of it: This was the ſource of the two factions ſo remarkable in hiſtory by the name of Guelphs and Gibbelins, the firſt of which declared for the popes, and the other ranged themſelves under the banner of the empire.

Frederic, enraged at this news, and regarding the pope no longer under any other notion than that of his mortal enemy, reſolved to return, in all haſte, for Italy, to defend his own dominions. But that he might quit Paleſtine with ſome ſhew of honour, he cauſed a report to be ſpread abroad, that his perſon was not ſafe, and that the hoſpitallers and templars, at the pope's inſtigation, were endeavouring to deliver him up to the Sarazens. This Matthew Paris, a cotemporary hiſtorian, relates, with more particular circumſtances, and ſays, that the inhabitants of the Holy Land, and eſpecially the templars and hoſpitallers, inſtigated by the devil and the father of diſcord, and urged by the revengeful ſpirit of the pope, gave ſecret advice to the ſultan of Egypt, that the emperor was to go out of devotion to bathe in the river Jordan, and that he would perform the journey on foot, and with a ſmall retinue, ſo that he might eaſily diſpatch him, or at leaſt ſeize his perſon; that the ſultan, upon receipt of this letter, the ſeal of which, he knew, conceived an utter abhorrence of the perfidiouſneſs of theſe knights, and that, far from making any uſe of it, that prince generouſly ſent the letter to the emperor, who had already received ſeveral intimations of this traiterous deſign; that his Imperial majeſty diſſembled his knowledge of it till a proper time came to revenge the injury; and that this was the true reaſon of the hatred he ſhewed afterwards to theſe two military orders. It muſt nevertheleſs be owned †, adds Matthew Paris, that the templars were more blamed for this piece of treachery than the knights of S. John.

Matt. Paris, ad an. 1229. p. 358.

However that be, as the emperor wanted only a pretext of quitting the Holy Land without diſhonour to himſelf, he entered privately into a negociation with the ſultan of Egypt for a truce, which was concluded for ten years. He publiſhed afterwards the conditions of it, which conſiſted chiefly, as he ſaid, in the reſtitution of Jeruſalem, which the ſultan gave up to the emperor, with the cities of Bethlehem, Nazareth, Thoron and Sidon; allowing him likewiſe the liberty of repairing the fortifications of theſe places, and of rebuilding the walls of Jeruſalem; which city was left entirely to his diſpoſal, except the temple, which, with the court and incloſure about it, was to remain in the hands of the infidels, with the privilege of a free exerciſe of their religion in it.

This treaty was executed: A great number of Chriſtian families, upon the emperor's word, returned to Jeruſalem, ſome monks, and even nuns, drawn by the holineſs of the place, took poſſeſſion again of their convents, and began to repair them. But it was not long before they diſcovered the illuſion of the treaty which had nothing real in it but a deſign of amuſing the Chri-

Vide epiſt. Geroldi patriarc. Hier. idem ibid.

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* Milan, Verona, Piacenza, Vercelli, Lodi, Alexandria, Treviſo, Padua, Vicenza, Turin, Novara, Mantua, Breſcia, Bologna & Faenza.

† Verumtamen hoſpitalarii minorem notam infamiæ ſuper hoc facto contraxerunt. Matt. Paris, ad ann. 1229. p. 357.

ſtians of the eaſt, and impoſing on thoſe of the weſt‡. For the emperor, inſtead of raiſing again the fortifications of the towns, which he pretended were yielded to him, though this was neceſſary to ſecure the poſſeſſion of them to the Latin Chriſtians, rejected with contempt the offers made him by the hoſpitallers and templars, of contributing to put thoſe places in a condition of defence: So they continued ſtill diſmantled, and conſequently in the power of the infidels, who were then maſters of the field, with forces infinitely ſuperior to thoſe of the Chriſtians; and the emperor having acted, as we may ſay, this comedy in the eaſt, embarked in the month of May, and
1229. arrived happily in his kingdom of Sicily.

The war reſumed a new vigour from the emperor's preſence. That prince, who was a great ſoldier, carried it on with better ſucceſs than the pope's generals; he drove them out of moſt of the places they had ſeized in his abſence. John de Brienne likewiſe quitted the command of the army of the holy ſee, and returned into France to prepare for his voyage to Conſtantinople, whither he had been invited after Robert de Courtenay's death, to take care of the empire. The pope, deſpairing to get the better of his enemy by temporal arms, had recourſe to ſpiritual ones, which he managed with much better ſucceſs; and, after renewing the excommunication againſt the emperor, he added this clauſe to it. "And foraſmuch as that prince, out of a viſible "contempt of excommunication, has made no ſtep of ſubmiſſion to our or-"ders, we declare all his ſubjects abſolved of their oath of fidelity to him:" A terrible attempt which authorized the revolt of all that were malecontent. The emperor, in fact, was ſo terrified with it, that he uſed the intereſt of ſeveral cardinals and divers prelates, whom he cauſed to come expreſs out of Germany, to bring the pope to a better temper. The negociation laſted almoſt a year, and the vanquiſhed preſcribed terms to the victorious ſide: The emperor, before he could obtain peace, was obliged to ſwear that he would
1230. ſubmit to the pope's orders, without any exception. He was abſolved upon this condition, and, among other articles extorted from that prince, it was ſaid, that he ſhould, within the time preſcribed him by the church, repair
Rain. ad ann. 1230. t. 13. p. 405. n. 9. all the damages he had done to the orders of the hoſpitallers and templars; that he ſhould pay the charge of the war, and reimburſe the holy father all the money he had been obliged to furniſh for the defence of the patrimony of S. Peter.

The emperor, to get rid of the excommunication, whereof he dreaded the conſequences, ſubſcribed to all theſe conditions, and executed them, particularly with regard to the hoſpitallers and templars. But that prince, retaining always a keen reſentment againſt thoſe two orders, had no ſooner received his abſolution, than, under one pretext or other, he began to perſecute them again. Henry de Moura, lord chief juſtice of the kingdom of Sicily, on both ſides the Faro di Meſſina, ſequeſter'd all their effects and poſſeſſions; and, upon
Rain. ad ann. 1230. t. 13. p. 413. their complaints, the pope ſent a nuncio to Frederic, to demand ſatiſfaction of him for thoſe violent proceedings. "If you really wiſh, as you are obli-
1231. "ged to do, ſays the pontif to him in his brief, that the affairs of the Holy
Proof VI. "Land may go on proſperouſly, far from perſecuting the hoſpitallers and "templars, you ought to give your imperial protection to two orders, that, "with infinite trouble and continual fatigues, and in the midſt of a thouſand "dangers, to which they are daily expoſed, ſupport that tottering ſtate; and "it is the moſt effectual means to render you acceptable in the ſight of God, "and honourable in the eſteem of men." The pontif concludes his letter with

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‡ *Sibi fatribus templi & hoſpitalis præſentantibus ſolemniter & inſtanter, quod ſi vellet firmare, ſicut promiſerat, civitatem, ipſi ei quantum poſſunt conſilium & auxilium ad conficiendum compararent.* Matt. Paris, ad ann. 1229. p. 359.

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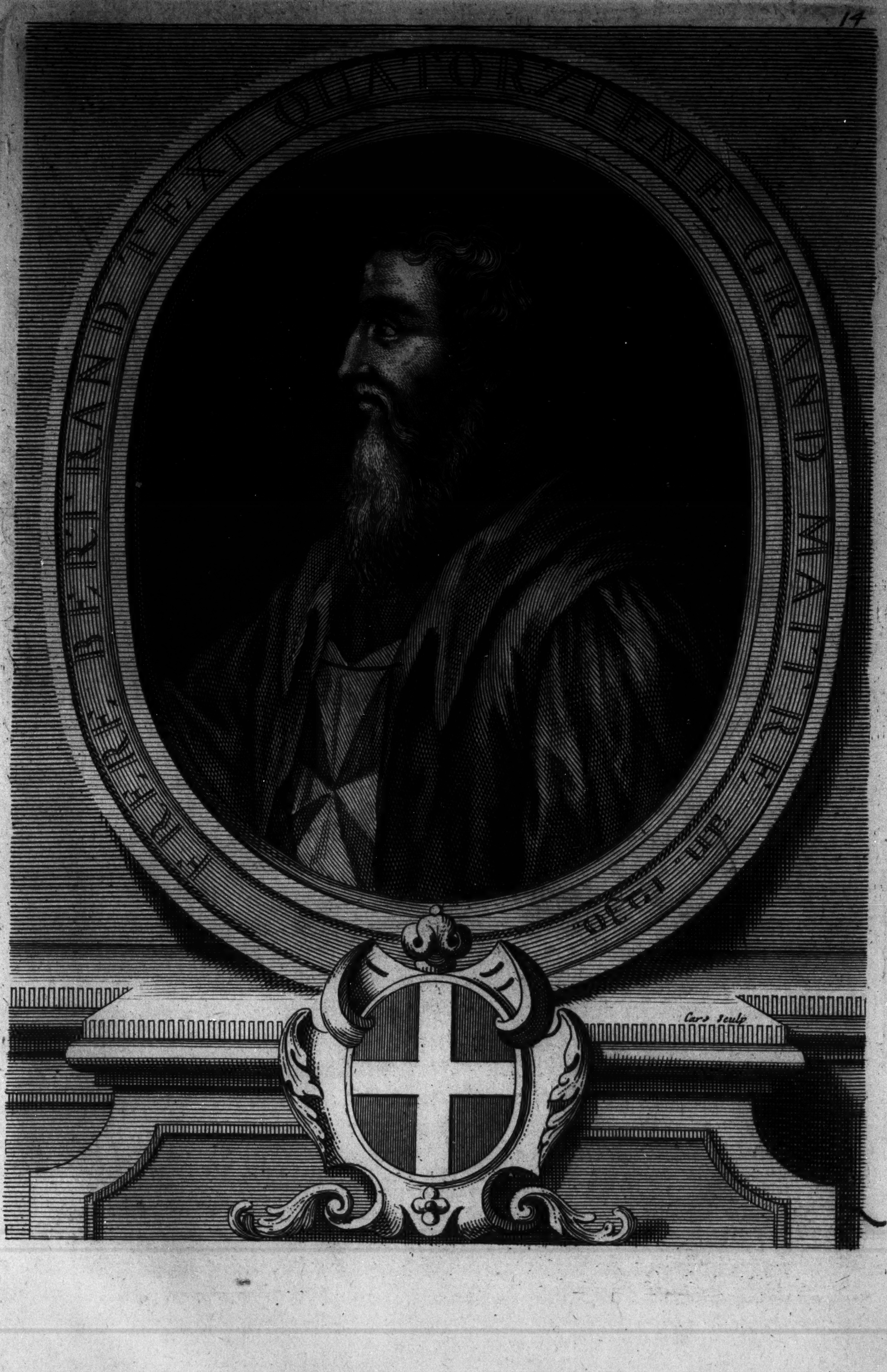
FRERE BERTRAND TEXI QUATORZIEME GRAND MAITRE, en 1230
Caro sculp

Guerin de Montaigu.

conjuring him, in the moſt preſſing terms, to reſtore the effects and poſſeſſions that had been ſo unjuſtly taken from the hoſpitallers of S. John and the templars. Frederic received the nuncio well, and promiſed to have a great regard to the pope's recommendation; but inſtead of that, though he was only the ſubaltern ſovereign of the iſle, he renewed his perſecutions; and, to revenge himſelf on ſuch of his Sicilian ſubjects, as, during his excommunication had declared in favour of the pope, the lord in whom the direct dominion was veſted and ſupreme ſovereign of that kingdom, he obliged them to put on the croſs, and by a ſort of baniſhment which he cloaked with the pretence of religion, and that of ſuccouring the Holy Land, he ſent them away thither, without ever allowing them to come back or return into their countrey, even after they had accompliſhed their pilgrimage.

1230.

The order of S. John, ſuffering ſtill under the perſecution of that prince, loſt this year their grand maſter Guerin de Montaigu, a gentleman of noble extraction in the province of Avergne, but who by his virtues added a greater luſtre to his family than he derived from it. The knights of S. John aſſembling in chapter, choſe in his ſtead brother Bertrand de Texis, who following the ſteps of his predeceſſor, applied himſelf as cloſely to the affairs of the ſtate, as to the government of the order.

Bertrand de Texis.

Palestine, which from the time of John de Brienne's abdication had been deprived of the preſence of its ſovereign, was like a ſhip without a pilot, toſſed continually by new tempeſts, and muſt infallibly have periſhed without the conſtant ſuccour of the hoſpitallers and templars. I ſay nothing of the Teutonick knights, becauſe ſince A. D. 1226. the greateſt part of them were gone into Pruſſia, the inhabitants of which being idolaters, had entered into a barbarous war againſt the Chriſtians their neighbours, maſſacred the prieſts at the foot of the altars, and put the ſacred veſſels to profane uſes. Conrad duke of Mazovia called in the Teutonick knights to his aſſiſtance, and for a beginning of a ſettlement gave them the whole territory of Culm, with all the lands they could conquer from the infidels. Herman de Salza maſter of the order deputed one of his knights named Conrad de Lanſberg, to conclude this treaty, which was ſigned by three biſhops of the countrey, Gonther of Mazovia, Michael of Cujavia and Chriſtian of Pruſſia. Hereupon the Teutonick knights went into thoſe northern provinces, where, in a continued ſeries of wars, they acquired ſucceſſively an entire ſovereignty to themſelves the royal and ducal Pruſſia, Livonia and the duchies of Curland and Semigallen, all provinces of a vaſt extent, and ſufficient to form a great kingdom.

Dusburg. chron. Pruſſ. part 2. c. 1. p. 28.

1232.

From what we have now ſaid, it appears that the defence of the Holy Land was left only in the hands of the hoſpitallers and templars. The emperor indeed who was very ſenſible, that that little ſtate could not ſupport it ſelf, had, before his departure, promiſed the two grand maſters, and the principal lords of the countrey, that he would, at his return home ſend a conſiderable body of troops thither, and maintain them at his own expence: He gave his word likewiſe to ſend thither prince Conrad his ſon, to whom the kingdom of Jeruſalem belonged in right of the empreſs Yolant his mother, daughter to John de Brienne and the princeſs Mary. But that prince being at his return taken up with the deſign of eſtabliſhing the imperial authority over all Italy, reſerved his whole force for the execution of that great project, and ſeemed to have entirely forgot the intereſts of Paleſtine. The princeſs Alice, half ſiſter by the mother's ſide to queen Mary, being, as well as the latter, the iſſue of queen Iſabel of Jeruſalem, and at this time widow of Hugh de Luſignan king of Cyprus, paſſed into Syria, in hopes of making an advantage of the emperor's abſence at ſuch a diſtance, and demanded the crown of Jeruſalem. But

Sanut. l. 3. c. 13. p. 214.

whatever ill treatment the two military orders had received from the emperor, the two grand maſters oppoſed the pretenſions of this princeſs, and told her, that nothing but prince Conrad's death or voluntary abdication, could give her any right to the crown. The emperor having advice of theſe notions, and fearing, leſt the queen dowager of Cyprus ſhould at laſt gain over the two orders to her intereſts, ſent a body of German troops into Paleſtine, and put over them as his lieutenant Richard Fitz Auger marſhal of his army. This general landing at Acre, inſtead of mild and pacifying meaſures, and inſtead of endeavouring to render his maſter's government and his own authority agreeable to the inhabitants of the town, and the lords of the countrey,
1232. treated them with exceſſive rigour, laid upon them impoſts unheard-of before in Paleſtine, and taxed the richeſt citizens. He deprived ſome of their
Sanut. lib. 3. part. 11. c. 13. p. 214. eſtates, haraſſed others, and treated them all, as he would have treated infidels in a conquered countrey. The inhabitants and principal nobility, after enduring for four or five years together all the oppreſſions that avarice ſupported by abſolute power could lay upon them, having loſt their patience as well as effects, and being left without any reſource but their courage, ran to arms, drove the Germans out of the town, and obliged them to take refuge in Tyre the only place they had left, where John d'Hybelin lord of Berytus, and Jaffa at the head of the gentry prepared to beſiege them.

The emperor ſurprized and alarmed at this news, had recourſe to the pope's authority; deſiring him to exert it in his favour with the grand maſter de Texis, and the knights of S. John: and to regain the eſteem and confidence of that order, which he had perſecuted ſo long, he put the knights
1238. again in poſſeſſion of all the effects and eſtates he had ſo unjuſtly taken from
Proof VII. them.

The pope, at this prince's inſtance, ſent the archbiſhop of Ravenna to the Holy Land as legate of the holy ſee, and gave him very preſſing letters to the grand maſter and council of the order, wherein he exhorted them to uſe their prudence, and the authority they had in Paleſtine, to quiet theſe diſturbances. The grand maſter, upon receipt of the pope's briefs, exerted himſelf to the utmoſt for a reconciliation: By his own conduct, ſupported with the power of his order, he brought matters to bear, and re-eſtabliſhed the emperor's authority in S. John d'Acre, and the other towns of Paleſtine.

The forces of the Latin Chriſtians being conſiderably weakened in the Holy land by a victory which the ſultan of Aleppo gained about that time over the templars, the grand maſter of the hoſpitallers ſent his ſummons, and
1239. drew a great number of knights from the weſt. There went, ſays Matthew Paris, from the hoſpitallers houſe of Clerkenwell in London, a great number of knights with banners diſplayed, preceded by brother Theodoric their prior, a German by nation, who ſet out for the Holy Land at the head of a conſiderable body of troops in their pay. Theſe knights, ſays he, paſſing over London bridge, ſaluted with their capuce in hand all the inhabitants that crowded to ſee them paſs, and recommended themſelves to their prayers*.

Whilst the order was drawing out of England this ſuccour for the Holy Land, it furniſhed the Chriſtian kings of Spain, who were continually at war againſt the Moors of the countrey, with a much more conſiderable a one. Don James, the firſt of the name, king of Arragon, having driven the Moors our of the iſles of Majorca and Minorca, undertook the conqueſt of the kingdom of Valencia: He fitted out a ſtrong fleet, and his land army conſiſted of above ſixty thouſand men, the power of the kings of Arragon never made ſo formidable an appearance before. This mighty force did not diſ-courage Zael king of Valentia, the braveſt of all the princes of the Moors; but as he had not an army ſtrong enough to keep the field againſt that of Don James, he threw himſelf into his capital. The Chriſtians ſoon inveſted the place: He made a gallant defence, and though beſieged both by ſea and land, the king of Arragon could not gain an inch of ground, but what coſt him the braveſt of his ſoldiers. The Moors made frequent ſallies, in which there was always much blood ſhed. The ſucceſs of the ſiege grew every day more and more doubtful: Don James, ſeeing his troops diminiſh, called in the hoſpitallers of S. John to his ſuccour; brother Hugh de Forcalquier, caſtellan of Empoſta and lieutenant to the grand maſter, arrived in the camp at the head of a conſiderable number of Spaniſh knights, and to make this ſuccour the more ſerviceable, he had reinforced them with two thouſand foot levied at his own expence among the vaſſals of the order.

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* Fratres vero inclinatis capitibus hinc & inde caputiis depoſitis ſe omnium precibus commendarunt. Matt. Paris ad ann. 1237. p. 444.

It was no little ſatisfaction to the king to ſee him arrive ſo well attended; the ſiege ſoon put on a new face, a laudable emulation ran through the chriſtian army. The knights diſtinguiſhed themſelves as uſual by their intrepidity, and carried ſeveral advanced works ſword in hand. Zael ſtraitened by the loſs of theſe poſts, ſhut himſelf up in the heart of the town. He held out there for ſome time longer, but preſſed at length by want of proviſions, and having loſt the choiceſt of his garriſon, he capitulated and ſurrendered the place to the king of Arragon. The reſt of the kingdom followed the example of the capital; every thing fell before the power of the conquerour, and the crown of Valentia was united to that of Arragon. Don James publickly acknowledged that he owed this important conqueſt to the valour of the hoſpitallers; he recompenſed them like a liberal and generous prince, with the town of Cervera, and all its dependencies, with Aſcola, Alcocever and the plain of S. Matthew, all which he gave in abſolute property to the order.

But recompences of ſo conſiderable a value, and which ſerved as a teſtimony of their valour, excited afterwards the envy and indignation of the neighbouring biſhops; for the caſtellan of Empoſta receiving orders from the grand maſter, whoſe lieutenant he was in Arragon and in the principality of Catalonia, to make a detachment from thence of the ſervants and vaſſals of the order for the peopling of thoſe towns which were then full of infidel inhabitants; and this colony ſetting up the croſs and refuſing, in virtue of their antient privileges, to ſubmit to the payment of tythes, they were ſtrangely ſurprized to hear, that the biſhops, inſtead of lending their aſſiſtance for the converſion of the Moors that were left in thoſe places, had laid a general interdict upon all the countrey granted to the order by the king of Arragon.

It was not without great indignation that the pope received the news of this invaſion of the privileges granted to that military order by ſo many of his predeceſſors. He immediately took off that unjuſt interdict, becauſe, according to the bulls of the ſovereign pontifs, the order was ſubject to no juriſdiction but that of the holy ſee, and he made a decree with ſevere penalties annexed to it, that no one for the future ſhould diſturb the ſubjects of an order, the members whereof employed their fortunes and lives, only for the defence of Chriſtendome. Proof VIII.

Yet, in contempt of this ſolemn prohibition, the biſhop of S. John d'Acre began a freſh diſpute with the knights in the eaſt, upon the ſubject of the right of tythes, under pretence that ſince the loſs of Jeruſalem, and the ſettlement of the order in S. John d'Acre, they had acquired in that city and in other parts of his dioceſe, ſeveral kinds of poſſeſſions, that did not belong to the order from the firſt times of its foundation. This prelate kept his deſign and meaſures ſecret, and under a quite different pretence, made a voyage and waited upon the pope. He repreſented to him that the hoſpitallers, by means either of their conqueſts or acquiſitions, ſwallowed up all the revenues of the biſhops. He revived, at the ſame time, the bitter complaints that Foulcher, patriarch of Jeruſalem, had made to Adrian IV. on account of the interdicts and burials before-mentioned; and he concluded with beſeeching his holineſs to publiſh an explanation of his predeceſſor's bulls, agreeable to the rights of biſhops, and ſuch as might ſerve to limit the privileges of the knights.

The pope referred the examination of theſe grievances to cardinal James de Pecoraria, to whom that pontif had committed the affairs of Paleſtine. The biſhop of Acre laid before him a long memorial of theſe grievances, in which the order of S. John was treated with no great tenderneſs: The cardinal communicated it to brother Andrew de Foggia, who reſided then at the court of Rome as procurator general of the hoſpitallers. That knight maintained the intereſts of his order with a proper zeal, and ſhewed plainly that the biſhop of Acre, under pretence of new grievances, did nothing but revive the old pretenſions of the clergy of Paleſtine that had been rejected in the aſſembly of Ferentino. The pope, upon the cardinal's report of the caſe, referred the judgment of it to the patriarch of Jeruſalem, the archbiſhop of Tyre, and the abbot of S. Samuel d'Acre. The biſhop could not have wiſhed for judges that were leſs exceptionable, yet theſe prelates, though intereſted in the affair, being withal juſtly ſenſible, that they ſubſiſted themſelves only by the ſuccour of theſe knights, obliged their collegue to deſiſt from his pretenſions.

I know not whether it be to this prelate, or any other enemy of the order, that we are to aſcribe the account given the pope about this time, that the hoſpitallers gave themſelves up to ſhameful irregularities, and that a Greek and ſchiſmatical prince, who was actually at war with the Latins, was aſſiſted by them with arms and horſes. Gregory IX. who was then in the chair of S. Peter, a pontif of a warm and fiery diſpoſition, wrote immediately about it to the grand maſter and the whole order, in terms dictated by a furious zeal. The exactneſs which the duty of a faithful hiſtorian requires, does not allow me to paſs over his brief in ſilence, eſpecially ſince it is recited at length by the annaliſt of the church.

1238.

Proof IX.

"We have heard with grief, ſays the pope, that you keep in your houſes "women of a looſe life, and live diſorderly with them; that you are no "longer exact in obſerving your vow of poverty, and that ſome particular "perſons among you enjoy great eſtates in property; that, in conſideration of "an annual retribution you protect, without diſtinction, all that are admitted "into your confraternity; that, under this pretence, your houſes ſerve for an "aſylum to robbers, murderers and hereticks; that, in oppoſition to the in-"tereſt of the Latin princes, you have furniſhed arms and horſes to Vatacius, "an enemy of God and the church; that you daily retrench ſomething of your "ordinary alms; that you alter the wills of ſuch as dye in your hoſpital, not "without ſuſpicion of forgery; that you allow no perſons that are there to "confeſs to any prieſts but thoſe of your order, or ſuch as you give ſalaries "to. It is ſaid likewiſe, adds the ſovereign pontif, that many of your bre-"thren are ſuſpected of hereſy."

The pope, at the end of this brief, exhorts the grand maſter to correct theſe great abuſes, allowing him for that end only three months time; and if it be not done within that term, by the ſame brief, which bears date March 13, 1238, he orders the archbiſhop of Tyre to repair to the head houſe of the order, and, in virtue of the apoſtolical authority, to ſet about an immediate reformation of that great body of military friars, as well in the head as in the members.

'Tis not a little ſurprizing, after the honourable teſtimony that Andrew king of Hungary, an eye-witneſs, had, in 1218, given of the virtue of theſe knights, that we find in this pontif's briefs ſuch grievous reproaches againſt the order. Perhaps they might ariſe from the hatred and calumny of their enemies: Perhaps too, and it is probable, the pope would not have made ſuch a ſtir about them, if he were not convinced of their irregularities. So extraordinary a change in their houſes, if it be true, ſhould make the holieſt and auſtereſt ſocieties tremble, when they reflect that they may, in leſs than twenty years, degenerate from their primitive regularity, and fall into the moſt terrible diſorders.

Whatever be the caſe, as to the truth or falſhood of theſe accuſations, it is certain, that in the ſame age, and under the ſame pontificate, the ſpirit of mortification and charity ſtill made an eminent figure among the hoſpitallers, and ſeveral of the knights of thoſe times are even now honoured as ſaints.

Such are the bleſſed Hugh, Gerard Mecati of Villamagna, Gerland of Poland, all hoſpitallers of the order of S. John, who lived in that age, and deſerved to be canonized in the opinion and by the anticipated ſuffrages of the Chriſtian world.

The bleſſed Hugh, preceptor or commander of the commandery of Genoa, devoted himſelf to the ſervice of the poor and pilgrims in the hoſpital under his direction. The verbal proceſs of his life, drawn up after his death by Otho de Fieſchi, archbiſhop of Genoa, upon expreſs orders from pope Gregory IX. ſays, that his life was one continual penance, attended with fervent prayers, and a boundleſs charity to the poor and pilgrims. According to the archbiſhop's account, he never ate meat; his faſt laſted the whole year round, Sundays only excepted. He always wore a long hair ſhirt tied upon his fleſh with an iron chain, a table ſerved him for his bed, and he placed it in a grotto below the hoſpital, on the ſide towards the ſea. He paſſed the whole day either in prayer or in attendance on the ſick, and if any pilgrims came in, he waſhed their feet and kiſs'd them with profound humility. 'Twas in a continual practice of theſe virtues that the bleſſed Hugh finiſhed at laſt the ſacrifice of himſelf.

The bleſſed Gerard Mecati lived almoſt at the ſame time. He was born at Villamagna, a town about three or four miles from the famous city of Florence. He entered himſelf early in the order of hoſpitallers, as a ſerving brother, and diſcharged all the duties of his place with an ardent zeal and charity towards the poor. Having paſſed part of his life in the hoſpitals of the order, a deſire of greater perfection, and the love of retirement and ſolitude, made him procure the permiſſion of his ſuperiors to end his days in a deſert. He ſhut himſelf up in a poor cottage, without any cloaths but a long hair cloth, or any food, but herbs and wild fruits. Paul Mimi, in his treatiſe of the gentry of Florence, ſpeaks of the bleſſed Gerard in theſe terms: "Gerard Mecati, a native of Villamagna, was a ſerving brother in the illuſtrious order of the knights of S. John of Jeruſalem, and we may juſtly call him a ſecond Hilarion." It was about A. D. 1242, that this pious hermit ended his days, and was tranſlated to the ſociety of the ſaints.

Brother Gerland of Poland, others ſay of Germany, knight of the order, who lived at the ſame time, was no leſs illuſtrious for his piety than his valour. He ſpent part of his life in war againſt the infidels. His ſuperiors ſent him afterwards in the retinue of the emperor Frederic II. to take care of the intereſts of the order: He ſoon became an example to all the court; and

Bertrand de Texis.

and having acquitted himſelf of his poſt, to the grand maſter's ſatisfaction, he retired, with his permiſſion, to the commandery of Calatagirona: There he ſpent the reſt of his days, leading a life truly angelical. I ſhall not inſiſt on his application to prayer, or his continual auſterities, I ſhall confine myſelf entirely to the virtues of his condition, and thoſe of a true hoſpitaller. He was a father to the poor, a protector of the widows, a guardian to orphans, a general arbitrator and amicable compounder of all differences; all which examples prove, that at that time the ſpirit of charity and love of mortification were not extinct in the order, as an unknown informer would have perſuaded the pope. As for that pontif's reproaching the hoſpitallers, with having ſupplied a Greek prince, called Vatacius, with arms and horſes, beſides that I ſcarce find any better grounds for this than for the other accuſations, with which ſome had endeavoured to blacken their character; all that the pope ſays of this Vatace, whom in his brief he ſtyles an enemy of God and the church, depends on a train of events, which, with regard to the hiſtory I am writing, it may be proper to clear up.

At the time of the laſt revolution and diſturbance at Conſtantinople, which occaſioned the taking of that capital of the empire by the troops of the cruſade, ſome Greek princes, deſcended moſt of them from imperial houſes, to avoid ſubmitting to the authority of the Latins, retired into different provinces of the empire, cantoned themſelves there, and ſet up for ſovereigns of them. Iſaac, or as others call him, Alexis, Comnenus went to found a new empire on the borders of Cappadocia and Colchis, the city of Trebizund, ſituated on the Black Sea, being made the capital of it. The princes Michael and Theodore Comneni ſeized on the empire and Albania; and Theodore Laſcaris, the moſt potent and formidable of them all, after having conquered the greateſt part of Bithynia, defeated the Turcomans that were in poſſeſſion of it, and killed the ſultan of Iconium in battel with his own hand, aſſumed the imperial ornaments at Nice, with the title of emperor, which he left to John Ducas his ſon in law, ſurnamed Vatacius; which would make one ſuſpect that this prince was deſcended of the imperial houſe of Ducas only by the female ſide.

Excepting the point of ſchiſm, he was one of the greateſt princes of his age, wiſe, vigilant and indefatigable, always mindful of events, and on the watch to obſerve the ſtate and diſpoſition of the kingdoms adjoining to his own. All theſe provinces afforded him ſo many enemies. He looked upon the poſſeſſors of them, whether Chriſtians or Mahometans, as uſurpers; but, wiſe in the ordering of his deſigns, he took his meaſures ſo well, that he never had but one enemy at a time to oppoſe. He ſcarce ever wanted pretences to make war, and, if he did not carry it on with ſucceſs, he was ſtill leſs at a loſs for means to bring about a peace. Thus, to prevent the pope's ſending of ſuccours to the Latin emperors of Conſtantinople, he affected a great zeal for the union of the Greek church with the Latin, and carried the matter ſo far, as to have conferences held upon the ſubject in his own palace, wherein he aſſiſted himſelf, and to encourage a complying and reconciling temper, aſſumed the character of a diſintereſted mediator. 'Twas by ſuch a politick conduct, as much as by his valour, that, after driving the Latin emperors out of Aſia Minor, he carried his arms into Europe, and advanced to attack them in the very center of the empire.

Such was the famous Vatacius, with whom the hoſpitallers were accuſed of holding correſpondence. But if we reflect that this Greek prince was often engaged againſt the ſame infidels, with whom the knights of S. John were continually at war, why ſhould it be thought ſtrange that in a common cauſe, and as allies, they ſhould aſſiſt that prince with horſes and arms?

Beſides, as the hoſpitallers had ſome houſes in Conſtantinople, I do not ſee how it can be imputed to them as a crime that they kept ſome meaſures with ſo powerful a prince, who was on the point of making himſelf maſter of that capital of the empire.

THAT empire, of which the princes of the cruſade had made ſo glorious a conqueſt, had, from the very moment of their gaining it, loſt much of its ancient grandeur and power. Beſides, the iſles of the Archipelago, of which the Venetians and Genoeſe had made themſelves maſters, we have ſeen that the marqueſs of Montferrat, for his ſhare of the conqueſts, had Theſſaly and the adjoining provinces erected into a kingdom, and that the Greek princes had quartered out and diſmember'd that unfortunate empire.

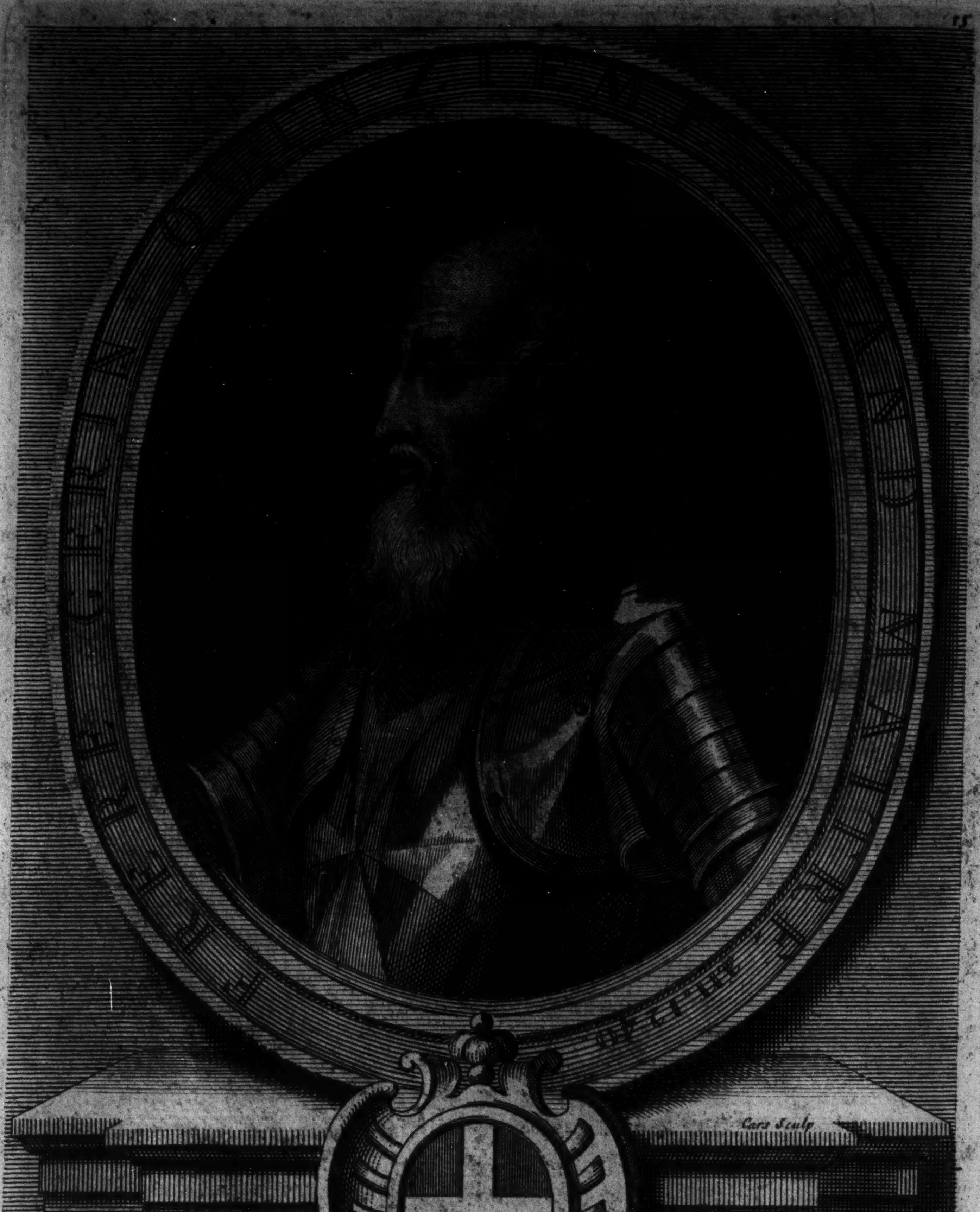
BALDWIN, the firſt Latin emperor, was no ſooner acknowledged as ſuch, than impatient to ſignalize his acceſſion to that great dignity, he formed the ſiege of Adrianople, the inhabitants whereof had made an inſurrection. Joanitze, king of the Bulgarians and Walachians, who had revolted from the Greek empire, a prince of great valour, but cruel and barbarous, fearing the emperor might attack him in his turn, advanced to the relief of the beſieged. He was at the head of a numerous army, compoſed of the Bulgarians and Walachians his ſubjects, beſides ſome Greeks and even Turcomans that he had in his pay. Baldwin, upon his approach, raiſed the ſiege, advanced to meet him, and gave him battel. His troops broke through all before them: Baldwin fired with courage, and, tranſported with the hopes of victory, inconſiderately abandoned himſelf to the purſuit of an enemy, that fled with art, and only to draw him into an ambuſcade. The new emperor of Conſtantinople, too far advanced before the body of his army, was ſurrounded at once by the Bulgarians and Walachians, who, cutting the troops that had been able to follow him in pieces, took him priſoner. Joanitze kept him for ſome time in a dungeon loaden with irons; and when at laſt he took him out, it was only to put him to a barbarous death. After ordering his legs and arms to be cut off, they threw the unfortunate prince into a valley, where he lived three days, expoſed as a prey to the wild beaſts, who fed upon him.

PRINCE Henry his brother ſucceeded him, and governed the empire with various ſucceſs for the ſpace of ten years. He is ſaid to have been poiſoned by the Greeks. This prince dying, like his elder brother, without iſſue, left the crown to Peter de Courtenay his brother in law, a prince of the blood royal of France. This new emperor, going to Conſtantinople, and paſſing through the dominions of Theodore Comnenus, by virtue of a treaty of alliance made with that prince, was ſeized in the mountains of Albania, and the perfidious Greek put him to death. The crown deſcended of right to Philip count of Namur, eldeſt ſon to the emperor Peter; but that young prince, in all probability, preferring a quiet principality and a ſure dominion to a tottering throne, and the empty title of emperor, reſigned his right to prince Robert his brother, who arrived at Conſtantinople at the latter end of the year 1220. He had all his reign two formidable enemies to encounter, John Ducas and Theodore Comnenus, the cruel murderer of the emperor his father; who, without acting in concert, took from him each on his reſpective ſide, moſt of the places that covered Conſtantinople. A third enemy, and a much more dangerous one than the two former, roſe up to compleat his misfortunes. There was in Conſtantinople a young lady of admirable beauty, originally of the province of Artois, and daughter to Baldwin de Neuville, a knight that was preſent at the taking of Conſtantinople. This lady was on the point of being married to a young Burgundian lord, with whom ſhe was already contracted. Her relations preſenting her to the emperor for his conſent to the marriage, the young prince was ſmitten with her ſingular beauty, a violent paſſion ſeized him, and, though he was ſenſible that young Neuville was engaged to a lord of his court, yet having no other way to make himſelf eaſy, he reſolved to marry her. The mother and daughter, dazzled, on the other hand, with the luſtre of a crown, ſlighted their firſt engagements; the mother conducted her daughter to the emperor's bed. Sanut ſays expreſſly that he was married to her. Baldwin d'Aveſne ſeems, on the contrary, to inſinuate that the prince enjoyed her on eaſier terms. Be that as it will, the Burgundian, that was to marry the young lady, did not hear of his misfortune till it was too late to prevent it. The injured lord calls together his relations and friends, and demands their aſſiſtance againſt a prince whom he called a tyrant. Thoſe gentlemen all eſpouſe his cauſe, and, with an amazing boldneſs, break into the palace by night and ſeize the mother and daughter. The mother was put into a ſack and thrown into the ſea, and the conſpirators, after cutting off the noſe and lips of the daughter, retired. The emperor flattered himſelf that he ſhould find the reſt of the lords of his court ready to revenge ſo horrible an inſolence; but, to his great ſurprize, he heard that ſome of them were actually concerned in it, and that the reſt did not ſcruple to own that they would have done as much, if they had ſuffered the like crying injuſtice. Robert, enraged to ſee himſelf deſpiſed by his ſubjects, and to meet with domeſtick enemies that ſurpaſſed Barbarians and ſtrangers in cruelty, took ſhipping for Italy. He was not without hopes of procuring a powerful ſuccour from thence and returning into his dominions at the head of an army, that would ſtrike terrour into his enemies and command the reſpect of his ſubjects; but, after wandering through ſeveral countries, he died at laſt upon the road, through exceſs of grief, unable to ſurvive the inſolent and contemptuous manner in which they had treated him.

NEVER was the empire in ſo deplorable a condition: Overrun with diviſions both within and without, and attacked on all ſides by mighty enemies, it had no reſource left, nor any ſucceſſor in the imperial throne, but the third ſon of Peter de Courtenay, called Baldwin II. a young prince, hardly nine or ten years old, and conſequently incapable by his age to govern the ſtate, eſpecially in ſo terrible a juncture.

IN this diſmal ſituation, the French lords of Conſtantinople had recourſe to John de Brienne, formerly king of Jeruſalem, conſtituting him regent and protector of the empire; and, to engage him to undertake the government, they conferred upon him the very title of emperor, to enjoy it during his life, but without prejudice to the rights of the lawful heir, agreeable to an old cuſtom uſed in France, where the tutors and guardians of young noblemen, in their minority, are ſtyled lords of their eſtates, and hold them as ſuch of the ſupreme lords.

JOHN de Brienne repaired to Conſtantinople, took upon him the government, repulſed and defeated the emperor Vatacius and Azen king of Bulgaria, who threatened Conſtantinople with a ſiege. But as that prince was then above fourſcore years old, the empire could not reap all the advantages they might have juſtly expected from his valour and long experience in the conduct of armies, if he had been leſs advanced in age. Every one's thoughts was now taken up with diſmal preſages of the ſhort duration of the empire of the Latins. Young Baldwin himſelf was even obliged to travel into Italy, and other kingdoms of Chriſtendome, with John de Bethune his governour, to implore ſuccour. All Aſia had their eyes fixed on the emperor Vatacius, a prince of the greateſt power and abilities that had been for a long time upon the throne of the great Conſtantine: He wanted nothing in a manner


15
FRERE GERIN
GRAND MAISTRE
Cars Sculp

but the capital, and it was not doubted but he would ſoon make himſelf maſter of that. The Chriſtians, poſſeſſed with an high opinion of his valour, looked upon him as the only prince capable of maintaining them in Paleſtine. I know not whether the regard the hoſpitallers ſhew'd that great prince, were imputed to theſe ſentiments of eſteem they had for him; but, certain it is, that the reproaches it drew upon the grand maſter from the pope, made ſo deep an impreſſion on him, that he was inconſolable; and the miſerable condition to which he ſaw the Holy Land reduced, without ſuccour, without troops and without a ſovereign to command 'em, gave the finiſhing ſtroke to his life. In his ſtead was choſen brother Guerin or Guarin, whoſe ſurname and countrey we are entirely ignorant of.

1240.

GUARIN.

WE only know that he was entruſted with the government of the order in difficult times. Paleſtine was then deſtitute of its ſovereign's preſence, and in no ſubjection to his repreſentatives. The hoſpitallers and templars, the whole force in a manner of the Holy Land, were likewiſe unluckily divided on account of ſome treaties which each of them had ſeverally made with different infidel princes.

Thibaud V. of the name, count of Champagne, and king of Navarre in right of Blanche of Navarre his mother, made about that time an expedition into Paleſtine at the head of a cruſade, but their ill ſucceſs, and the loſs of the battel of Gaza obliged him afterwards to conclude a truce with Nazer emir of Carac. The templars were the perſons that negotiated this treaty, which the king of Navarre ſigned out of an impatient deſire to return home; and thoſe knights made likewiſe a league offenſive and defenſive with that infidel prince againſt the ſultan of Egypt, but the hoſpitallers refuſed to be comprehended or concerned in it, either becauſe they found the treaty diſadvantageous, or becauſe, as they complained, the templars had carried on this negotiation without their knowledge or conſent*.

THE king of Navarre, receiving advice that Richard earl of Cornwall, brother to the king of England, was on the way and expected every moment, embarked in great haſte with the remains of his cruſade, to prevent the Engliſh prince's being witneſs of his diſgrace. Richard, upon his arrival, found, that the emir of Carac, who in ſome meaſure was dependent on the ſovereign of Damaſcus, had it not in his power to maintain the truce. That prince therefore at the head of the cruſade advanced immediately up to Jaffa, where he gave audience to an envoy from the ſultan of Egypt, then actually at war with the ſultan of Damaſcus, who came to offer him another truce. Richard conſented to it with the concurrence of the duke of Burgundy, count Gaultier de Brienne, nephew to John de Brienne king of Jeruſalem, the grand maſter of the templars, and part of the lords of the countrey; and it was ſtipulated by this treaty, that the infidel prince ſhould order all the Mahometans out of Jeruſalem that were ſettled in it; that he ſhould reſtore Bethlehem, Nazareth, and ſeveral villages and caſtles neceſſary to ſecure the road to the capital of Judæa; that all priſoners ſhould be releaſed on both ſides, and that the Chriſtians ſhould be at liberty to rebuild the fortifications of Jeruſalem, and the other places yielded to them. * The Engliſh prince, tho' he did not perform any military exploits, yet concluded this treaty, which was no leſs uſeful, and was executed before his departure; but the templars, out of ſpleen to the hoſpitallers, refuſed in their turn, to be comprehended in it: So that whilſt two truces were on foot the templars and hoſpitallers continued each in a ſtate of war, the one againſt the ſultan of Damaſcus, the other againſt the ſultan of Egypt; and theſe diſſenſions would have been fatal

* Literæ comitis Richardi, continentes ſummam ſuæ peregrinationis. M. Paris in Hen. III. ad ann. 1241. p. 566, & 567.

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* Prædicta enim treuga procuratione templariorum firma eſt, hoſpitalariorum minime interveniente conſenſu. Sanut. l. 3. p. 216.

tal

Guarin.

tal to the ſtate, if thoſe ſultans and moſt of the deſcendents of Saladine and Safadine had not been divided at the ſame time by civil wars. 'Twas owing entirely to thoſe inteſtine diſturbances of theirs, that the Latin Chriſtians ſaw themſelves at laſt the maſters and ſole inhabitants of Jeruſalem. The patriarch came back thither with all his clergy; the churches were reconſecrated; the holy ſacraments were adminiſtred there with infinite ſatisfaction to all that were preſent, and the grand maſter of the hoſpitallers carried the patriarch all the money that was in the treaſury of the order, to contribute to rebuild the walls of the holy city.

Proof IX.

THE work however, notwithſtanding all the hands employed in it, advanced but ſlowly, and they had ſcarce thrown up ſome ſlight intrenchments when Paleſtine was overflowed with a deluge of Barbarians, called Coraſmins. They were a people lately come out of Perſia, and deſcended, as it is ſaid, from the ancient Parthians; at leaſt they inhabited their countrey called Yrac Agemy, or the Perſian Hyrcania. Others place them in Couvarzem near Coraſan; but it is a queſtion whether theſe Coraſmins were not originally natives of the kingdom of Cariſme, which Ptolemy calls Choraſmia, from whence theſe Barbarians, being moſt of them ſhepherds, and without any fixed abode, might have paſſed into ſome of the provinces of Perſia. However this be, they were involved in the famous revolution that happened twenty years before in the higher Aſia, which Genchizcan, the firſt emperor of the old Mogul Tartars, reduced under his power. Octay ſon to Genchizcan, and ſucceſſor to that conqueror, or elſe prince Keiouc his ſon, caan or great cham, others ſay, Tuly, Genchizcan's third ſon, who had Perſia for his portion, being incenſed againſt this people who had killed ſome of his officers that were levying taxes of them, drove them out of his dominions.

Bibliotheque orientale p. 1001.

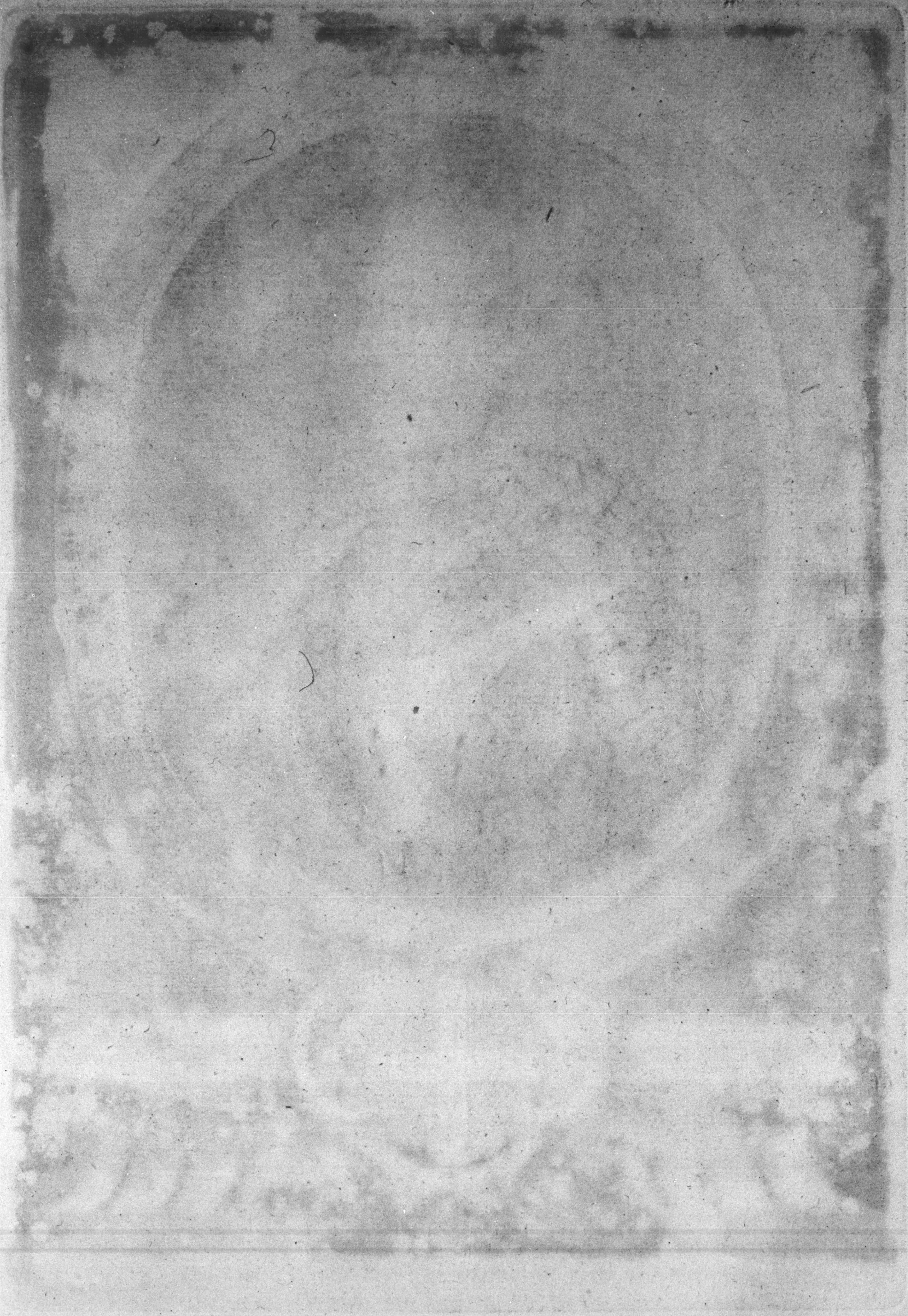
M. Paris ad an. 1244. p. 618. Joinevill vie de S. Louis p. 98.

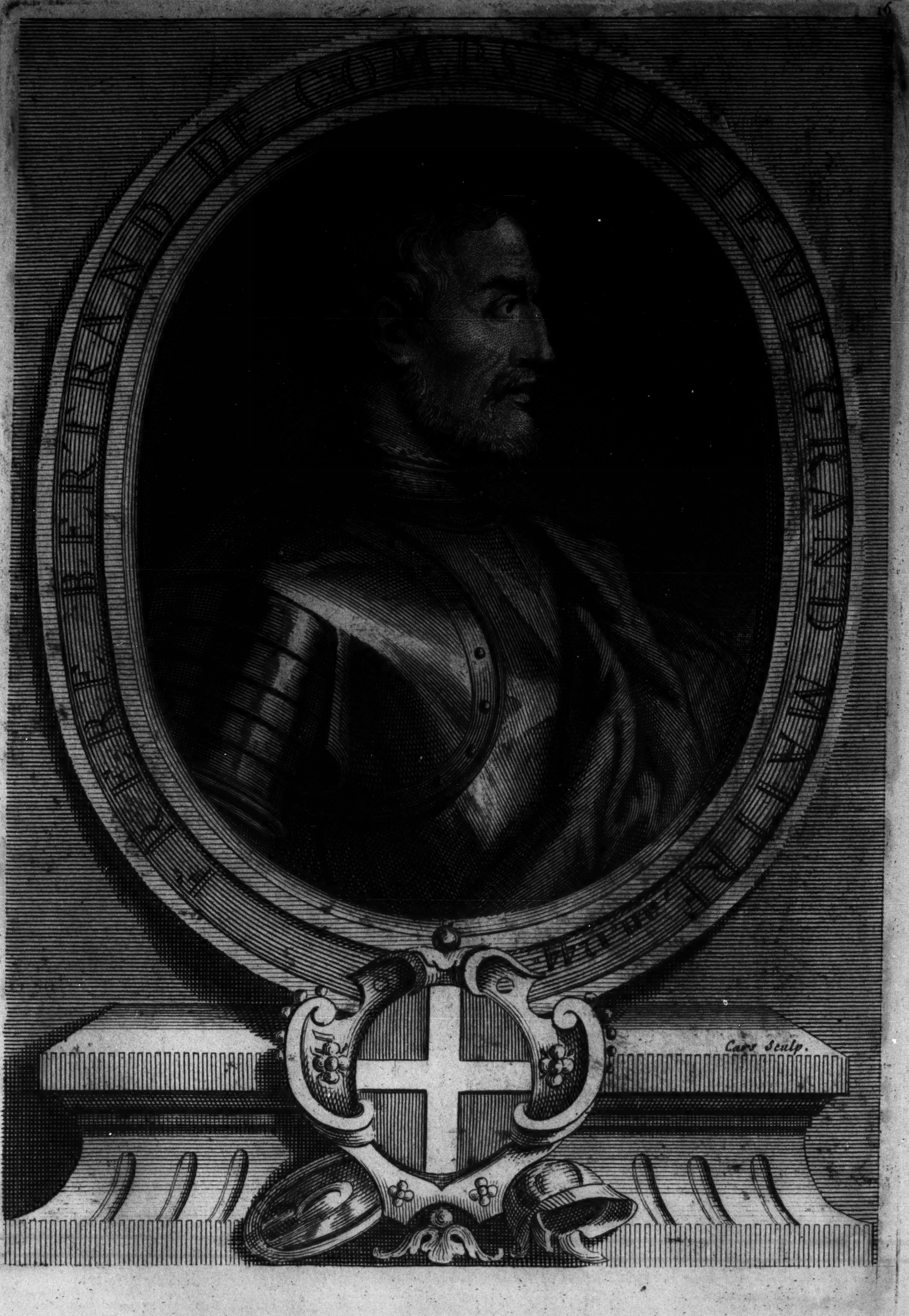
THESE people, pagans by religion, cruel and brutal in their nature, and Barbarians above all that ever bore the character, roved up and down in different countries, without being able to find any fixed and ſecure abode, or any prince that would ſuffer them in his territories: Odious to the Mahometans as well as Chriſtians for their robberies and cruelties, they were looked upon as the common enemies of mankind. The ſultan of Egypt however, to revenge himſelf on the templars for the league they had made with his enemies the ſultans or emirs of Damaſcus, Carac and Emeſſa, adviſed Barbacan, chief and general of the Coraſmins, to fall into Paleſtine, repreſenting to him, that the conqueſt of it was eaſy, the places diſmantled and open on all ſides, that there were few troops in the countrey, and diviſions among the leaders: He reinforced theſe arguments with conſiderable preſents, with the promiſe of a mighty ſuccour, and an aſſurance of joining his army with a body of his own troops.

1243.

Sanut. p. 17.

THIS was more than was neceſſary to determine a ſavage and barbarous people, who were ſeeking with the point of their ſwords a countrey to inhabit, and had already penetrated into Meſopotamia. Barbacan marched thence immediately at the head of twenty thouſand horſe, and fell into Paleſtine before they had the leaſt news of his expedition. But the cruelties of this nation, and their burning all before them, ſoon gave notice of their coming. Jeruſalem was ſtill open on all ſides; the grand maſters of the hoſpital and temple were then in it, but had ſcarce any troops with them. In this ſurprizing juncture, they thought, they had nothing to do but to convoy the inhabitants to Jaffa, a place fortified and in a condition of defence, and afterwards to take the field, and draw out all their forces to oppoſe the enterprizes of the infidels. The inhabitants in general quitted Jeruſalem and followed the knights, except a ſmall number who were loth to leave their houſes, and threw up haſtily ſome weak intrenchments in ſuch places as




FRERE BERTRAND DE COMPS [illegible]IEME GRAND MAITRE
Mort en 1241.
Carr Sculp.

were moſt expoſed. In the mean time the Coraſmins arrive, force theſe intrenchments, break into the city ſword in hand, deſtroy all before them with fire and ſword, without diſtinction either of age or ſex; and to deceive the Chriſtians that were fled, they planted ſtandards with the croſs upon the towers. Thoſe that were marched out before, having notice that the croſs was ſtill to be ſeen planted on the walls, felt an infinite regret for having abandoned their houſes with ſuch precipitation; and fancying that the Barbarians had turned their arms another way, or had been repulſed by the Chriſtians that were left in the city, they returned back thither in ſpite of all that the grand maſters could ſay, and delivered themſelves up to the fury of the Barbarians, who put near ſeven thouſand of them to the ſword. A company of nuns, children and old men, who had run for ſhelter to the holy ſepulchre, and the church of Calvary, were ſacrificed in the very place where the Saviour of mankind was pleaſed to dye for their ſalvation, and there was no ſort of cruelty and profanation that theſe Barbarians did not act in the holy city.

THE templars, in the mean time having advice that a detachment of the ſultan of Egypt's troops had joined them, called in the ſultans of Damaſcus and Emeſſa, who were his enemies, to their ſuccour. Theſe infidels ſent them four thouſand horſe, commanded by Moucha one of their generals. The lords of the countrey making their vaſſals, and the militia take arms, joined the Chriſtian army: There paſſed at firſt ſeveral ſkirmiſhes between the two parties, in which the Coraſmins, though ſuperiour in number, loſt more men than the Chriſtians.

Epiſt. Frid. Imperatoris Matt. Paris in Hen. III. p. 618.

AT laſt by the patriarch's precipitation, contrary to the advice of the principal officers, they came to a general engagement. The Chriſtian army was drawn up in three bodies: The grand maſter of the hoſpitallers with the knights of his order, and ſuſtained by Waller III. count of Jaffa, and nephew to king John, commanded the left wing: Moucha, at the head of the Turcomans, commanded the right, and the templars with the militia of the countrey were in the center. They fought on both ſides with the ſame courage and inclination, but there was a vaſt inequality in their number. The Coraſmins had ten to one, and to make the diſadvantage ſtill greater, as ſoon as the armies were engaged, moſt of Moucha's troops either out of cowardice or treachery, quitted their ranks and fled.

Joinville vie de S. Louis par du Cange p. 99.

THE Chriſtians, reſolved either to vanquiſh or dye, ſeemed not at all diſcouraged, nor gave ground on this occaſion; the battel laſted two days: The knights of the two orders made prodigious efforts of valour, but at laſt their ſtrength being quite ſpent, and overwhelmed with the multitude of the enemy, they were all in a manner either killed or taken priſoners: There eſcaped out of this general ſlaughter only twenty ſix hoſpitallers; (ſome accounts ſay but ſixteen) thirty three templars and three Teutonick knights: The two grand maſters of the hoſpitalles and templars, and a commander of the Teutonicks were killed at the head of their companies. The hoſpitallers not long after choſe for their grand maſter, brother Bertrand de Comps, an old knight whoſe valour and experience raiſed him to the ſame dignity, which a gentleman of his name had formerly been inveſted with.

Joinville vie de S. Louis p. 100.

Bertrand de Comps.

1243.

THIS general defeat compleated the calamities of the Holy Land. The emperor Frederic, in a letter directed to the earl of Cornwal his brother in law, laments this fatal day, and lays the blame of it on the templars, who after breaking the truce, which he had made, as he ſays, by the hoſpitallers advice with the ſultan of Egypt, truſted too implicitly to the ſuccours, and promiſes of the ſultans of Damaſcus and Carac*.

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* Dum præter idem quod templariorum ſuperba religio, & aborigenariorum terræ Baronum deliciis educata ſuperbit, Soldanum Babyloniæ ad evocandum auxilium Choerminorum per bel-

1244.

BROTHER William de Chateauneuf, preceptor of the hoſpitallers of S. John of Jeruſalem, and afterwards grand maſter of the order, in a letter which he wrote to the ſeignior de Merlai, attributes, in like manner, this bloody invaſion of the Coraſmins to the league made with the ſultan of Damaſcus againſt his enemy the ſultan of Egypt; and, according to this knight's account of that bloody battel, in which he himſelf was preſent, the two grand maſters were killed in it, and none of the hoſpitallers got off but himſelf and fifteen more, to lament, ſays he, the fate of thoſe who died for the defence of the holy places and that of the Chriſtians.

Epiſt. flebilis prælatorum Terræ Sanctæ in M. Paris ad an. 1244. lib. 3. p. 631.

BOTH indeed were a real object of compaſſion. This order, once ſo flouriſhing, was now in a manner deſtroyed, and the Chriſtians, to whom the templars and hoſpitallers uſed to ſerve for a defence, were now left without any, and forced to immure themſelves within the town of S. John d' Acre, whilſt the Coraſmins, encamped in the plain two miles from the place, ravaged the open countrey, burnt the villages and towns, and either murdered the inhabitants without mercy, or carried them off into a miſerable ſlavery.

BUT God, who, at the time appointed by his mercy, revenges his children upon the miniſters he made uſe of in his wrath, ſuffered diſſenſions to riſe up among theſe ſavage creatures; moſt of them killed one another, and the wretched remains of theſe Barbarians being diſperſed in the countrey, were knocked on the head by the peaſants: In a word, they were all deſtroyed, even to their very name, which, ſince that time, is no where mentioned in hiſtory *.

THE loſs ſuſtained by the hoſpitallers againſt theſe Barbarians did not cool their zeal and courage. We have obſerved, that thoſe knights made head in all quarters againſt the infidels, and never failed to appear wherever the Chriſtians made war againſt them. Spain, Hungary, and the principality of Antioch, received new advantages from the ſuccour of their arms. Hugh de Forcalquier caſtellan of Emposta, was conſtantly in the army of Don James king of Aragon. He appeared at the head of all the knights of that kingdom at the ſiege of Xatira, and the hiſtorian of Aragon obſerves, that a knight of S. John, called Don Pedro de Villaragut, diſtinguiſhed himſelf there by actions of ſurprizing valour.

THE knights of Hungary rendered no leſs eminent ſervices to their countrey againſt the Tartars, who at that time ravaged Tranſilvania, Hungary and Poland. Pope Innocent IV. wrote to them, in the moſt preſſing terms, as may be ſeen by his brief of the eighth of the calends of July in the fifth year of his pontificate. Theſe noble warriours took up arms immediately, and joining the Frangipani, who were then lords of Dalmatia and Croatia, they drove thoſe Barbarians out of Hungary, brought king Bela, who had been forced to quit his dominions, back in triumph, and replaced him on the throne.

SUCH important ſervices did not fail of a ſuitable recompence; and, beſides new privileges conferred upon them, this prince, who was ſon to king Andrew before-mentioned, walking in the ſteps of his father, granted lands and manors to the order, being perſuaded that he thereby acquired ſo many brave warriours to his kingdom and illuſtrious defenders to his ſubjects, who were often expoſed to the incurſions of the infidels. 'Tis thus the hiſtorian of Hungary expreſſes himſelf on this occaſion, calling the hoſpitallers by antici-

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lum improbum & improviſum coegerunt, noſtro regio fœdere parvi penſo, quod nos una cum conventu & magiſtris domorum Sancti Joannis & Sanctæ Mariæ Teutonicorum, nomine noſtro contraxeramus. Epiſt. Fred. Imperat. de depopulatione Terræ Sanctæ. Matt. Paris, ad ann. 1244.

* Et factum eſt ut de ſub cœlo nomen eorum penitus deleretur, adeò quod nec eorum veſtigia apparuerunt. Matt. Paris ad ann. 1247.

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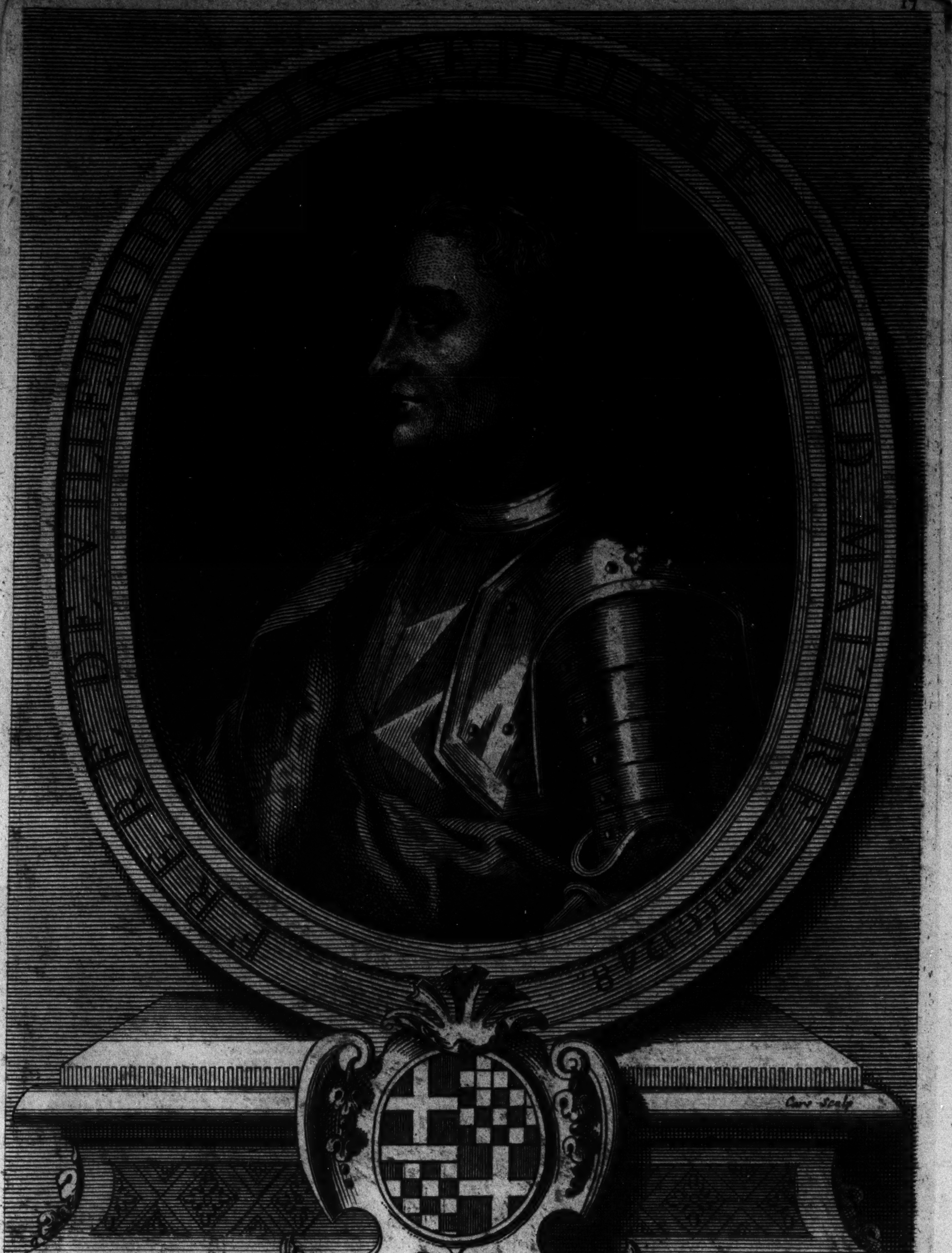
FRERE DE VILLEBRIDE [illegible] GRAND MAITRE
1248
Cars sculp

Bertrand de Comps.

pation the knights of Rhodes, though they did not take that name till an age after this event.

Whilst the knights were thus employed in Hungary againſt the Tartars, the prince of Antioch was attacked on a ſudden by the Selgeucidian Turcomans, who, an age before, had quitted their deſerts, choſen themſelves leaders, and overrun at the ſame time ſeveral countries of Aſia, as we have obſerved in the beginning of the firſt book.

The prince of Antioch, ſurprized with this unexpected invaſion, had recourſe to the military orders, the uſual refuge of all the Latin Chriſtians. The two grand maſters took the field with the remainder of their knights, and drawing out likewiſe the troops which they had in pay, marched directly againſt the infidels. The fight was long and bloody; the number of the Turcomans, who were brave ſoldiers, ballanced the uſual effects of the valour of theſe knights. Brother Bertrand de Comps, grand maſter of the hoſpitallers, full of indignation at a reſiſtance he was not uſed to meet with, throws himſelf into the midſt of the enemy's ſquadrons, breaks them and puts them to flight. But in this laſt charge he received ſo many wounds, that he died ſoon after, and the order choſe for his ſucceſſor brother Peter de Villebride, a knight highly eſteemed for his piety and valour; they could not have made a better choice, eſpecially in relation to a new cruſade, which S. Louis, king of France, was to head in perſon, and which we are now to ſpeak of.

Peter de Villebride.
1248.

The news of the rout of the Chriſtian army being brought to pope Innocent IV. who was then in the chair of S. Peter, that pontif, to engage the Chriſtians of the weſt to ſend a new ſuccour to the Holy Land, called a general council at Lyons, which was opened on the eve of S. Peter and S. Paul. Galeran biſhop of Berytus, who brought over the account of the victory of the Coraſmins, preſented to the fathers of the council a letter, written by the patriarch of Jeruſalem and the biſhops of Paleſtine, to all the prelates of France and England, and containing a relation of that diſmal event which was drawn up almoſt in theſe terms.

Proof X.

"The Tartars, after deſtroying Perſia, turned their arms againſt the Coraſmins, and drove them out of their countrey. Theſe Barbarians, having no ſettled abode, made applications to ſeveral Sarazen princes to grant them ſome countrey to dwell in, but in vain; for they are a people of ſo cruel a diſpoſition, that thoſe who come the neareſt to them in that reſpect, refuſed to give them any ſhelter: The ſultan of Egypt was the only perſon that acted otherwiſe; he invited them into Paleſtine, and promiſed the aſſiſtance of his forces to maintain them there. They entered the countrey with a vaſt army, compoſed almoſt entirely of horſe, bringing their wives and children along with them. Their incurſion was ſo ſudden, that no body could either foreſee or oppoſe it; and they ravaged, without oppoſition, all the countrey from Thoron of the knights to Gaza or Gazer.

"In ſo ſurprizing an invaſion, there was no other expedient but to ſet one Barbarian againſt another, and, by the concurring ſentiments of the templars, hoſpitallers, Teutonicks, and gentry of the countrey, it was reſolved to demand ſuccour of the ſultans of Damaſcus and la Chamelle our allies and ſworn enemies to the Coraſmins. But as this ſuccour was both remote and uncertain, the danger preſſing, and Jeruſalem without walls and fortifications, about ſix thouſand inhabitants went to ſeek for refuge in other Chriſtian towns, and only a ſmall number of Chriſtians were left in the capital.

"Such as quitted Jeruſalem took the road of the mountains, where they thought themſelves ſafeſt, becauſe the Mahometans who inhabited there

" were ſubjects of the ſultan of Carac, with whom we were in truce. But theſe mountaineers, violating the faith of the treaty, fell upon thoſe refugees, killed part of them, took and ſold others, even the nuns; and thoſe who got down into the plains were maſſacred by the Coraſmins, ſo that ſcarce three hundred were left out of all that number of people. In fine, the Coraſmins forced their way into the holy city, and, as the few Chriſtians that were left there, women, children, and old men, took refuge in the church of the holy ſepulchre, thoſe Barbarians butchered them all in that holy place; and cutting off the heads of the prieſts, who were then officiating, they ſaid one to another, let us ſhed here the blood of Chriſtians in the very place where they offer up wine to their God, who they ſay was hanged here. They afterwards pulled off all the ornaments from the holy ſepulchre, profaned the church of Calvary, rummaged the tombs of the kings of Jeruſalem, diſturbing the aſhes of the dead, and ſcattering their remains abroad. The churches of mount Sion, the temple and the vale of Jehoſophat, where the bleſſed virgin's ſepulchre is to be ſeen, were no better treated; in the church of Bethlehem they committed abominations too horrible to be related, carrying their impiety to a much more outragious height than ever the Sarazens did, who always paid ſome regard to the holy places.

Matt. Paris, ad A.D. 1244.

" THE military knights and the barons of the countrey, in conjunction with the ſuccours ſent them by the ſultans their allies, advanced directly againſt the Barbarians, marching along the ſea coaſt, and came up with them near Gazer or Gaza. They joined battel on the eve of S. Luke; the Sarazens that were in our army took to their heels; ſo that the Chriſtians being left alone to oppoſe both the Coraſmins and Babylonians, were born down by the multitude of their enemies. Out of the three military orders, there were ſaved but thirty three templars, twenty ſix hoſpitallers, and three Teutonick knights: Moſt of the nobility and gentry of the countrey either periſhed in the battel, or were taken priſoners.

" IN this extremity, we have implored ſuccour from the king of Cyprus and the prince of Antioch; but we know not what they can do for us, or what we are to expect from them; and, great as our loſs has been, we are ſtill apprehenſive of greater to come. The hoſpitallers are beſieged by the Sarazens in the caſtle of Aſcalon; the Holy Land is left deſtitute of all human ſuccour; the Coraſmins are encamped in the plain two miles from Acre, from whence they ravage the whole countrey as far as Nazareth; ſo that if we have no relief ſent us by the month of May, the Holy Land is infallibly loſt, and we ſhall be forced into ſome caſtles, which are ſtill left us, and which the hoſpitallers and templars have undertaken to defend."

THE reading of this letter drew tears from the whole aſſembly; the fathers of the council ordered the cruſade to be preached up through all Chriſtendome; and that ſuch as had already put on the croſs, or ſhould put it on afterwards, ſhould aſſemble in a place to be agreed on to receive the pope's bleſſing; that there ſhould be a truce for four years between all Chriſtian princes; that, during all that time, there ſhould be no turnaments, nor feaſts, nor publick rejoycings; that the faithful ſhould be exhorted to contribute out of their fortunes and eſtates for carrying on ſo righteous an expedition, and that eccleſiaſticks ſhould pay the twentieth of their revenues, and cardinals the tenths, for three years ſucceſſively.

SEVERAL princes, and a great number of the nobility, eſpecially of the kingdom of France, put on the croſs. But none did it with ſo much zeal, courage and devotion, as Louis IX. king of France, known ſince by the

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name of S. Louis. The pope founded his greateſt hopes upon that prince: "Our Saviour, ſays the pontif in his letter to the nobility and gentry of the "kingdom, ſeems, out of all the other princes of the world, to have choſen "our deareſt ſon the king of France for the deliverance of the Holy Land, "who, beſides the virtues which diſtinguiſh him ſo highly above other ſo-"vereigns, commands likewiſe a mighty and a warlike nation *." This prince did not ſtay for the pope's inſtances and exhortations to engage him to ſuccour the Chriſtians of the eaſt; as ſoon as he heard of the victory of the Coraſmins, he reſolved to go in perſon to the Holy Land; and, as he was obliged to wait till the affairs of his kingdom would permit him to take ſuch a voyage, he ſent them, in the mean time, large ſupplies of troops and money, which he committed to the care and management of the hoſpitallers and templars.

THEY had received orders in the weſt to ſend into Paleſtine the new knights, and ſuch as were as yet probationers, with a body of ſecular troops, and all the money depoſited in the cheſt of the priories; and the two grand maſters, having recourſe to God to implore the bleſſing of heaven upon their arms, appointed extraordinary faſts, and continual prayers to be offered up throughout the order †.

THESE knights, beſides the king of France's money, and that of the order, brought likewiſe with them a thouſand pound, that Richard ‡ earl of Cornwall dedicated to the defence of the holy places. The two grand maſters ſent afterwards to the ſultan of Egypt, to demand a paſs for two of their knights to be deputed to him on a particular negociation. The deſign of their embaſſy was to redeem out of the hands of the Sarazens, the hoſpitallers and templars that had been taken in the late battel and delivered up to them by the Coraſmins. Formerly both the orders had always looked upon thoſe that ſurrendered priſoners of war, as ſo many dead men; but now, at ſuch a diſmal juncture, the grand maſters did not think it proper to keep up to the ſeverity of this diſcipline: And in hopes of receiving a new re-inforcement from theſe priſoners, they ſent away deputies with a large ſum of money to procure their ranſom. The paſs neceſſary for their ſecurity being delivered, theſe commiſſioners ſet out and arrived at the Egyptian Babylon, or at grand Cairo, places which, by reaſon of their neighbourhood, are very often confounded by hiſtorians. The two knights, to ſmooth the way for ſo extraordinary a negociation, diſtributed ſeveral ſums among the miniſters and favourites of the ſultan; the perſon then poſſeſſed of that dignity was Salech the ſon of Camel, the eldeſt of Saſadine's children, a very politick prince, and formidable to his neighbours. 'Tis to this prince that the inſtitution of that body of troops, called MAMALUCKS, is aſcribed. They were ſo named from an Arabick word, which ſignifies a ſlave that is ſold, becauſe they were children carried off by the Tartars in their excurſions and bought of them by Salech. Of theſe he formed a regiment, out of which he took his principal officers, and they became at laſt ſo powerful, that they appropriated to themſelves the right of chuſing their ſovereign. The deputies of the two military orders acquainted ſultan Salech with the occaſion of their embaſſy, and propoſed entering into a negociation for the ranſome and liberty of their

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* Ut abſtergerentur lacrymæ à maxillis matris noſtræ eccleſiæ deplorantis filios ſuos nuper trucidatos, dominus rex Francorum, hoſpitalarii quoque & templarii milites neophitos & manum armatam cum theſauro non modico illuc ad conſolationem & auxilium ibi commorantium feſtinanter tranſmiſerunt.

† Statuerunt inter ſe orationes & jejunia præter ſolita ſpecialiter pro liberatione Terræ Sanctæ facienda. Matth. Paris.

‡ Comes Richardus ex innatâ ſibi magnificentiâ illuc in ſuccurſum mille libros per hoſpitalarios tranſmiſit. Idem ibid.

brethren. But the ſultan, who had made a ſecret and ſtrict alliance with the emperor Frederic, and beſides knew very well how odious the knights of both orders were to him, “God forbid, ſays he to his miniſters, that I ſhould treat with ſuch a perfidious ſet of men, that would formerly have delivered up their emperor; and though they call one another brethren and companions in arms, have yet, for five years paſt, whenever they met, fallen upon one another with more rage and fury than they ſhew againſt the enemies of their law. Do not we know, adds that prince, what little ſtreſs is to be laid on the words of the templars, and that they were the knights, who, out of antipathy to the hoſpitallers, violated the truce which I had made with the king of England's brother, whom the templars, by way of contempt, called, that little boy? And yet in the late battel we ſaw theſe very templars, thoſe proud and arrogant natures, abandon themſelves to a ſhameful flight, and what never happened in their order before, he that bore the beauſean, or ſtandard of the croſs, in contempt of his duty and the rules of his inſtitution, was the firſt that fled. But this is not the only point in which the templars and hoſpitallers have, for a long time, without any ſcruple, broken the ſtatutes of their profeſſion. Whence is it, for inſtance, that theſe knights, who by their laws ought at moſt to part with only their capuce, or their girdle, for their ranſome, now offer us ſuch great ſums, but to fortify themſelves by their number againſt our power? No, go and tell them, that ſince the divine juſtice has delivered them into my hands, they ſhall never be ſet at liberty as long as I live, and that, following the example of their predeceſſors, I can make no difference between a knight, that is a priſoner, and a knight dead upon the field of battel.”

IN vain did the ſultan's miniſters remonſtrate to him, that he would loſe by this reſolution very conſiderable ſums which he might have for the liberty of the knights. That infidel prince, who was no ſtranger to the differences between the emperor and the pope, and knew to what a degree the knights were devoted to the holy ſee, rejected with obſtinacy and contempt all the offers they could make him. The deputies were obliged to go back as they came, without being able to perſuade the ſultan to any degree of compliance; but before their departure, complaining to that prince's miniſters of the great expence they had been at to no purpoſe in preſents, of which they had the benefit, thoſe miniſters, to make them in a manner ſome ſort of amends, told them, as a ſecret, that there was but one way to procure the priſoners their liberty, which was by the emperor's deſiring it of the ſultan: From whence it is eaſy to infer, ſays Matthew Paris *, the ſtrict amity there was between Frederic and the Mahometan prince. But as the deputies, on the other hand, were ſenſible that the emperor was in war with the pope, and that their ſuperiors could have no correſpondence with that prince, who was actually under ſentence of excommunication, they returned home with grief at leaving their brethren in captivity with the infidels.

S. LOUIS, after he had made a reſolution to march into the eaſt, ſpent two years in regulating all affairs within his kingdom, and in ſecuring it from abroad by a general peace with his neighbours. This prince, after diſcharging thoſe firſt and moſt indiſpenſable duties of a ſovereign, went to S. Denis on June 12. A. D. 1248; attended by Robert count of Artois and Charles count of Anjou his brothers, and received there from Eudes de Chateauroux the pope's legate, the oriflamb, a ſort of ſtandard like a banner, with the alms purſe and the ſtaff, according to the uſual practice of pilgrims. Alphonſus count of Poictiers, the king's third brother, though he had put on the croſs, ſtaid ſome time longer in France with queen Blanche their mother,

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* Ex cujus tenore colligi poteſt quanta familiaritas Fridericum cum ſultanis copulavit. p. 608.

whom the king left regent of the kingdom in his abſence. Louis embarked afterwards at Aiguemortes, a famous port at that time, but now an inland town, four leagues from the ſea which is ſince retired to that diſtance. He ſet ſail Aug. 28. with a favourable wind, and arrived happily in the road of Limiſſo in the iſland of Cyprus on Sept. 17. the ſame year. He was received there by Henry de Luſignan king of the iſle, upon whom the pope, to be revenged on the emperor and prince Conrad his ſon, had lately conferred the title of king of Jeruſalem, under colour of the pretended rights of queen Alice his mother.

The king of France after refreſhing himſelf a few days being impatient to ſignalize his ſeal, propoſed to put to ſea, and ſail for Egypt. He was ſeconded in this motion by ſome noblemen who were concerned in the laſt cruſades, and repreſented to him that if he ſtaid longer in the iſle of Cyprus he would expoſe himſelf and his army to all the inconveniences of a countrey, where the water and air were equally dangerous to ſtrangers: Whereas Egypt afforded at once proper conqueſts to make, and every thing that was neceſſary for life. But the king could not follow his own inclination, by reaſon that part of his army was not yet arrived; beſides the king of Cyprus offered to accompany him with all the gentry of the iſland, if he would allow them the neceſſary time to prepare for ſuch an expedition: So the term of their departure was fixed for the ſpring following.

Sanut. l. 2. p. 2. c. 3.

The pious king employed his ſtay very uſeful in making up the diviſion which a ſpirit of jealouſy occaſioned between the templars, and the hoſpitallers; and he terminated at the ſame time the differences between Hayton king of the Leſſer Armenia, and Bohemund V. prince of Antioch and Tripoli. 'Twas during the king's ſtay in the iſle of Cyprus, that the grand maſter, of the temple and the marſhal of the order of the hoſpitallers, impatient to procure the diſcharge of their knights, that were in the hands of the infidels, wrote to that prince to feel his pulſe, whether he was diſpoſed to enter into an accommodation with the ſultan of Egypt. The holy king, burning with zeal, rejected the propoſal with indignation, and forbade the grand maſter on pain of his diſpleaſure, ever to make him the like again. The grand maſter's enemies gave out that there was a ſecret correſpondence between him and the infidel prince, and that for the cloſer cementing a friendſhip between them, they had cauſed themſelves to be blooded in the ſame porrenger, as if the mixture of their blood would unite their hearts the more firmly to each other. We ſhall not enter into a diſcuſſion of the truth of this laſt fact, which does not appear very probable, eſpecially after the rough manner in which the ſultan had rejected the grand maſter's embaſſadours. We ſhall only obſerve after the Sire de Joinville, that in the treaties of peace and alliance made at that time with the Barbarians, they inſiſted upon this ceremony of being let blood together, of mixing their blood with wine, and even of drinking it ſo. This was practiſed between Baldwin II. and a king of Comania, as the ſeignior de Toucy, an eye witneſs, affirmed to S. Louis. But there is not the leaſt probability that the ſultan, who had juſt before refuſed to treat about the ranſome of the knights, ſhould preſently after make a new alliance with the grand maſter of the temple; 'tis much more reaſonable to think, that the military orders, upon whom the burden of defending Paleſtine lay continually, would have been glad the truce had not been broken, nor a powerful enemy and neighbour provoked under pretence of a new cruſade, which, like moſt of the reſt, after ſome ſlight efforts, would abandon the eaſt, return into France, and leave the whole weight of the war to be ſuſtained by the knights, and the poor remnant of Latin Chriſtians that dwelt in Paleſtine.

Proof XI.

Joinville p. 94.

The king paid very little regard to the repreſentations of the grand maſter: So that after eight months ſtay in the iſle of Cyprus, he embarked with the queen his wife, the counteſs of Anjou, the king of Cyprus, prince Robert and Charles his brothers, the legate and all the perſons of quality on trinity ſunday A.D. 1249; all the fleet ſet ſail, and on the ſixth day arrived before Damiata. The two grand maſters repaired thither afterwards with the choiceſt of their knights. Louis found the bank lined with the ſultan's troops, which pretended to oppoſe his landing; but that prince, tranſported with zeal and courage, threw himſelf firſt into the water ſword in hand, and being followed by his nobles and gentry, charged the infidels and put them to flight. The fugitives carried terrour and conſternation with them into the city, and though that place was reckoned the ſtrongeſt in all Egypt, yet the garriſon abandoned it, and the inhabitants loading themſelves with their moſt valuable effects, ſtole out by night, after firſt ſetting fire to the city, and fled for refuge into the higher Egypt. It was not long before they had an account of this general deſertion: Two ſlaves of the infidels gave them notice about eight a clock in the morning, that the city was abandoned. The king, after taking the neceſſary precautions to be aſſured of the truth of ſo ſurprizing an event, made his entry into the place at the head of his troops; the legate purified the principal Moſque where Te Deum was afterwards ſung with great ſolemnity. The queen, the legate, the patriarch and the biſhops fixed their abode in this city, and the king, fearing the conſequences of the Nile's inundation, and inſtructed by the misfortunes, which the legate Pelagius's obſtinacy had brought upon the army of John de Brienne and the troops of the cruſade, reſolved to paſs the reſt of the ſummer there, the exceſſive heats, of that ſeaſon not allowing an army in that countrey to keep the field.

Alphonsus count of Poitiers the king's brother, whom that prince had left in France, embarked the twenty ſixth of Auguſt with the princeſs Jane his wife, only daughter of Raimond count of Tholouſe, and they arrived two months after at Damiata. The count of Poitiers landed with a ſtrong reinforcement called by Joinville the arriere-ban of France, the arrival of which augmented the king's zeal and courage. That prince ſaw himſelf at the head of a mighty army, ſuſtained by the two military orders who knew the countrey, and the method of making war among the infidels; the ſea was open, the mouth of the Nile free for the receiving of new ſuccours, and terrour and conſternation ſeemed to have ſeized the enemy.

Joinville p. 25.

The only point was to determine whether they ſhould go and attack them in Alexandria or in grand Cairo it ſelf. Peter de Dreux, the old count of Bretagne, was of opinion that they ſhould turn their arms firſt againſt Alexandria, the port whereof would be of a great advantage for the fleet and convoys. But the count of Artois declared himſelf for the ſiege of grand Cairo, out of a notion that the taking of the capital would be attended with the ſurrender of other places, whereas the reducing of Alexandria, would not, he ſaid, exempt the army from forming afterwards the ſiege of Cairo. This reaſon prevailed, or perhaps the obſtinacy and haughtineſs with which that prince uſually maintained his opinion. Grand Cairo was about fifty leagues from Damiata, and about the mid-way they were to paſs by the town of Maſſoure, where the infidels were intrenched on the banks of a branch of the Nile called the Thanis.

Joinville p. 27.

The king marched from Damiata at the head of his army on Nov. 20, and upon the road received advice of the ſultan's death, occaſioned by a gangrene in one of his legs. But the common people, who will never allow that princes die like other men or of ordinary deaths, reported that he was poiſoned

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by a valet de chambre bribed for that purpoſe by the ſultan of Damaſcus his enemy. But be that as it will, the army marched on continually, without meeting indeed any oppoſition in their march, but withal without finding any proviſions in the neighbourhood. The countrey was deſerted and abandoned; a profound ſolitude reigned on all ſides, and there was no appearance of any enemy in the field. This tranquillity did not laſt long; as the Chriſtians drew near to Maſſoure, they were infeſted day and night with skirmiſhes. Every day produced a new engagement, and they narrowly eſcaped the treachery of ſome Sarazens, who pretending to be deſerters, had like to have ſurprized the templars. Five hundred Egyptian horſe, under ſome pretence or other coming to ſubmit themſelves to the king, that prince received them, and having no miſtruſt, left them together in a body: They marched too generally in the van, as knowing the countrey better than the weſtern troops. The army after a month's march drew near the arm of the Nile, which is called Thanis, when theſe traitours ſeeing a ſquadron of the templars farther advanced than the reſt, drew their ſcymiters, and charged them ſuddenly. But they had to do with warriours that were never frighted at the number of their enemies: The ſquadron ſtood their ground, the knights fought with their uſual valour, and gave time for their comrades to come up to their ſuccour. The infidels were ſoon ſurrounded on all ſides; the traitors were cut in pieces, all died by the ſword, except ſuch as attempting to croſs the Thanis to join their army, were drowned in that canal.

Joinville p. 35.

THE king foreſeeing that the difficulty of the paſſage might detain him a long while in that angle, which is performed by two arms of the Nile, took care to fortify his camp there. This precaution was neceſſary againſt enemies who advanced every hour to attack him even in his intrenchments. As he had a large, deep and unfordable channel, the king attempted to raiſe a bank or cauſeway, but the infidels continually interrupted his work by their wildfire which burnt his machines. At laſt an Arabian, a Bedouin, for the ſum of five hundred beſans of gold, ſhewed him a ford, upon which the count of Artois deſired leave of the king to paſs over firſt, and in order to obtain it, engaged, provided he had the templars and hoſpitallers with him, to ſecure the paſſage for the reſt of the army. The king fearing the young prince ſhou'd truſt too much to his courage, and thro' an eager deſire of glory, ſhould engage himſelf too far among the enemies, made him ſwear upon the goſpels, that he would attempt nothing till the whole army was paſſed; and for the greater precaution, he ordered that the templars and hoſpitallers, when they were on the other ſide, ſhould lead the van, and be put at the head of all the troops, that were to march under the count his brother's orders.

Joinville. p. 41.
Matt. Paris p. 789.

THAT prince at break of day ſet out for the ford at the head of about one thouſand four hundred horſe compoſed of the templars and hoſpitallers, and two hundred Engliſh knights commanded by William earl of Saliſbury, who was come at their head to the ſuccour of the Holy Land. All theſe troops following the Bedouin for their guide, threw themſelves into the water with a reſolute courage. The deſcent was eaſy, and the bottom firm and ſolid: But there was more difficulty in getting out at the place of landing, by reaſon that the bank was ſteep and of a great height. The count of Artois with his troop, landed the firſt in ſpite of three hundred horſe of the enemies, that were minded to oppoſe his paſſage. He charged them at his landing, and as there was no equality in the match, the Sarazens as ſoon as they ſaw him over, disbanded and ran galloping back to their camp.

THE count forgetting the oath and the word he had given the king his

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ancient or rather the ſeignior of the mountain, and whom we have ſpoken of before, ſent two deputies to demand of him the preſents which that vile captain of banditti uſed to exact from princes by way of tribute for not aſſaſſinating them. "The emperor of Germany, ſays one of theſe envoys to him, the king of Hungary, the ſultan of Egypt, and all other princes have not failed to make him this acknowledgment, knowing well that they ſhould live no longer than our prince pleaſed: He gives you notice therefore to ſubmit like them to the ſame cuſtom, or at leaſt to procure him a diſcharge of the tribute which he pays to the grand maſters of the temple and hoſpital." They were asked, ſays Joinville, why they did not make away with the two grand maſters who forced them to pay that tribute. "If our lord, replied they, ſhould cauſe one of theſe grand maſters to be killed, there will ſoon be another as good in his room, and therefore he will not expoſe his men to danger where nothing is to be got by it." The king diſdaining to give an anſwer to ſuch barbarians, ſent them to the two grand maſters; and Peter de Villebride, who underſtood their language, and knew how to deal with theſe banditti, taking upon him to be the ſpokeſman, "Your maſter, ſays he to them, is very bold to offer ſuch propoſals to a king of France; if we had not a reſpect for your character as envoys, we would have you thrown this moment into the ſea; get you gone, and tell the ſeignior of the mountain, that if he does not in fifteen days time ſend the king letters to acknowledge and make ſatisfaction for his inſolence, he will have the knights of the two orders upon his back."

Joinville p. 85 & 86.

THE apprehenſion of their reſentment made him afraid, who uſed to make the generality of monarchs tremble: He ſent back within the fifteen days the ſame deputies, who brought the king in his name a ſhirt, to ſignify that he would be attach'd to him as cloſely as a ſhirt ſticks to an human body, and they preſented him at the ſame time a gold ring, in which the name of their maſter was engraved, which very probably he ſent him as a protection.

THE Sire de Joinville, from whom I have taken this paſſage, relates another which is indeed much leſs conſiderable, and even inſignificant enough, if any thing can be ſo that is uſeful to give us a right notion of the diſcipline of the order in thoſe ancient times. That lord, in the life he has left us of S. Louis, writes, that whilſt he attended upon the king in the town of Acre, ſome French gentlemen and knights who were come into the Holy Land under his banner, going not far from the town to hunt antilopes, a ſort of wild goat common in that countrey, they were met by ſome hoſpitallers, and a diſpute ariſing about the game, they came to blows, and the French were ſeverely handled.

1251.

THE lord of Joinville complained immediately to the grand maſter; 'twas William de Chateauneuf, whom we mentioned before, a Frenchman by nation, an old knight, a rigid obſerver of the regular diſcipline, who after paſſing through all the offices of the order, had lately ſucceeded brother Peter de Villebride. This new grand maſter having examined into the affair, condemned his knights to eat in the refectory on the ground upon their mantles, according to the cuſtom and practice, ſays Joinville, of the Holy Land; and he adds, "I was there preſent with the knights, and we deſired the maſter to make the brothers get up off their mantles; which he refuſed, but at laſt we forced him to it, for we ſeated ourſelves upon the ground by them, in order to eat with them, but they would not ſuffer it, nay, they were obliged to get up from us to go and eat with the other brothers at the table, leaving us their mantles, probably by way of ſatisfaction and reparation."

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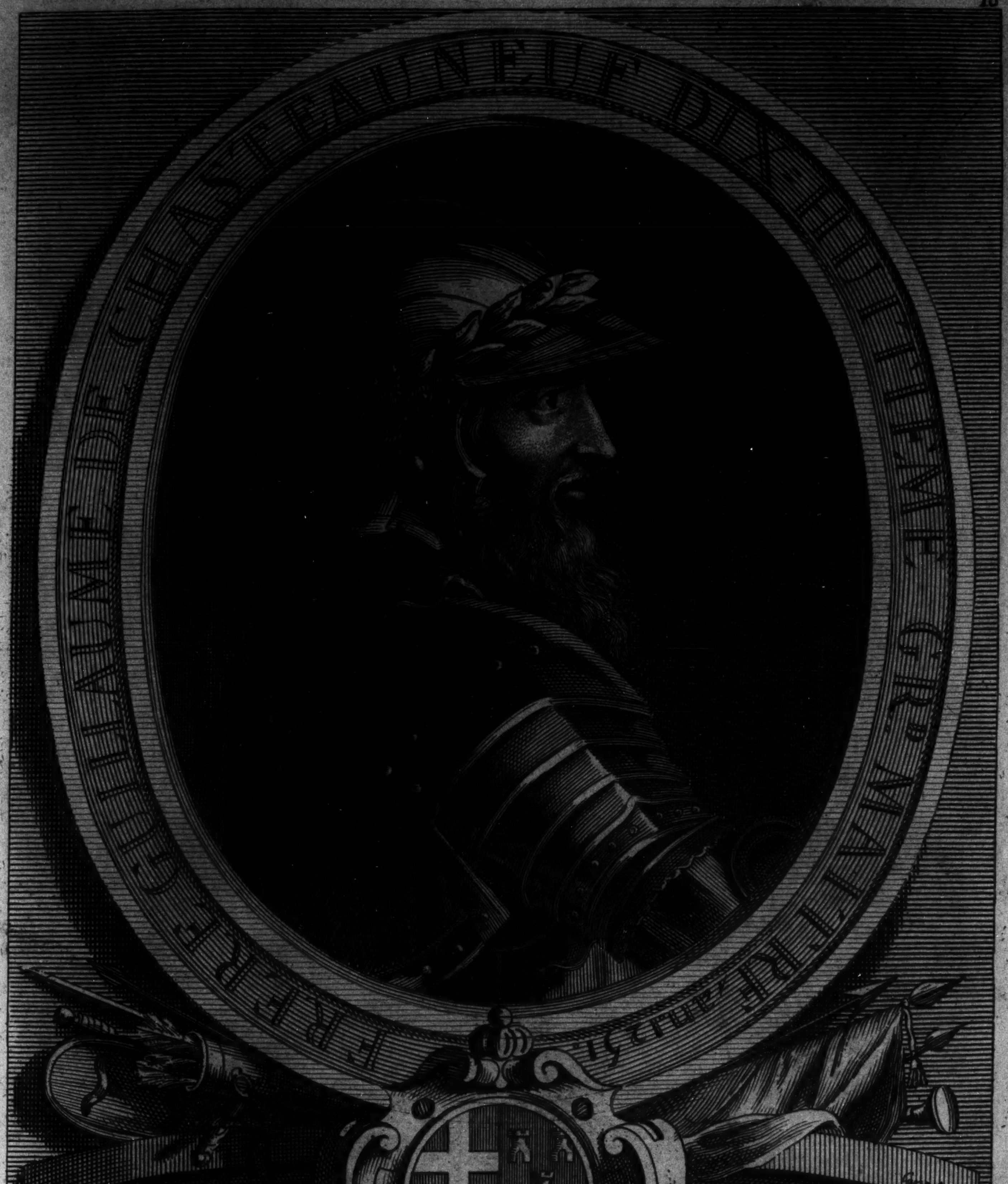
FRERE GUILLAUME DE CHASTEAUNEUF DIX HUITIEME GR.D MAITRE, ann. 1251

WILLIAM DE CHATEAU-NEUF.

THEY kept a profound ſilence in the refectories of the order, pious and edifying leſſons ſupplied the place of converſation, and it was owing only to the inſtances and remonſtrances of brother Rambault prior of Hungary, that pope Innocent IV. who was then in the chair of S. Peter, permitted the hoſpitallers of that nation to break ſilence in the refectory, whenever they were obliged to receive any ſecular perſons eminent for their birth or dignities.

SUCH was the regular diſcipline of this order at the time that S. Louis was ſummoned back into France by the death of queen Blanche his mother regent of the kingdom in his abſence. That prince, after fortifying S. John d'Acre, rebuilding Saide, Cæſarea and Jaffa, and leaving a conſiderable ſuccour of troops and money in the countrey, embarked on April 24, 1254, fraught with the bleſſings and prayers of all the people; and after having been equally the admiration of the Sarazens and of the Chriſtians for his valour in action, and an invincible conſtancy under his misfortunes. 1254.

WHATEVER expence that holy king had been at, and whatever precautions he had taken to put the few places left the Chriſtians in the Holy Land into a ſtate of defence, the pope being juſtly alarmed at his departure, recommended the preſervation thereof, in a particular manner, to the hoſpitallers; and, to engage them to it the more, he not only confirmed all the privileges granted by his predeceſſors to the order, but alſo under a notion of recompenſing the eſſential ſervices they were continually doing to all Chriſtendom, he beſtowed upon them the monaſtery of mount Thabor, built upon that mountain in the manner of a fortreſs, with the caſtle of Bethany, where queen Meliſenda, wife of king Fulk of Anjou, had formerly founded a convent for nuns, who, after the loſs of Jeruſalem, had retired into Europe.

IF we conſider the ſituation of the places, and the neighbourhood of the Sarazens, theſe grants were not ſo much favours as engagements to freſh perils. The grand maſter, without any regard to the dangerous ſituation of thoſe places, put ſeveral detachments of his knights into them: He afterwards fortified the caſtle of Crac in the county of Tripoli, which had, for a conſiderable time, belonged to the order; and as the grand maſter's only view was to repreſs the inroads of the infidels, he put a hundred knights, with ſome troops in pay of the order, into the caſtle of Aſſur, which ſerved as a frontier garriſon in reſpect of the lands which the Sarazens poſſeſſed in Paleſtine.

CARES, ſo becoming his dignity, and the valour of his knights, could not fail of the juſteſt encomiums, if theſe knights and the templars had not at that time, in contempt of the duties of their profeſſion and the laws of chriſtianity turned their arms againſt one another. Their old animoſities revived; whether ſtrong or weak, they attacked one another wherever they met; in fine, theſe two bodies, ſo formidable to the infidels, came to a ſort of battel and general engagement. The fortune of war proved no ways favourable to the templars; not a man was taken priſoner, but the hoſpitallers cut in pieces all that came within the reach of their ſwords: Scarce, ſays the eccleſiaſtical hiſtorian*, was there left a templar to carry the news of their defeat to the reſt of their order. The

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* Concitante enim humani generis hoſte, imbutos mutuo odio ex inſana æmulatione concepto animos, hoſpitalarii tantam templariorum ſtragem edidere, ut vix acceptæ cladis nuntius ſupereſſet. Rain. ad ann. 1259. n. 61.

WILLIAM DE CHATEAU-NEUF.

remnant of the templars in the Holy Land not finding themſelves ſtrong enough to revenge the diſgrace, ſent a general ſummons to their brethren in the weſt; and what is moſt ſurprizing in this civil war, as it may be called, where matters were carried to ſuch a height of fury and malicious reſentment, is, that excepting the frequent battels and encounters occaſioned by the jealouſy and miſunderſtanding ſo long ſubſiſting between them, there was ſtill kept up in their houſes, the ſame ſpirit of charity to the poor and pilgrims, and the ſame zeal for the defence of the Chriſtians of Paleſtine. It were to have been wiſhed their emulation had never taken another turn.

1260.
HUGH DE REVEL.

THE grand maſter de Chateauneuf died about this time, and upon his death was ſucceeded by brother Hugh de Revel, of a noble family in Dauphiny, upon which he reflected a new luſtre by his wiſe conduct in the government. During the eighteen years that he was grand maſter, the order was put under a new regulation with regard to its temporalties, we have obſerved that all the eſtates of the order were managed by knights that were accomptable for the profits, and, after taking what was neceſſary for their own ſubſiſtence, were obliged to remit the reſt to the ſupreme houſe and treaſury of the order. But as the expences of theſe adminiſtrators often ſwallowed up the whole income, and beſides, the order, to provide ſupplies for the immenſe charge of a continual war, ſtood in need of a fixed and certain revenue, they reſolved, in a general chapter held at Cæſarea, upon a rate of the ſums which each houſe was to ſend to the Holy Land and pay into the treaſury; and becauſe in the obediences and commiſſions given afterwards to the knights intruſted with this adminiſtration, they made uſe of this expreſſion: We recommend theſe eſtates to you Commendamus, &c. this particular adminiſtration of each houſe was ſtyled Commendataria, from whence came the name of commandery, and the title of commander.

Pantaleon hiſt. l. 3. p. 82.

YET this title was not then given for life, it might be ſuperſeded, and was ſubſtituted inſtead of that of preceptor, which had been made uſe of till that time.

THESE commanderies were afterwards ranged under different priories. The prior was obliged to overſee them, and ſend to the Holy Land, either in troops or money, the ordinary contributions of each commandery within his priory, which were ſtyled Reſponſions, and might be raiſed according to the occaſions of the order, and purſuant to the regulations and decrees of the general chapter.

THE chapter then held at Cæſarea, to inforce this principle of not converting the revenues of the order to a private uſe, a principle founded upon the vow of poverty, to which all the knights had bound themſelves, forbad them to make wills, to appoint heirs, or bequeath any legacies. By this ſtatute, they were not ſo much as allowed to leave by will any extraordinary gratification to their ſervants, without the expreſs conſent of the grand maſter. Such was the diſcipline of the order at that time, neceſſary indeed, not only in regard to their vow of poverty, but likewiſe on account of the continual wars which the order was engaged in againſt the infidels: We are now going to enter upon times ſtill more diſmal wherein theſe military friars continued to give new proofs of their zeal and valour.

BENDOCDAR, who had ſo eminent a ſhare in the defeat of Robert count of Artois, reigned at that time in Egypt: He was the fourth

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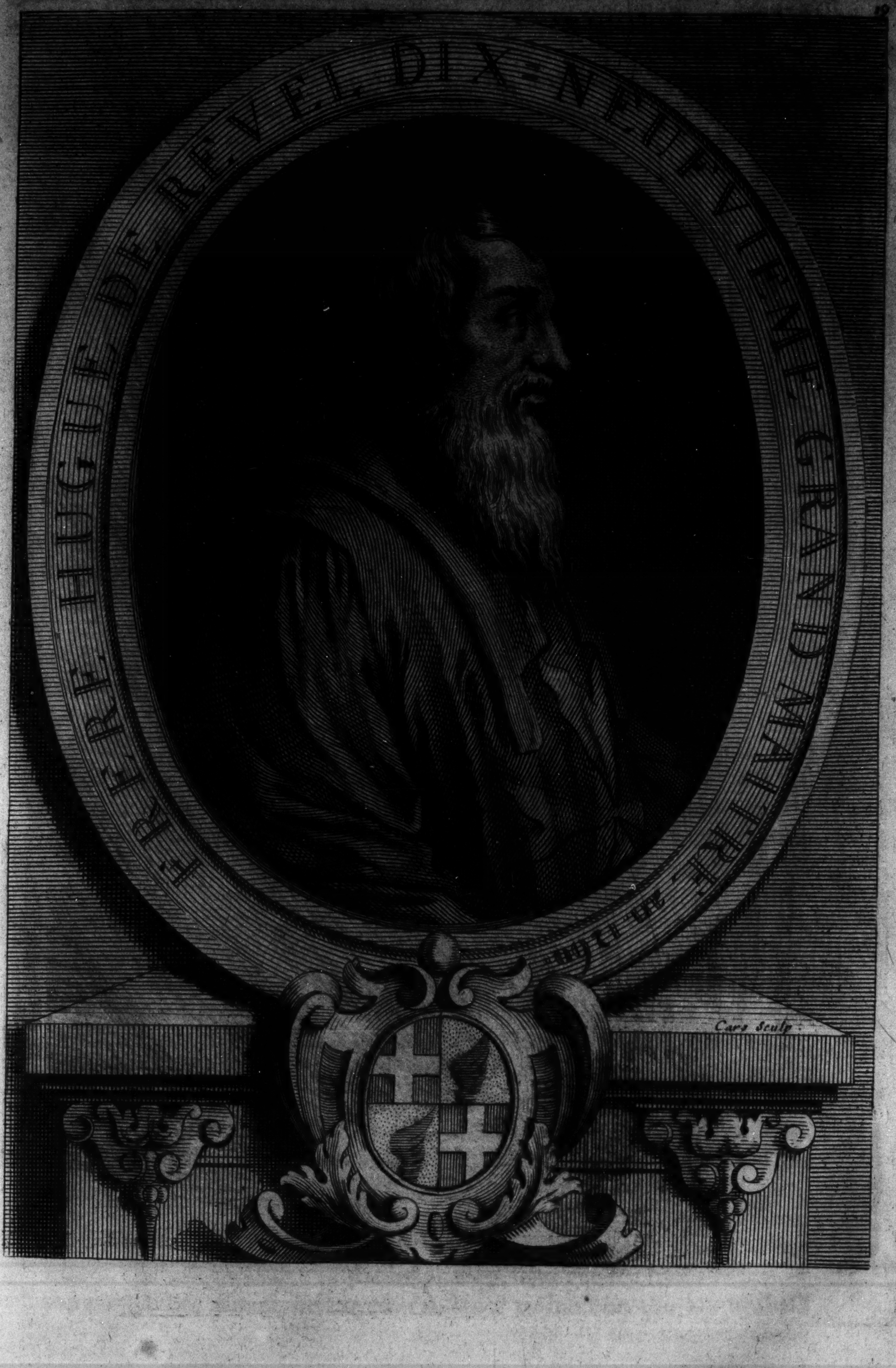
FRERE HUGUE DE REVEL DIX=NEUFVIEME GRAND MAITRE. an. 1260
Cars Sculp.

of the Mamalucks that had been raiſed to the throne, and he got poſſeſſion of it by the death of Melech-Elvahet, whom he cauſed to be aſſaſſinated under pretence that the ſultan would not break the truce which he had made with the Latin Chriſtians of Paleſtine.

1263. BENDOCDAR being choſen to ſucceed him by the Mamalucks, ſignalized his acceſſion to the crown by a bloody war which he made upon the Chriſtians, and particularly upon the knights of the two orders. The ſultan of Babylon ſays pope Urban IV. writing to S. Louis, is come, contrary to the faith of treaties, to encamp between mount Thabor and Naim, and his troops, in hatred of the Chriſtian name, deſtroy all with fire and ſword up to the gates of Acre: He has demoliſhed the church of Nazareth, and that of mount Thabor. His ſoldiers kill indifferently all that they meet, without diſtinction of age or ſex. The fate of ſuch as dye by the ſword of the Barbarians is now no longer to be lamented; there are no ſorts of torments, but they inflict 'em on their priſoners to force them to change their religion. Rain. ad. ann. 1263. n. 1, 2.

THE ſultan reſolving to drive the Chriſtians entirely out of Paleſtine, laid ſiege to the fortreſs of Aſſur which belonged to the order of the hoſpitallers. It was one of the ſtrongeſt places in Paleſtine, and the grand maſter, beſides the garriſon, had put ninety knights into it, who were all killed one after another in the ſeveral attacks; and when the ſultan at laſt entered, it was over the corpſe of theſe intrepid knights, who died on the breach, and glorying in their obedience received the enemy with pleaſure, and went joyfully to their death, Sanut. l. 3. par. 12. c. 8. 1265.

THE templars met with no better treatment in the year following, nor did they ſhew themſelves leſs valiant and faithful to their religion. They were in poſſeſſion of another fortreſs, called Sephet. Bendocdar beſieged it, and after an obſtinate defence, the prior of the temple who was governour of it, ſeeing all his works ruined, was obliged to capitulate. It was ſtipulated by the capitulation that he ſhou'd be convoyed with his knights, and the reſt of his garriſon which ſtill made ſix hundred men, to the neareſt place belonging to the Chriſtians. But the ſultan, as ſoon as he ſaw himſelf maſter of Sephet, cauſed them all to be diſarmed, and allowed them only till the next night to reſolve either to die or turn Mahometans. The prior of the temple who was a holy monk, aſſiſted by two Franciſcans, employed that little time ſo well, and exhorted his brethren and ſoldiers with ſo much zeal and piety to prefer a crown of martyrdom before a momentary life. diſhonoured by a ſhameful apoſtaſy, that they all the next day readily offered themſelves to the ſlaughter, rather than change their religion. The ſultan provoked at their firmneſs, and at the conſtancy of the prior of the temple, after having tempted him in vain with the offer of riches and honours, ordered him to be * ſlayed alive, and, as if he was afraid he might ſurvive ſo horrible a torture, commanded his head to be chopped off. He inflicted the ſame torments on the two Franciſcan friars, that had ſerved as chaplains in the place. “ By the death “ of ſo many knights of both orders, ſays pope Clement IV. in one of his “ letters, the noble college of the hoſpitallers, and the illuſtrious militia of “ the temple are almoſt deſtroyed; and not to inſiſt on the loſs of theſe “ two fortreſſes, and of the arms and equipages of the knights, how PROOF XIII.

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* Poſt hos verò fratrem Jacobum de Podio & fratrem Jeremiam, quia cæteros in fide firmaverant, & priorem templariorum excoriari fecerunt, deinde fuſtigari, poſtremò ad locum cæterorum deducti capite cæſi ſunt. Sanut. ib.

“ ſhall

HUGH DE REVEL.

" ſhall we be able after this, to find gentlemen and perſons of quality e-" nough to ſupply the places of ſuch as have periſhed on theſe two oc-" caſions"?

THOUGH the cotemporary hiſtorians from the time of the twelfth century, gave the title of grand to the maſter of the hoſpitallers, as may be ſeen in this hiſtory, yet the popes, either in conformity to ancient uſage, or on account of their own ſupreme dignity, never ſpoke of the ſuperiour general in any higher terms than that of maſter of the hoſpitallers of S. 1267. John. 'Twas pope Clement IV. whom we have juſt now mentioned, that in a thorough ſenſe of the ſervices of the hoſpitallers, gave their head the title of grand maſter, as may be ſeen in a brief of that pontif, bearing date Nov. 18. A. D. 1267. and this pope in another bull adds. " The " brothers of the hoſpital of S. John of Jeruſalem, ought to be regarded " as the Maccabees of the new teſtament. Thoſe noble knights have " generouſly renounced the pleaſures of the world, and abandoned " their countrey, and eſtates and fortunes, to take up the croſs and " put themſelves under the banner of Jeſus Chriſt. They are the inſtru-" ments which the Saviour of mankind makes uſe of daily to purge his " church of the abominations of the infidels, and they bravely expoſe " their lives to the greateſt dangers for the defence of pilgrims and Chri-" ſtians." Thus does the pope expreſs himſelf in his bull dated from Viterbo on the fourth of the kalends of June and in the firſt year of his 1269. pontificate.

BUT how honourable ſoever theſe elogiums and titles were, the Holy Land and the orders in particular, preſſed and overwhelmed in a manner by the formidable power of Bendocdar, ſtood in need of ſomething more March. 7. 1268. effectual for their ſuccour, than barren praiſes. The ſultan improving the conſternation the Chriſtians were in, had lately reduced Jaffa; and ſome April. 15. days after he took the caſtle of Beaufort. But the moſt important con-May. 19. queſt that he made was that of the famous city of Antioch, which did not coſt him ſo much as the trouble and expence of a ſiege. He became maſter of it by the treaſon of the patriarch, others ſay, by the cowardice of the inhabitants. They did not however meet with any better treatment; whether the ſultan delighted in blood or was minded to leſſen the number of Chriſtian inhabitants in that great city, he put ſeventeen thouſand of them to the ſword, and carried off an hundred thouſand into ſlavery.

BENDOCDAR after this turned his arms againſt the fortreſs of Crac, which belonged to the order of S. John. The knights held out near two months againſt all the power of that prince, like their brethren that defended Aſſur; and rejecting all motions of capitulation, they died upon the breach, nor did the ſultan enter the place till the laſt of theſe noble warriours was ſlain.

1270. SUCH was the condition of the Holy Land, without a ſovereign, without an army, without ſuccour, without any reſource in nature but the military orders, who were overwhelmed by the prodigious armies of the infidels. I would willingly draw a veil over theſe diſmal paſſages, if the laws of hiſtory did not oblige me to relate equally events of different natures, and bad ſucceſsas well as the good.

NOTWITHSTANDING theſe continual wars and amidſt the noiſe of arms, the grand maſter, who was as intent on keeping up the regular diſcipline as on the defence of the places entruſted to the valour of his knights, called

led and held no leſs than five general chapters, where he made ſeveral very uſeful regulations, and confirmed at the ſame time the antient uſages of the order; among which we find that for the admiſſion of a knight, it was neceſſary that he ſhou'd be born in lawful wedlock, and be deſcended both by the father and mother's ſide, of noble families, noble by arms as well as name. The ſame condition was required likewiſe with regard to the nuns of the order; and in one of theſe chapters, the caſtellan of Emposta was empowered to admit and receive the profeſſion of ſuch ladies as gave proof of their being truly called and deſired to be received, as well in the priory of Sixenne, as in the other Nunneries that depended on his caſtellany and priory. A decree paſſed in the ſame chapters and under the grand maſterſhip of de Revel againſt giving the habit to any monk who had been profeſſed in another order. In fine, by the regulations there made, the hoſpitallers could not chuſe any ſtrange confeſſors that were not of the order, without an expreſs permiſſion from the prior of the church, the ſuperiour of their chaplains, who acted as biſhop and ordinary of the order, enjoying that authority in virtue of ſome papal conceſſions, and wearing the epiſcopal ornaments when he officiated.

Hugh de Revel.

From theſe monaſtick cares and regulations, the grand maſter paſſed to others of greater importance, concerning the preſervation and defence of the Holy Land; and in concert with the grand maſter of the templars, he made a truce with the ſultan of Egypt, in hopes of improving that ceſſation of arms to obtain ſuccours from the weſt, without which it was impoſſible for the Latin Chriſtians to maintain their ground any longer in Paleſtine.

Both the grand maſters went thereupon into Italy to ſolicit in a warmer and more effectual manner. The advancement of Thealde or Theobald archdeacon of Liege to the throne of S. Peter, was the motive that determined them to take that voyage. The cardinals after ſuffering the holy ſee to continue vacant for two years and nine months without coming to any reſolution about the perſon to be appointed viſible head of the church, agreed at laſt in the choice of Theobald archdeacon of Liege, of the noble houſe of Viſconti, and his piety having carried him at that time to the Holy Land, they ſent him the inſtrument of his election thither. There could not have been a better witneſs of the extremity and real neceſſities of the Chriſtians in that countrey. This holy pope was deeply affected with them, and before his departure, promiſed the grand maſters to uſe all the authority which God had then given him in the church for the procuring them ſuccours. It is ſaid that as he went on board the ſhip that was to carry him into Italy, to confirm his promiſe, he broke out into this expreſſion of the one hundred and thirty ſixth pſalm; O Jeruſalem, holy city, if I ever forget thee, let me be blotted out of the remembrance of men.

'Twas to this pontif who took the name of Gregory X. that the two grand maſters who followed ſoon after him, applied themſelves upon their arrival in Italy. He had already prevented their inſtances and remonſtrances, for as ſoon as ever he landed, neglecting all the compliments of the cardinals and courtiers, he employed himſelf in nothing for eight days together but in finding out expedients and means to ſuccour the Holy Land. He immediately ſecured twelve galleys well manned, of which Piſa, Genoa, Marſeilles and Venice were to

Rainaldi ad ann. 1272. n. 7. & 8.

furniſh each of them three. To ſupply the charge of the war, he borrowed twenty five thouſand marks of ſilver of Philip the Hardy king of France ſon of S. Louis, the templars mortgaging to that prince all the lands, which they poſſeſſed in his dominions, for the payment of the money.

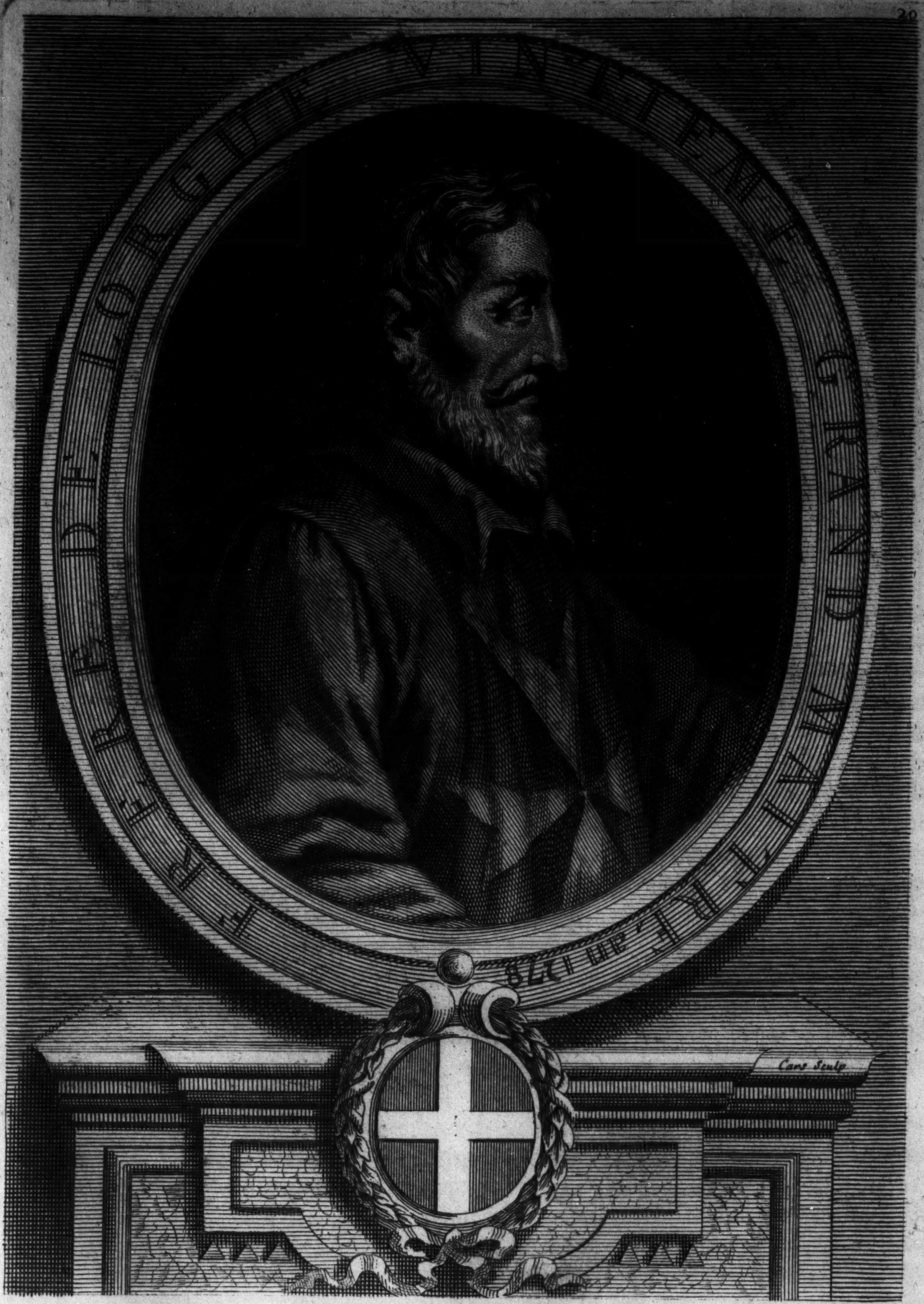
The two grand maſters arriving in Italy heard with great ſatiſfaction of the meaſures which the pope had already taken in favour of the Holy Land. However after kiſſing his feet they repreſented to him that this ſuccour might indeed put off for ſome time the loſs of the few places which the Chriſtians had left; but that there muſt be a more conſiderable force, if he had any thoughts of driving the infidels entirely out of Paleſtine.

The pope gave into their views, and after conferring with the cardinals on this ſubject, he called a general council at Lyons, as the ſureſt means of exciting the zeal of the faithful, and procuring a new cruſade. This we learn from a letter of that pontif to Philip III. ſurnamed the Hardy king of France, "During the ſtay we made in the "Holy Land, ſays Gregory in his letter, we conferred with the leaders "of the Chriſtian army, with the templars and hoſpitallers and with "the great men of the countrey about the means of preventing its total ruin. We have diſcourſed on the ſame ſubject ſince with our "brethren the cardinals, and we find that ſome relief muſt be ſent "away immediately in the galleys, till a more conſiderable ſuccour can "be raiſed, which we hope to obtain by the meeting of a general "council".

1274. This council was not held till A. D. 1274. The pope was preſent there, and it was opened on May 2. He would have the two grand maſters appear alſo to make a repreſentation in perſon of the deplorable condition of the Holy Land: And if we may believe an old manuſcript entituled, the ceremonial of the cardinals, which is kept in the vatican library, number 4734, that pontif aſſigned them an eminent place in the council above all the embaſſadors, the peers of France and other great lords, that were come to this famous aſſembly.

'Tis not my buſineſs to relate what paſſed in the ſeveral ſeſſions of this council; I ſhall only obſerve that in the laſt it was reſolved that the cruſade ſhould be preached up over all Chriſtendom, and to furniſh the vaſt expence that ſuch an armament required, a conſiderable tax was laid upon all eccleſiaſtical dignities, and benefices by way of tenths payable in ſix years.

Philip king of France had already put on the croſs. Rodolph who of a private count of Hapsburg had been a little before elected emperour of Germany, received the ſame from the hands of the pope: And Michael Palæologus, who had ſurprized Conſtantinople in A. D. 1261, in order to be acknowledged emperour by the weſtern princes, offered to join his forces to thoſe of the cruſade, and to put on the croſs himſelf. But no body did it with more zeal than Charles duke of Anjou, brother to S. Louis and king of the two Sicilies, who laid claim to the kingdom of Jeruſalem, in virtue of a conveyance and ceſſion made him in this very council by Mary princeſs of Antioch, daughter of Bohemund IV. and of the princeſs Meleſinda, though Hugh III. king of Cyprus maintained that the crown of Jeruſalem belonged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FRERE DE LORGUE VINTIEME GRAND MAITRE, an 1278
Cars Sculp

HUGH DE REVEL.

belonged to him, as deſcended in a right line from Alice of Champagne, daughter of Henry count of Champagne, and Iſabel, daughter of Amaury the third, king of Jeruſalem. This prince was crowned king in the city of Tyre, and the king of Sicily on his ſide, till he could go in perſon to the Holy Land to take poſſeſſion of the poor remnant of that miſerable kingdom, ſent Roger de S. Severin thither as his lieutenant. The barons of the kingdom were divided between the two pretenders, and the grand maſter of the templars, at his return from the council, declared himſelf for the king of Sicily. But the grand maſter de Revel and the knights of S. John continued neuter, agreeable to their rule and the ſtatutes of the order, proteſting that they were not allowed to take up arms againſt any Chriſtian prince whatever. This conduct, though equally wiſe and equitable, drew upon them the reſentment of Charles of Anjou, who ſeized all the effects and poſſeſſions of the order in his dominions.

Bendocdar would not have failed to make his advantage of theſe fatal diſſenſions, which divided all the Latin Chriſtians of Paleſtine; but he died about this time of a wound that he received in a battel, wherein he was defeated by the ſucceſſors of Genchizcan.

1278. **Historians** aſſign the year following for the death of the grand maſter Hugh de Revel, who was worn out with the cares and fatigues of government, and with the terrible apprehenſions of thoſe deplorable calamities which he foreſaw muſt ſoon happen. The knights, aſſembling a chapter in their houſe of S. John d'Acre, choſe in his ſtead brother Nicholas Lorgue, a knight of a good natured and inſinuating temper, who uſed his utmoſt endeavours, during his adminiſtration, to put an end to the diviſions between the knights of his own order and thoſe of the temple.

NICHOLAS LORGUE.

Though the truce which the two grand maſters had made with Bendocdar, before their departure for the weſt, was ſtill in force; a captain of Melec-Sais, his ſucceſſor, either by ſecret orders from his maſter, or out of a pillaging humour, made incurſions notwithſtanding, and ravaged the countrey up to the gates of Margat, a fortreſs belonging to the knights of S. John.

1278. **The** knights, ſurprized at this inroad in a time of truce, ſallied out of the place in good order, attacked the pillagers, and cut the greateſt part of them in pieces. The ſultan, eager to have his revenge, ſent a ſtronger party, making a body of five thouſand men, into the neighbourhood of the place. The knights made a ſecond ſally, but before they advanced againſt the enemy, they left part of the garriſon near the gates of the city in ambuſh, to ſecure their retreat. They then marched ſtreight againſt the enemy, and, after a ſlight ſkirmiſh, retired with all the appearance of fear, as if they had been diſmayed at the ſuperiour numbers of the infidels. The Sarazens, full of confidence and preſumption on this occaſion, preſſed hard upon them, the knights continuing to retire before them till they had drawn them beyond the ambuſcade: Then they made head, and charged them in front, whilſt the troops that were in ambuſh came out, and, ſetting up a great ſhout, attacked the infidels in the rear; who, being ſurprized, and marching moſt of them without any order or precaution, as if it had been to a certain victory, were ſoon broken and routed, after a very faint oppoſition. The Sarazens fled for their lives: Vaſt numbers of them were killed, and ſeveral taken priſoners with the emir that commanded the detachment.

The ſultan, nettled at this laſt defeat, reſolved to be revenged by the utter ruin and deſtruction of the fortreſs; but important affairs detaining him in his own territories, he could not execute his deſign till three years after, when he inveſted the place with a formidable army. The grand maſter always kept a large body of troops there. Melec-Sais tried at firſt to take the place by ſcalado. His ſoldiers advanced with ladders to the walls, and attempted to mount to the top; but they found the ſame courage and oppoſition in all places. The knights ſuffered them to mount, only that they might have the greater fall; ſtones, fire-works, boiling water, every thing was made uſe of on this occaſion; and the ſultan, after loſing great numbers of his men, was forced to order the ſounding a retreat. That prince found himſelf obliged to carry on his approaches in form; he opened trenches before it, and battered the walls with engines for throwing ſtones, and ſuch other machines as were in uſe at that time. But they advanced ſlowly; the knights were continually making ſallies, and, after clearing the trenches, carried terrour oftentimes into the heart of the infidel's camp. They burnt all his engines more than once, and would have forced the ſultan to raiſe the ſiege, had they not been ſurprized by a ſecret enemy, againſt which there was no defence.

Whilst Melec-Sais was amuſing them, as we may ſay, with falſe attacks, his troops were at work day and night in digging mines, which they carried on to the walls of the place; ſo that they were ſupported only by ſome props of wood. He then ſummonned the governor and garriſon to ſurrender. They received the ſummons with raillery, and asked the officer if his maſter thought himſelf obliged to make them ſuch a compliment before he raiſed the ſiege. But they were ſoon forced to change their note: The officer told them that the fortreſs was all undermined; and offered to carry them into the mine and ſhew them that the ſultan had nothing to do but to ſet fire to the props, and open himſelf a paſſage into the place. The governor thereupon ſent two knights along with the officer, who were immediately convinced of the truth of his account. There was no remedy but to treat and give up the place, and as ſoon as the knights were marched out, the ſultan cauſed it to be razed, to deprive them of all hopes of recovering it in a more favourable juncture.

1285.
Pantaleon l. 3. p. 85.

A certain hiſtorian tells us, that ſome German knights that were concerned in defending this place, to preſerve the memory of it, built afterwards in their own countrey a fortreſs on the ſame plan, calling it Mergatheim, which, after the order of S. John had enjoyed it for a long time, fell at laſt into the hands of the Teutonick knights.

The ſultan, after the taking of Margat, ſeized on the caſtle of Laodicea, and was preparing for the ſiege of Tripoli, when he was made away by one of his prnicipal emirs called Melec, who took poſſeſſion of his throne by the name of Melec-Meſſor. This new ſultan, after he had ſettled his authority in Egypt, reſumed his predeceſſor's deſign of driving the Chriſtians out of Paleſtine, and laid ſiege to Tripoli, which he carried by ſtorm and razed, as Melec-Sais had done Margat. He might have puſhed his conqueſts farther; but fearing to draw all the

NICHOLAS LORGUE.

forces of the weſt upon his back, by ſome new cruſade, he made a truce with Henry II. king of Cyprus, who, after the dreadful cataſtrophe of the Sicilian veſpers, had, notwithſtanding Charles duke of Anjou king of Sicily's claim, got himſelf acknowledged and crowned king of Jeruſalem, and chaſed the French prince's lieutenant and troops out of Paleſtine *.

SUCH was the ſituation of affairs in the Holy Land; of all the places which Godfrey de Bouillon and his ſucceſſors had conquered, there was not one left but the city of S. John d'Acre. All the Greek and Latin Chriſtians of different nations took refuge there, and that which ſhould have been for its ſtrength, occaſioned the weakneſs of the place, by the diviſions which roſe between the chiefs of theſe different bodies who all pretended to be independent on one another.

THE grand maſter of the hoſpitallers deeply affected with the loſs of Margat and the diſmal proſpect of the utter ruin of chriſtianity in the Holy Land, went into the weſt during the truce, in hopes of procuring ſome ſuccours from thoſe parts. He applied himſelf to pope Nicholas IV. who was then in the chair of S. Peter, and repreſented to him in the moſt moving terms, the extremity to which the Chriſtians of Paleſtine were reduced, and the want they were in of a powerful aſſiſtance of troops and money. But all that he could obtain, was about one thouſand five hundred men, moſt of them banditti and vagrants, without either courage or diſcipline. The pope excuſed himſelf from furniſhing out of his own treaſury the money neceſſary for their pay, ſo that all the fruit of the grand maſter's voyage was only ſome marks of an empty compaſſion, and letters of recommendation to ſome Chriſtian princes, which were not a jot more ſerviceable; beſides, the ill ſucceſs of ſo many cruſades, in which had periſhed an infinite number of princes, noblemen and people of the weſt, had exceedingly cooled the zeal and ardour of the Chriſtians. The grand maſter therefore could only bring back with him ſome troops levied in haſte, which the Venetians tranſported to the eaſt on board their galleys.

THIS weak reinforcement arriving at Acre ſerved only to augment the troubles and diviſions there. The grand maſter, worn out with age, but ſtill more with grief, to ſee no reſource left for the ſaving of that little ſtate, died ſoon after his return; happy in this, that he left the world before his order left Paleſtine, and was not witneſs of the loſs of the Holy Land.

THIS grand maſter, during his government and by advice of the council of the order, made ſeveral very uſeful regulations. 'Twas he that preſcribed the faſhion of the ſeal of the grand maſters and that of the treaſury or council. To him likewiſe is aſcribed an article in the ſtatutes which forbids the knights to come with arms into the chapter, or into the place where the grand maſter is to be choſen: And in the eighteenth title, there is a catalogue which the grand maſter publiſhed before he died, of the faults and crimes puniſhable with degradation from the order.

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* Apud Acon urbem Syriæ rex Cypri fecit ſe coronari in præjudicium regis Siciliæ, in regem Jeruſalem, & quia id templarii & fratres hoſpitales permiſerant, res eorum & bona per Apuliam & terram regni Siciliæ in manu regia capiuntur.

JOHN DE VILLIERS.

THE chapter, upon his death, choſe for their grand maſter brother John de Villiers of the language of France. 'Twas during his maſterſhip that ſome Chriſtian ſoldiers of the garriſon of Acre occaſioned the 1289. breaking of the truce. We have obſerved that they were moſt of them banditti, and fellows picked up in different places, that had liſted purely out of idleneſs and libertiniſm, but wanted both courage and diſcipline; and as they received no regular pay, they went often out of the town in parties, roved over the countrey and robbed both Chriſtians and infidels without diſtinction: They had lately in breach of the truce plundered ſome open towns of the Saracens*. The ſultan ſent to demand ſatisfaction for theſe outrages of thoſe who commanded in the place, but there was no governour in chief there at that time: The city was filled with Cypriots, Venetians, Genoeſe, Piſans, Florentines, Engliſh, Sicilians, hoſpitallers, templars and Teutonicks, all independent on one another; each nation took up a different quarter of the city, where they were cantoned without any ſubordination. The legate and the patriarch with the clergy were alſo intrenched in a particular place: All this formed a conſiderable body of inhabitants, capable enough of defending the place, had they been united.

1290. BUT the jealouſy between ſo many different nations and the private intereſts of their chiefs, rendered them ſuſpected and odious to one another; and inſtead of joining together for the common good, if one nation propoſed an opinion, it was enough to make another reject it. They often came to blows, fighting it out with one another; and this miſerable city contained its worſt enemies within its own walls; ſuch particularly were a great number of the ſoldiers of the garriſon, and moſt of its inhabitants, being a crew blackened with the moſt horrid crimes. Murders, aſſaſſinations and poiſonings paſſed unpuniſhed; the criminals found always a ſure aſylum in the other quarters of the City, where they had not committed their villanies. The corruption of manners was almoſt general in all conditions, not excepting even thoſe whoſe profeſſion obliged them to the ſtricteſt continency. They gloried in vice, diſguiſing it under the name of human frailty, and there wanted not men impudent enough publickly to avow that abominable ſin which gives horrour to nature; ſo that of all the people, whether Chriſtians or Mahometans, that dwelt in Paleſtine, the inhabitants of S. John d'Acre paſſed for the moſt profligate. We muſt not therefore be aſtoniſhed if this confuſed multitude of murderers, debauchees, and banditti refuſed to give the ſultan ſatisfaction, upon the complaints that he made, as the heads of the three military orders propoſed. The infidels upon this refuſal declared war againſt men that were without a head, without an army, without forces, and had no other view in taking arms, but to find impunity for their paſt crimes and opportunities of being able to commit new ones.

THE ſultan being well informed of the diviſions that reigned in Acre levied a mighty army to form the ſiege of the place and drive

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* Mille quingenti ſtipendiarii in Terræ Sanctæ ſubſidium à papa Nicolao miſſi contra voluntatem civium, templi & hoſpitalis militiâ armati de Acon exeuntes trebas cum ſoldano initas irrumpunt, & verſus caſalia & Sarracenorum oppida incurſantes abſque miſericordia Sarracenos utriuſque ſexus quos reperiunt, occiderunt, qui pacificè ſub trebis initis quieſcere ſe credebant. Nangis 1289.

the

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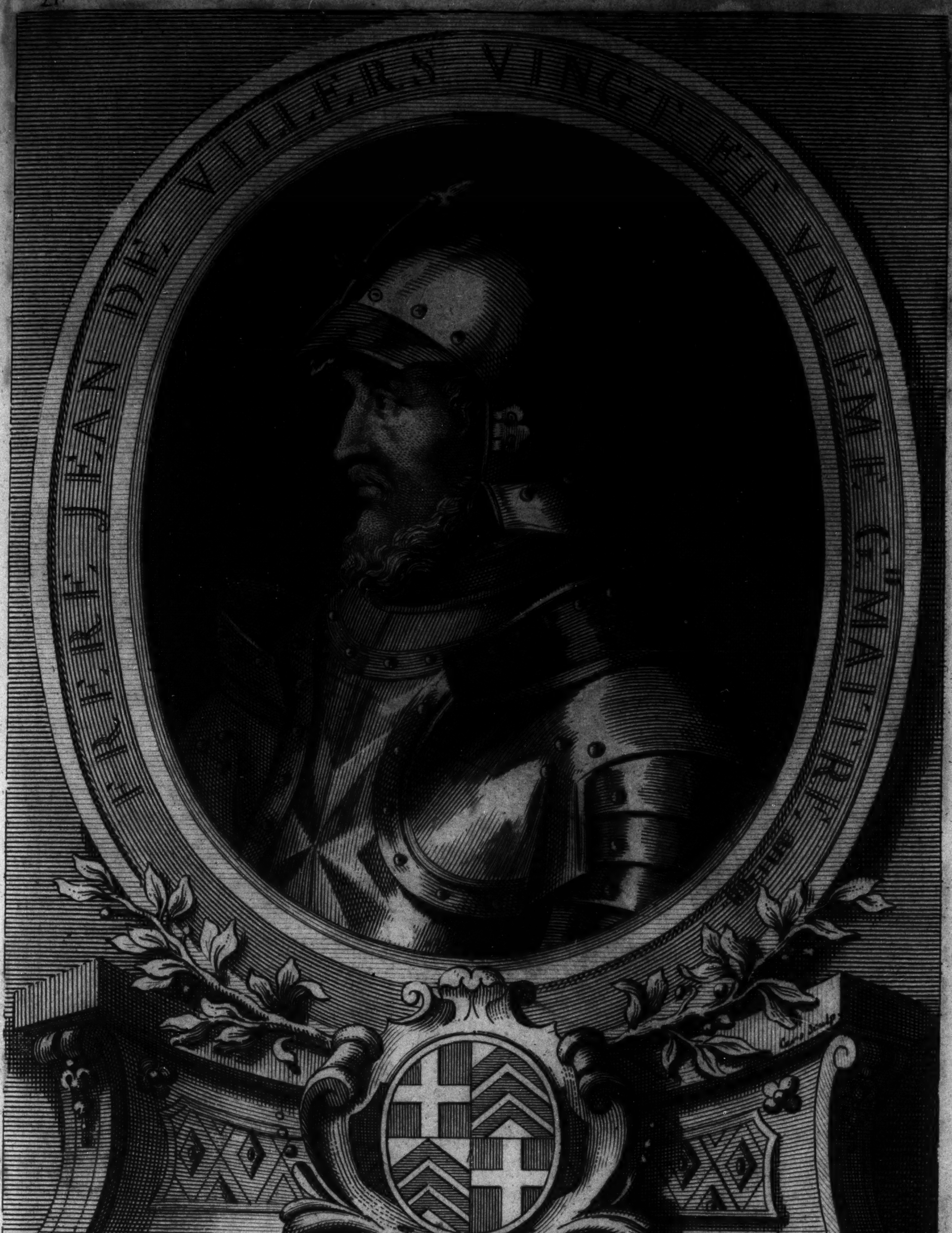
FRERE JEAN DE VILLERS VINGT ET VNIEME Gᴰ MAITRE

1291.

the Latin Chriſtians entirely out of Syria, but this prince died on the road. It is ſaid that he was poiſoned by an emir, lieutenant general of his army, who flattered himſelf with hopes of ſucceeding him on his death. The prince had however life enough left to cauſe him to be apprehended; the villain was drawn and quartered by his orders, and the ſultan before he expired, conjured prince Calil his ſon not to interr his corps, till he was maſter of the city.

Chron. Guil. de Nangis.

THE army upon his death proclaimed the young prince ſultan, by the name of Mebec Seraf. He advanced immediately towards Acre, which he inveſted on April 5. A. D. 1291. his army is ſaid to have conſiſted of one hundred and ſixty thouſand foot, and ſixty thouſand horſe.

PROOF XIV.

THE attacks were briſk and continual, and neither night nor day did the infidels allow any reſt to the beſieged. They worked by ſapping and carried on their mines at the ſame time that they battered the walls with their engines for throwing ſtones, and all other machines of war that were then in uſe. As the ſea was open and the Chriſtians had a greater number of veſſels in the port, moſt of the inhabitants, eſpecially of the richer ſort, embarked with their wives, children and beſt effects. Some ſought an aſylum in the iſle of Cyprus, and the reſt took refuge in the ports of Greece and Italy. There remained only in the place about twelve thouſand regular troops, compoſed chiefly of the hoſpitallers, templars, Teutonicks and ſome ſecular ſoldiers that fought under the banners of the three orders.

Henry II. king of Cyprus, who all this while appropriated to himſelf the title of king of Jeruſalem, landed in the port of Acre at the head of two hundred horſe, and five hundred foot. This was but a weak re-inforcement againſt the formidable power of the ſultan; and beſides that Chriſtian prince was not very much in repute for his courage. So the garriſon, which ſaw plainly they could not hold out long without a commander that was skilled in the art of war, elected by common conſent, brother Peter de Beaujeu grand maſter of the templars, a general of great experience who had grown old in the command of armies, to be governour of the place. Neceſſity of ſtate, the trueſt interpreter of merit, made them offer the command to him, and it was done even with the conſent of the king of Cyprus himſelf, who, in a juncture of ſuch importance and ſo full of danger, was well contented to forget the title, which he had always affected, of king of Jeruſalem.

Chronic. Nangis ad ann. 1290.

THE ſultan tempted the grand maſter with offers of immenſe ſums, to which the templar made no anſwer but by ſhewing a juſt indignation at the ſultan's fancying him capable of liſtening to 'em. By his orders they made every day ſallies, in which a vaſt number of the infidels were deſtroyed; but notwithſtanding this vigorous reſiſtance, the ſultan, who did not want ſoldiers, ſtill advanced his works; he undermined and at laſt threw down ſeveral towers, and amongſt others that which they called the curſed tower which was looked upon as the fortreſs of the city. The infidels advanced immediately to the ſtorm; the king of Cyprus that was poſted there, made head againſt them with his Cypriots, a great number of them fell in the action, and the infidels would have carried the place, if the night coming on had not put an end to the aſſault.

THE king of Cyprus, ſeeing that he ſhould have the ſame enemies and in much greater numbers to engage with the next day, deſired the Teutonic knights to take his poſt during the night, under pretence that his troops had need of reſt after ſo rough an attack, and promiſed that he would come in the morning at break of day to relieve them. But, upon quitting the breach, he went directly to the port, embarked on board his ſhips, and made the beſt of his way to his iſland.

THE infidels did not fail, the next morning, to renew the aſſault; the Mamalucks, a reſolute body of ſoldiers, mounted the breach, killed all that oppoſed them, overwhelmed the Teutonick knights with their vaſt numbers, and penetrated into the very heart of the city. They already thought it their own, when, at the cries and noiſe both of the conquerors and the vanquiſhed, the marſhal of the hoſpitallers of S. John, by the grand maſter's orders, advanced at the head of a body of his knights, and charged them ſo briskly, that they gave ground; great numbers were ſlain in this forced retreat, and the hoſpitallers puſhed ſeveral of them down headlong from the top of the breach into the ditch.

Sanut. l. 3. p. 12.

THE ſultan, who did not value the loſs of a few battalions, ſent, the next day, a freſh detachment to renew the attack: Never was there a more obſtinate engagement; the breach was carried and recovered ſeveral times; night alone parted the combatants. The infidels, diſcouraged at ſo brave a reſiſtance, turned all their efforts on that ſide next the gate of S. Anthony: There they found the two grand maſters, whoſe preſence alone ſeemed to make their knights invincible. The fight continued a long time with equal warmth and fury: The Mamalucks and hoſpitallers, engaged hand to hand, and ſeemed of a general battel to have made ſo many particular duels: No body appeared ſenſible of danger; every ſoldier would either conquer or die. But as the infidels were far more numerous than the Chriſtians, there were at laſt but few of theſe left for the defence of that poſt; and the marſhal of the hoſpitallers, a knight of great valour, falling with ſeveral wounds that he received at the ſame time, the grand maſter of the templars addreſſed himſelf to the grand maſter of the hoſpitallers in theſe words. "We can hold out no longer, ſays he, and the "city is loſt, if you do not fall immediately upon the enemy's camp, "and find means to make a diverſion that may cool their warmth, and "allow us time to fortify the poſt we are defending."

THE grand maſter of the hoſpitallers, taking with him ſuch of his knights as were able to mount on horſeback, parted that moment, and ſallying out of a gate on the oppoſite ſide to that of the attack, flattered himſelf with hopes of ſurprizing the enemy's camp; but they kept too good a guard. The ſultan, during the aſſault, had made all his cavalry mount: The grand maſter, who had not five hundred horſe, was attacked immediately, and obliged to retire, and, as he entered the town again, he received the mortifying news, that the grand maſter of the templars was juſt killed with a poiſoned arrow; that moſt of his templars were cut in pieces, and that the enemy was maſter of the city, and putting all to fire and ſword. As there was nothing elſe to be done, but, if poſſible, to ſave his troops, he turned

1291.

towards the port, though all the while purſued by the infidels; and, putting a conſiderable number of croſs-bow-men into ſome barks, under ſhelter of the arrows with which they were continually galling the ſultan's cavalry, he embarked, together with his hoſpitallers, on board a carrack belonging to the order, and arrived ſafe in the iſle of Cyprus. Three hundred templars that had eſcaped the fury of the infidels, endeavouring to gain the port, were intercepted. Theſe gallant ſoldiers of Jeſus Chriſt, having tried in vain to break through the innumerable croud of Egyptians that filled all the ſtreets, threw themſelves into the tower of the temple, reſolving to be buried in its ruins: Several women belonging to the town, as well married as unmarried, had already taken refuge there: The templars barricado'd it immediately, and held out for ſome days. The ſultan cauſed the tower to be undermined, and the templars finding it was only ſupported by props of wood, which they might ſet fire to every moment, agreed to quit it, on condition they would leave them a free paſſage to the port, facilitate their imbarkation, and preſerve the honour of the women. The capitulation being ſigned, they opened the gates of the tower: But no ſooner were the firſt ſoldiers of the enemy entered, than they offered violence to the females. The templars, enraged at their brutality and breach of faith, laid hold on their ſwords, cut thoſe inſolent creatures in pieces, ſhut the gates, and, though their loſs was inevitable, yet they would never hear a word of capitulating. The infidels, with ſwords in one hand and ladders in the other, advanced to ſcale the tower. The walls were in an inſtant covered with ſoldiers, endeavouring to mount, but being undermined, as we have ſaid, the props failed, and the tower ſunk with a terrible craſh, burying the infidels as well as templars in its ruins. The women ſhut up in the tower had the ſame fate, preferring an honourable death to the danger they would have run, if they had fallen into the hands of thoſe Barbarians, who were ſtill more odious to them for their brutality and debauchery, than they were for their cruelty.

Idem Sanut. l. 3.

A WHOLE convent of nuns, of the order of S. Clare, did not come ſhort of them in reſolution. Thoſe holy virgins disfigured themſelves after various and different manners with more care than the women of this age take to ſet themſelves off with unnatural colours. Some cut off their noſes, others made terrible ſlaſhes in their cheeks, all of them had their faces beſmeared with blood; and, in this frightful condition, the infidels ſeeing no objects but what gave them horrour, maſſacred them without mercy, and, by their death, put thoſe chaſte ſpouſes of the Saviour of the world out of the reach of their inſolence. Above ſixty thouſand perſons either periſhed in S. John d'Acre, or were made ſlaves to the infidels. The ſultan, to cut off all hopes from the weſtern Chriſtians of ever making another ſettlement in that city, razed it to the ground, with Tyre, Sidon, and all the cities which he had taken along the coaſt. The hoſpitallers, templars and Teutonicks, that were left in ſome caſtles belonging to them, being unable to make any defence againſt ſo formidable a power, abandoned them, and embarked for Cyprus. It is ſaid, that out of five hundred templars that behaved themſelves ſo bravely in the defence of Acre, only ten eſcaped, who, getting into a bark, landed happily on the coaſt of Cyprus. The Teutonick knights, finding ſome veſſels, and not caring to ſtay any longer in the eaſt, returned to Europe, and retired into Pruſſia and

Idem Sanut. l. 3.

1291.

Livonia, which their order enjoyed in abſolute ſovereignty. But the hoſpitallers, and the few templars that were left, in hopes of being able, by the help of ſome cruſade, to recover their footing in the Holy Land, would not quit the neighbourhood of it; and till ſome new ſuccour ſhould be brought from Europe, and the knights of their order could be got together, their deputies obtained from the king of Cyprus the town of Limiſſo for a place of retreat, where they arrived one after another, according as they could eſcape the furious purſuit of the Sarazens.

'Twas a very moving ſpectacle indeed to ſee theſe brave knights come out of their veſſels, all over wounds, with looks ſuitable to their fortune, and infinitely afflicted at having ſurvived the utter loſs of the Holy Land.

The End of the Third Book.

THE

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
Knights Hoſpitallers
OF
S. JOHN of JERUSALEM,
Styled afterwards,
The KNIGHTS of Rhodes,
And at preſent,
The KNIGHTS of MALTA.

BOOK IV.

JOHN DE VILLIERS. 1291.

THE knights hoſpitallers that had taken refuge in the iſle of Cyprus, uncertain of their fate, deſtitute of houſes to dwell in, and of any thing to ſubſiſt on, ſtripped of their all, and moſt of them very much wounded, looked upon themſelves in that ſtrange countrey as in a ſtate of baniſhment: They all upbraided themſelves for having out-lived their brethren: Hope it ſelf, the laſt flattering comfort of the miſerable, failed them, and death, which daily carried off ſome or other of the wounded, made advances too ſlow for their wiſhes.

In this miſerable ſituation the grand maſter, to prevent the utter extinction of his order in the Levant, ſent a general ſummons to the hoſpitallers that were diſperſed in moſt of the provinces of Chriſtendom. Their orders were to come to Limiſſo, where the grand maſter had, by the ſame citation, called a general chapter, to conſider, in this melancholy juncture, what meaſures the order ſhould take with regard to its ſettlement.

SOON as theſe orders arrived in Europe, the knights were every where in motion: They all readily quitted their countrey, their commanderies, or the houſes of their relations; no excuſe was made for want of money or of health; no body was mean enough to have recourſe to pretexts ſo unworthy of their character. The old as well as young flocked to the ſea ſide; the ports were crowded with them, all ſtriving with equal eagerneſs to find opportunities of embarking. Such as went off firſt thought themſelves the happieſt; and, notwithſtanding the diſtance of the places that they came from, they arrived ſoon one after another in the ports of Cyprus.

THE iſland of Cyprus, which we ſhall have frequent occaſion to mention in this work, is one of the moſt conſiderable of the Aſiatick iſles, and ſituated in the Carpathian ſea, in the further part of the Mediterranean, oppoſite to the coaſts of Pamphilia and Cilicia, or Caramania, as it is now called. The gulph of Iſſus, called by the Italians Golfo di Lajazzo, waſhes it on the eaſt, the Egyptian ſea on the ſouth, Pamphilia on the weſt, and this famous iſle is hardly above forty leagues from Paleſtine, or the Holy Land.

IT was firſt governed by certain tyrants that aſſumed a ſovereignty over it; then the kings of Egypt reduced it under their dominion; they were afterwards diſpoſſeſſed by the Romans, the tyrants of well nigh all the known world; and the Greeks, in fine, ſucceeded to the Romans. The iſle of Cyprus made part of the empire of Conſtantinople: It was taken by the Mahometan Arabians in the reign of the caliph Oſman and the empire of Heraclius, but the Greeks afterwards recovered it. Richard Cæur de Lion, king of England, in his paſſage to the Holy Land, conquered it, driving out Iſaac Comnenus, who being the governor, had ſet himſelf up for ſovereign of the iſland; and it may be remembered, what we have already obſerved, that the Engliſh monarch ſold it immediately to the templars, which order was then as rich and powerful as many ſovereigns; but that the differences between the Greek and Latin churches, occaſioning continual ſeditions, they had given up their right to Guy de Luſignan.

L. Hiſt. des Royaumes de Jeruſalem, Cypre & Armenie par le P. Eſtienne de Luſignan. 1604.

Aſiſes & bons uſages du Royaume de Jeruſalem par Jean F. Ibelin. Comte Japha & d'Aſcalon.

'TIS neceſſary to obſerve further, that this crown fell by ſucceſſion to Amaury his brother, who left it to his ſon Hugh I. father of Henry I. his ſucceſſor. He was father to Hugh II. who died young and without iſſue; another Hugh, his couſin german, deſcended from the brave Normans, that drove the Sarazens out of Calabria, Apulia and Sicily, and whoſe father had married Henry's ſiſter, ſucceeded him in the throne, and, to make himſelf more agreeable to the Cypriots, took the ſurname of Luſignan. John his ſon inherited the crown after him, and left it to Henry II. who gave the hoſpitallers and templars this reception in his iſland.

SUCH was the ſtate of the iſle of Cyprus, when the ſummons ſent by the grand maſter to all parts of Chriſtendom, ſpread every where the news of the taking of S. John d'Acre by the infidels, the entire expulſion of the Chriſtians out of Paleſtine, and the almoſt irreparable loſſes ſuſtained by the hoſpitallers and templars in the defence of that place.

POPE Nicholas IV. was then on the throne of S. Peter: This pontif, at the melancholy news, ſeemed in a terrible conſternation, and diſpatched expreſſes into all parts to give advice of it to the Chriſtian princes. By his order, and with their conſent, ſeveral provincial councils were held to conſider of the moſt ready and effectual means to recover the Holy Land, and every metropolitan ſent him afterwards the reſult of their debates in theſe aſſemblies.

Concil. gen. t. 11. p. 1361.

IT appears, from the accounts and journals of theſe councils, that the ſum of their opinions generally was to deſire the pope to uſe his good offices with the princes of Chriſtendom, that were at war with one another, to perſuade them to end their differences by a ſolid and laſting peace, or at leaſt by a long truce, that they might be in a condition to unite their forces, and turn their arms in concert againſt the Infidels. They obſerved particularly to the pontiff, that he ought to apply to Philip the fair, who was then upon the throne of France, and the moſt potent monarch in Chriſtendom, and exhort him to put himſelf at the head of ſo holy an enterprize; and that it would be proper at the ſame time to renew the prohibitions of the councils of Latran and Lyons againſt ſupplying the Infidels with arms. In fine, as experience furniſhed abundant grounds of apprehenſion, that the old antipathy might again break out between the hoſpitallers and templars, they propoſed to the pope to unite thoſe two military orders, to make them but one body, and put them under the ſame head, and that, for preventing the cabals and intrigues that are but too common in elections, the grand maſter ſhould not be choſen by the votes of the knights, but, in caſe of a vacancy, the pope and his ſucceſſors ſhould have the ſole right of naming that ſuperiour.

Rainaldi ad ann. 1291. num. 22.

Idem. ibid. n 29 & 30.

PURSUANT to theſe ſeveral propoſals, the pope diſpatched away legates and nuncios to moſt of the weſtern princes, to engage them to put a ſpeedy end to their particular wars, and remove that obſtacle to a general cruſade. He did not fail to have it repreſented in particular to Philip the Fair, that the other ſovereigns of Europe had their eyes fixed upon him, in order to make his conduct the rule of their own; and that if he put on the croſs, he might be aſſured that thoſe princes, by his example, would do the ſame; and beſides the merit of ſo pious an enterprize, he would have the glory of appearing like a king of kings, and at the head of moſt of the monarchs of Chriſtendom.

BUT Philip, a prince of ſolid judgment, was not eaſily caught with ſuch flatteries, being well ſatisfied, that his firſt duty was to take care of the government of his own kingdom. The pope, not receiving an anſwer ſuitable to his expectations, wrote back to him, that if the affairs of his kingdom neceſſarily detained him in Europe, the leaſt he could do, in order to defray the expence of the expedition, was to pay in the money which Philip III. his father had levied upon the clergy of his dominions under pretence of a like cruſade, which deſign notwithſtanding was never put in execution. The ſilence of hiſtorians, with regard to this ſecond letter, ſhews plainly enough that it had no ſucceſs.

THE pope's application was not confined to princes in communion with the church of Rome. As in this project of a new league the deſign was to recover the holy places, which were equally reverenced by all Chriſtians, whether Greek or Latin, and as well of the former as the latter communion; he wrote upon that occaſion to Andronicus Palæologus, emperor of Conſtantinople, to John Comnenus, emperor of Trebizunde, and to the kings of Armenia, Iberia and Georgia, though all of them ſchiſmaticks, and obſervers of the Greek rites.

Du Cange famil. Byzant. p. 192.

THE pope, to raiſe up new enemies againſt the Sarazens, carried his views as far as the remoteſt part of Perſia; and hearing, that a Tartar, deſcended from Genchiczan, called Argon; though a Pagan and an idolater, had yet no averſion to the Chriſtians, he ſent two Franciſcan friars on an embaſſy to him, to uſe their endeavours as well for his converſion, as to engage him to fall upon that part of Syria which adjoins to Perſia, whilſt the Chriſtians attacked Paleſtine. But the two friars found that prince was dead the year before.

Vading. n. 4 & 5.

Haïton ſeigneur de Churchi, c. 45.

THUS ended all the endeavours of this pope, who, during the ſiege of St. John d'Acre, would never contribute any thing out of his own treaſure for the relief of the beſieged. The meaſures that he took afterwards, and his many embaſſies, which made a great noiſe, but had little of ſolidity or ſignificancy in 'em, were all likewiſe diſconcerted by his death; and the difficulty of uniting ſo many princes of different religions, or of oppoſite intereſts, occaſioned the project of a cruſade to miſcarry under his ſucceſſor. There was not a prince that engaged in it, and all the weſtern Chriſtians continued in a lamentable indifference for the recovery of the Holy Land. The hoſpitallers alone had different ſentiments, and, in obedience to the grand maſter's order, had already repaired to Limiſſo in the iſle of Cyprus.

The great maſter ſoon after called a general chapter. Never ſince the foundation of the order was there ſeen an aſſembly compoſed of ſuch a number of knights of different countries; the whole order in a manner had tranſported itſelf to Cyprus. The grand maſter appeared in the aſſembly with a countenance melancholy indeed, but ſtill carrying in it that air of grandeur which virtue gives, and the greateſt calamities cannot deject: And directing his diſcourſe particularly to the knights newly arrived from the weſt, “ Your diligence, ſays he to them, in obſerving our orders, and the courage that ſeems to animate you, convince me, in ſpite of all our loſſes, that there are ſtill true hoſpitallers in the world capable of repairing them. Jeruſalem, my dear brethren, is fallen; fallen, as you know, under the tyranny of infidels; a barbarous, but formidable power, has forced us by degrees to abandon the Holy Land. For more than an age paſt we have been obliged to fight as many battels as we have defended places. St. John d'Acre is a late witneſs of our laſt efforts, and almoſt all our knights lie buried in its ruins. 'Tis for you to ſupply their places; 'tis from your valour that we expect our return into the Holy Land, and you carry in your hands the lives, the fortunes, and the liberty of your brethren, not of the order only, but of the vaſt number of Chriſtians that are now groaning in the chains of the infidels.”

The ſenior commanders made anſwer, in the aſſembly's name, to this moving diſcourſe by a generous declaration, that they would ſacrifice their lives to deliver the Holy Land from the tyranny of the Barbarians; whilſt from the eyes of the younger knights there ſtreamed down floods of tears, warm as the impatience which inflamed that gallant body of youth to take vengeance on the Sarazens. But as it was neceſſary before they entered on a war, to regulate the form of their new ſettlement, the firſt point under conſideration was to fix a place for the reſidence of the order.

The king of Cyprus had aſſigned them Limiſſo, an antient city, dignified with an epiſcopal ſee, and ſituate on the ſouth coaſt of the iſland: But the Arabian and Sarazen corſairs had demoliſhed it before that time. It was then a large open town, without any defence but a caſtle in the middle of it, which was tolerably well fortified, and provided to oppoſe the landing and deſcents of the corſairs. Some knights, that thought themſelves too much ſtraitened in this place, propoſed to retire to ſome port of Italy; but the grand maſter and principal perſons of the order rejected the motion with indignation; they repreſented, that their obligations and the very deſign of their inſtitution did not allow them to remove out of the neighbourhood of the Holy Land, and that they ought always to be within reach of improving ſuch opportunities as might offer for the making a new attempt there. This ſentiment was received with a general applauſe, and it was made a ſort of ſtanding rule and ſtatute of the order for ever. Though the town did not afford lodgings for all the knights, yet the grand maſter's firſt care was to provide apartments for the poor and pilgrims: And in a very ſhort time after they reſumed all the functions of hoſpitality. With regard to the knights and military friars, it was reſolved to fit out immediately the ſhips of the order, which had ſerved to tranſport the knights from Paleſtine or Europe to the iſle of Cyprus, and to make uſe of them for convoying pilgrims, who, notwithſtanding the loſs of Jeruſalem, continued ſtill to viſit the holy places, as they were uſed to do before the firſt cruſade, paying the infidels the ordinary tribute which they demanded at the gates of the city.

In a ſhort time they had fitted out, in ſeveral ports of the iſland, a conſiderable number of ſmall veſſels of different bulk, which putting to ſea in the uſual ſeaſons, i. e. at the latter end of March and Auguſt, coaſted along Europe, to take up pilgrims, and, out of the ſame charitable diſpoſition, brought them back again into their own countrey. Some infidel corſairs, which uſed to make a common prey of the pilgrims, fell upon theſe firſt veſſels of the order, but found in thoſe that manned them a valour and oppoſition they had never experienced before. Several of theſe rovers were taken by the hoſpitallers, who frequently returned to Cyprus with conſiderable prizes, particularly of the ſhips belonging to the ſoldan of Egypt, their declared enemy. Theſe prizes inſenſibly augmented the number of veſſels they put to ſea: They built ſeveral galleys afterwards and ſome ſhips, ſo that in a little time conſiderable ſquadrons ſet ſail from the ports of Cyprus, and the flag of St. John at laſt commanded reſpect all over the Mediterranean.

Such was the beginning of the naval armaments of the order of St. John of Jeruſalem. The loſs of Acre, and their being driven to a retreat in the iſle of Cyprus, forced the hoſpitallers, for the exerciſe of their courage, to take to the ſea; and perhaps the great ſucceſſes they have ſince had for the ſpace of four hundred years, and the infinite number of Chriſtians, which they have either ſaved or delivered from an horrid ſlavery, may be thought to have made the order abundant amends for the loſs of ſuch a number of knights as fell in the defence of St. John d'Acre.

Melec-Seraph, the ſoldan that had reduced Egypt, incenſed at the prizes, which the hoſpitallers took from his ſubjects, and at ſeeing an order revive as it were, which he thought he had entirely deſtroyed, reſolved to purſue the remains of it, and drive them from the iſle of Cyprus. He fitted out a great fleet with land-forces on board; but civil wars breaking out in his own dominions, he was neceſſarily detained there, and the death of that prince, who was killed in a battel that he loſt againſt the rebels, delivered the hoſpitallers and templars from the dangers of a ſiege in a place that was open on all ſides, and, excepting the caſtle, had no other fortification but the bravery of thoſe knights.

The grand maſter, to prevent the like deſign from Melec-nazer, ſucceſſor to Seraph, deſired leave of the king of Cyprus, to fortify Limiſſo, and obtained it eaſily from a prince who could part with any thing but his money. The hoſpitallers laid out what they had in raiſing ſome baſtions of earth towards the ſea. The grand maſter applied himſelf afterwards to reſtore the regular diſcipline, which, by the continual exerciſe of arms, by a ſeries of engagements, by cruiſings and plunder, had been very much weakened and impaired.

Most of the knights, growing rich by the prizes they took from the infidels, inſtead of paying in the produce, as they ought, to the treaſury of the order, appropriated it to themſelves, and ſpent it generally in luxury. Finding rich ſtuffs among their prizes, they began to dreſs themſelves beyond what was ſuitable to the character of religious. The delicacy of their tables was equal to the richneſs of their cloathes: The expence they were at in horſes, anſwered to their other extravagance, and the dangerous air of an iſland, which blind paganiſm had conſecrated to Venus, made unhappy impreſſions on the youth of the order. It was ſoon notorious, that ſeveral hoſpitallers had run in debt to ſupport ſo ſcandalous an expence, whilſt another abuſe prevailed in the provinces on this ſide the ſea, the priors during the laſt wars of the Holy Land having uſurped the prerogative of giving the habit and croſs of the order to novices, without making due inquiries into their birth, or ſufficiently examining whether they were truly called to it; a practice, which would ſoon have brought this illuſtrious order into contempt.

1292. To reform theſe abuſes two general chapters were held. In the firſt an order was made, that no military hoſpitaller ſhould have more than three great horſes for himſelf, or ride with gold or ſilver furniture; and by another ſtatute the priors were expreſsly forbid to admit any novice, without a commiſſion from the grand maſter: But an exception was made with regard to the bailliages of Spain, where the order would have been ſoon deſtroyed, if, to ſupply the continual loſſes they ſuſtained againſt the Moors of Granada, they could not have received a new knight, till a brevet, or commiſſion came from the grand maſter, whoſe ordinary reſidence was in ſo remote a countrey, and who might frequently be at ſea, or engag'd in ſome enterprize againſt the infidels.

1293. 'Twas in the ſecond general chapter, that they made a regulation, which appeared very neceſſary with regard to the private debts that the knights left at their death. It was ordered, that they ſhould be diſcharged out of the ſale of their equipage, and if that was not ſufficient to pay the whole, the reſidue ſhould be raiſed out of the fund which every knight aſſigned for the ſervice of the order, either at his admiſſion into it, or out of ſuch particular donations as were made him afterwards, the uſe of which he enjoyed for his life; regulations, all of which, ſuppoſe the abuſes we have now been ſpeaking of, and which they deſigned to redreſs by theſe new ſtatutes.

This relaxation in the regular diſcipline aroſe partly from the ſtate of the univerſal church at that time; it had for above two years before been without a viſible head. The ſovereign pontiſs had always kept a vigilant eye upon the conduct of the hoſpitallers. During the vacancy of the holy ſee no notice could be taken of the abuſes which riches introduced into the order. At length the cardinals, who, for twenty ſeven months together, thro' an obſtinacy not very edifying, could not agree in the choice of a pope, determined at laſt in favour of a recluſe, called Peter de Mourhon, highly eſteemed for his eminent piety, and who afterwards founded a particular congregation of monks, known by the name of Celeſtines. The cardinals ſent him the inſtrument of his election by Berault de Gout, archbiſhop of Lyons, accompanied with four other deputies, Cardinal Peter Colonna going likewiſe of his own voluntary motion along with them. Theſe deputies found the holy monk ſhut up in a little cell built on the top of a mountain, near the city of Sulmo, in the kingdom of Naples: There was in it a ſmall window with bars before it, from which he talked to all, that, drawn by the fame of his virtues, came to conſult him about the ſureſt way of attaining to Chriſtian perfection. The deputies of the conclave ſaw thro' the grate a venerable old man about ſeventy two years old, pale and wan, emaciated by a conſtant courſe of auſterities, his hair ſtaring, his beard long and uncouth, and his eyes ſwoln with the tears that he ſhed continually in his prayers. The archbiſhop of Lyons preſenting him the inſtrument of his election, told him, that he was choſen unanimouſly in the conclave to be head of the church, and conjured him in the name of God, to ſubmit to his vocation, and give his aſſent readily to a choice ſo neceſſary for Chriſtianity, ſince the long vacancy of the holy ſee. The holy man proſtrated himſelf on the ground, and, after continuing a conſiderable time in prayer, he roſe up; and fearing to oppoſe the will

July 5. 1294. Bolland. Tom 15. p. 426 & 427.

will of God, conſented to his election, and was afterwards conſecrated at Aquila, a town of Abruzzo, by the name of Celeſtine V.

THE new Pope, as ſoon as he was ſeated in the chair of St. Peter, gave the order of S. John proofs of his vigilancy in regard to their conduct and demeanour. He exhorted them in the warmeſt and withal in the moſt moving terms, to reflect upon the religious profeſſion they had embraced, and the ſolemn vows they had made at the altar. And to ſupply them with temporal ſuccours as well as ſpiritual, the holy pontif conſidering, that thoſe knights in defending the Holy Land had loſt all the effects and poſſeſſions that their order enjoyed there, ſent a bull to the grand maſter, by which, in conſideration of thoſe loſſes and their ſervices, he exempts them for the future from paying their ſhare of certain contributions, which the popes, the college of cardinals, and the legates, eſpecially exacted all over the diſtrict of their legatine authority, in a manner entirely arbitrary, and oftentimes at the expence of the ornaments and ſacred veſſels of the church.

THIS was not the only abuſe that the holy pope had a mind to reform, but he found ſo many obſtacles in his way, and was moreover ſo ſenſible of his own little capacity for government, that he readily gave ear to the ſuggeſtions of ſome cardinals, who, taking advantage of the tenderneſs of his conſcience, exaggerated to him the obligations and dangers of the papal dignity, in hopes of ſucceeding him in it.

IT is even ſaid, that cardinal Cajetan, who aſpired to the popedom, ſpared neither artifices nor impoſtures to perſuade the holy man to abdicate his dignity, and that he ſuborned a raſcal to conterfeit an angel of light, and order him in the name of God, and under pain of damnation, to return to his cell.

CELESTINE, who was a weak man, took the voice of an impoſtor for that of heaven, and beſides he choſe rather to return to the private condition of a monk, than continue any longer in a dignity, where he was not allowed to do the good he wiſhed, and hinder the evil he could not bear. In fine, whether it was inſpiration or diſtaſte for a court where politicks then got the better of the maxims of the goſpel, he propoſed himſelf, and made his own abdication * in a full conſiſtory, with a magnanimity, of which there had never been an inſtance before, nor perhaps will be hereafter. Cardinal Cajetan, who had taken all poſſible meaſures to facilitate the acceptance of his reſignation, reaped the fruits of it in the next conclave, and, by the help of his cabal, was raiſed to the height of his wiſhes, and inveſted with that eminent
dignity. He took the name of Boniface VIII. he was learned in the civil and 1994.
canon law, an excellent politician, and a conſummate ſtateſman; but of an unmeaſurable ambition, covetous, revengeful and cruel; and during all the time of his pontificate, was wholly taken up with the chimerical project of uniting the temporal and ſpiritual ſwords, employing the authority he was inveſted with, which was purely ſpiritual, to acquire, under one pretext or other, a temporal dominion over the territories of all Chriſtian princes; ſuch was his ambition, a paſſion to which his predeceſſor fell the firſt ſacrifice.

CELESTINE, by his abdication, becoming again brother Peter de Mourhon, flattered himſelf that he had ſhaken off all fetters and recovered his Liberty. The good man was for making no other uſe of it, but to chuſe a deſert where he might paſs the reſt of his days a ſtranger to all the world;

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* Ego Cœleſtinus papa quintus motus ex legitimis cauſis, id eſt, causâ humilitatis, melioris vitæ & conſcientiæ illæſæ, debilitate corporis, defectu ſcientiæ, & malignitate populi & infirmitate perſonæ; & ut præteritæ conſolationis vitæ poſſim reparare quietem, ſpontè ac liberè cedo papatui, & expreſsè renuntio loco & dignitati, oneri & honori, dans plenam & liberam facultatem ex nunc ſacro cœtui cardinalium eligendi & providendi dumtaxat canonicè univerſali eccleſiæ de paſtore. Boſ. t. 2. l. 1. p. 7. Rainald. num. 23.

but Boniface, for fear ſome new ſcruple ſhould make him revoke his reſignation, ordered him to be apprehended, and to diſcover the moſt ſecret diſpoſitions of his priſoner, obliged him to come to confeſſion to himſelf. The pious recluſe's declarations, tho' made with the utmoſt ſincerity, were not ſufficient to remove his fears; and it is reported, that, to rid himſelf entirely of this uneaſineſs, he got him diſpatched by ill uſage. He ſhut him up like a criminal in a hideous dungeon, and ſo very narrow, that there was not room enough to put a ſorry bed into it. The barbarous jailers that watched him narrowly, as ſoon as ever he had cloſed his eyes to take a little reſt, interrupted his ſleep, and by this barbarous device, ſoon put an end to the poor remainder of his life. The pope, by this inhumane conduct, made himſelf odious to all good men. There was a ſort of prophecy about that time current in the world, in which Celeſtine ſpeaking of his ſucceſſor and the tricks he had uſed to arrive at the papacy, is made to ſay, "Thou art got upon the throne " of S. Peter like a fox; thou ſhalt reign like a lion, and die like a dog." But 'tis very probable, that this prophecy, like abundance of others, was not invented till after the events happened.

HOWEVER this be, Boniface, who fanſied himſelf as much a ſucceſſour of the Cæſars as of S. Peter, was no ſooner ſeated in his pontifical chair, than he profeſſed a particular affection for the hoſpitallers and templars. He knew very well, that theſe two bodies were compoſed at leaſt in the main of gentlemen and brave warriors, and he omitted neither an open and avowed protection, nor favours, nor benefits to engage them in a ſtricter adherence to the holy ſee, and his particular intereſts.

THE hoſpitallers of S. John were the firſt that experienced the effects of his protection. The kings of England and Portugal, after the loſs of the Holy Land, pretended that the hoſpitallers, who had commanderies in their territories, had no right to ſend the revenues thereof abroad, and remit them to the Levant, pretenſions of a dangerous example, and which might have terrible conſequences, by their influence on other monarchs of Chriſtendom.

THE two kings we are ſpeaking of, went ſo far as to ſtop this money, and ſequeſter it; and to juſtify their conduct, they gave out, that the commanderies of the order, being founded in their dominions by the kings their predeceſſors, or elſe by their ſubjects, only for the defence of the Holy Land, they could not, ſince the loſs thereof, and the conqueſts of the infidels, make a better uſe of the revenues of thoſe great benefices, than by employing them for maintaining the poor of each nation, inſtead of ſending the money to the iſle of Cyprus, where it ſerved only to ſupport the luxury, and feed the pleaſures of the knights of S. John.

THESE reproaches were not perhaps altogether groundleſs, with regard to ſeveral particular commanders, but they made no impreſſion at all upon Boniface. That pontif, who knew no way of treating with crowned heads, but that of haughtineſs, threatened the two princes immediately with the thunders of the church, if they did not revoke their orders. He repreſented to the king, that the hoſpitallers had fixed their reſidence in the iſle of Cyprus, not ſo much for a place of refuge and retreat, as to be within reach whenever an opportunity offered of renewing the war, and recovering the Holy Land; that they diſcharged the obligations of their profeſſion as much in that iſle as in Paleſtine; that they had there an hoſpital open to all the poor, and kept ſhips in their ports, to ſerve for the convoy and ſecurity of pilgrims; and that this military order, from which the church received ſuch ſervices, being under the particular protection of the popes, he was neceſſarily obliged to make uſe of his authority, which he derived from God alone, againſt the uſurpers of revenues, dedicated to the defence of Chriſtianity.

anity. The menaces of this pontif proved more effectual than his reaſons, and brought the two kings to a compliance; their orders were revoked, and the ſequeſtration taken off.

THE pope treated Henry de Luſignan, king of Cyprus, in a manner ſtill more haughty. That prince, as has been obſerved, had given the hoſpitallers and templars a retreat in his iſland, but fearing they might make themſelves as powerful there as they had been in Paleſtine, he iſſued out a ſolemn edict, forbidding them to purchaſe any eſtates there; and the pope, in compliance with that monarch, had confirmed this edict by particular bulls. The king of Cyprus had laid upon them a ſort of general poll tax, in which the clergy of this kingdom, and the body of nobility and gentry were comprehended, as well as the common people. The pope was ſoon informed of it, and as the leaſt pretence imaginable was enough to put that pontif upon ſtretching his authority, he did not fail to exert himſelf on this occaſion. He called this tax a downright invaſion of the privileges that the holy ſee had been pleaſed to grant to the military orders, and he wrote to the king of Cyprus like a ſovereign to his ſubject, in the moſt arrogant and imperious terms.

PROOF I.

“ We will, ſays he, and ordain, that the impoſt, vulgarly called the poll “ tax, the very name of which is horrible and deteſtable, be abſolutely aboliſhed, and that the king ſhall not impoſe it on his own ſubjects, without “ the permiſſion of the holy ſee, and with regard to other taxes and payments, we likewiſe declare the knights hoſpitallers and templars abſolutely “ exempted from them.” The pope added in his letter, that though the holy ſee had by a bull confirmed the edict, which prohibited thoſe military friars from making any purchaſes, yet the king ought not to take that conceſſion of the holy ſee in a rigorous ſenſe, ſo as to hinder the knights from enlarging the encloſures about their convents, and purchaſing ſuch houſes as adjoined to their principal houſe, and were neceſſary for the lodging of a great order, which beſides the pilgrims and the poor, always maintained a body of troops to man their veſſels.

THE king of Cyprus finding himſelf wounded by the imperious pontif's letters in a part the moſt ſenſible of any to princes, and in his ſovereign authority, omitted nothing to make the knights feel the whole weight of his reſentment. He declared publickly that he would not ſuffer a ſet of men in the heart of his dominions that pretended to be independent of all other authority but that of the pope's. His miniſters thereupon, in contempt of the pontif's prohibition, compelled the knights to pay their poll money, and this covetous prince exacted the ſame tribute of the clergy. The nobility and gentry were not exempted from it, and the people who generally pay more than the other orders of the ſtate, and always firſt, were ſtill worſe treated.

This prince by his greedineſs raiſed a general diſcontent. The templars, who were naturally proud and haughty, and by the neceſſities of the kings of Jeruſalem, who ſtood in need of their ſuccour, had acquired a ſort of independence, being incenſed againſt Henry, fomented the national diſcontent, which broke out at laſt into an open revolt. Amaury, titular prince of Tyre, and brother to the king, was underhand the encourager of it. This ambitious prince aſpired to the crown, and when by himſelf and his emiſſaries he had made ſure of the troops and the inhabitants of the capital, he took off the maſk, put himſelf at the head of the rebels, ſeized on the king's perſon; and, to remove him out of the ſight of the people, who are very ſuſceptible of compaſſion, and naturally inconſtant, he ſent him to Haiton king of Armenia, whoſe ſiſter he had married; and Haiton confined the unfortunate prince

JOHN DE VILLIERS.

in a caſtle, ſituate among the mountains bordering on Cilicia. Amaury, after this, got the king his brother declared incapable of the government, and was preparing to take the crown, when a valet de chambre of the depoſed king, called Simonet, who always continued faithful to his firſt maſter, though he had entered into the uſurper's ſervice, making uſe of the liberty he was allowed of a free acceſs to his apartment, ſtabbed him in his bed, occaſioning thereby a new revolution, in which king Henry recovered both his liberty and crown. The grand maſter did not engage on any ſide in all theſe commotions, and died a little after the king of Cyprus's return into his dominions.

ODO DE PINS.

Libro 1. de la coronica de la religion de S. Juan. p. 127. Por Fray. Dom. Juan. Auguſtin de Funes en Valencia 1626.

The hoſpitallers choſe in his ſtead Odo de Pins, of the language of Provence, deſcended from an illuſtrious and noble family in Catalonia, from which likewiſe the houſe of Pins in Languedoc, who bear the ſame arms, pretend to derive their original. Odo de Pins was a knight far advanced in years, exceeding pious, and allowed to be an exact obſerver of the regular diſcipline. While he was only a private man, all his brother knights thought him worthy of the grand maſterſhip; but ſcarce was he arrived at that eminent dignity, but they found he wanted many of the qualifications proper for government, eſpecially in an order, the duties whereof related as much to the exerciſe of arms, as to prayer and works of charity: He imagined he had diſcharged all the obligations incumbent upon him, when he had ſpent whole days in the oratory. Perhaps he might be more devout than was proper in his poſt; and perhaps too, his knights were leſs ſo than their character required. However that be, this exceſſive fondneſs for devotion and retirement, occaſioned in ſome meaſure a neglect of all kinds of military enterprizes.

The knights, who ſince the loſs of their poſſeſſions in Paleſtine, had ſcarce any ſubſiſtence but what they got by cruiſing, murmured openly at his indifference for any naval preparations: They joined in a body to lay their complaints before the pope, deſiring his permiſſion to depoſe him. Boniface ſummoned him to Rome, to hear his defence on the ſubject of the grievances of his knights. Odo, who was better cut out to obey than command, ſet forward immediately, but died before he could reach the capital of the Chriſtian world. The hoſpitallers, upon the news of it, choſe for his ſucceſſor brother William de Villaret, of the language of Provence, great prior of St. Giles, and then reſiding at his priory. This gentleman had a brother that was alſo a knight at that time, and one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed of the order; and the monaſtery of the nuns of St. John at Fieux in Querci, was governed by Jourdaine de Villaret their ſiſter.

WILLIAM DE VILLARET. 1296.

Coſmog. de Belleforeſt. t. 2. p. 1116.

1298.

Though the new grand maſter had received an account of his election, he was in no great haſte to ſet out for the iſle of Cyprus, but was reſolved firſt to viſit in perſon all the priories of the languages of Provence, Auvergne and France, and by cares ſo becoming his poſt, he reſtored the regular diſcipline to its purity, confirming it afterwards by a chapter, which he called in the commandery of la Tronquiere, a member depending on the great priory of St. Giles. He made ſeveral very uſeful regulations there, and 'twas in this chapter that he put the nunneries of Beaulieu, Martel and Fieux, which belonged to the lady nuns of the order, under the viſitation of the great prior of St. Giles and his ſucceſſors. The lady ſuperior of Beaulieu is elective and perpetual, takes the title of grand prioreſs, and wears the great croſs.

The houſe of Belver or Beaulieu, was originally only an hoſpital, founded by the lords of the houſe of Themines, about A. D. 1220. between Figeac and Rocamadour, for the relief of the poor and pilgrims, which came that

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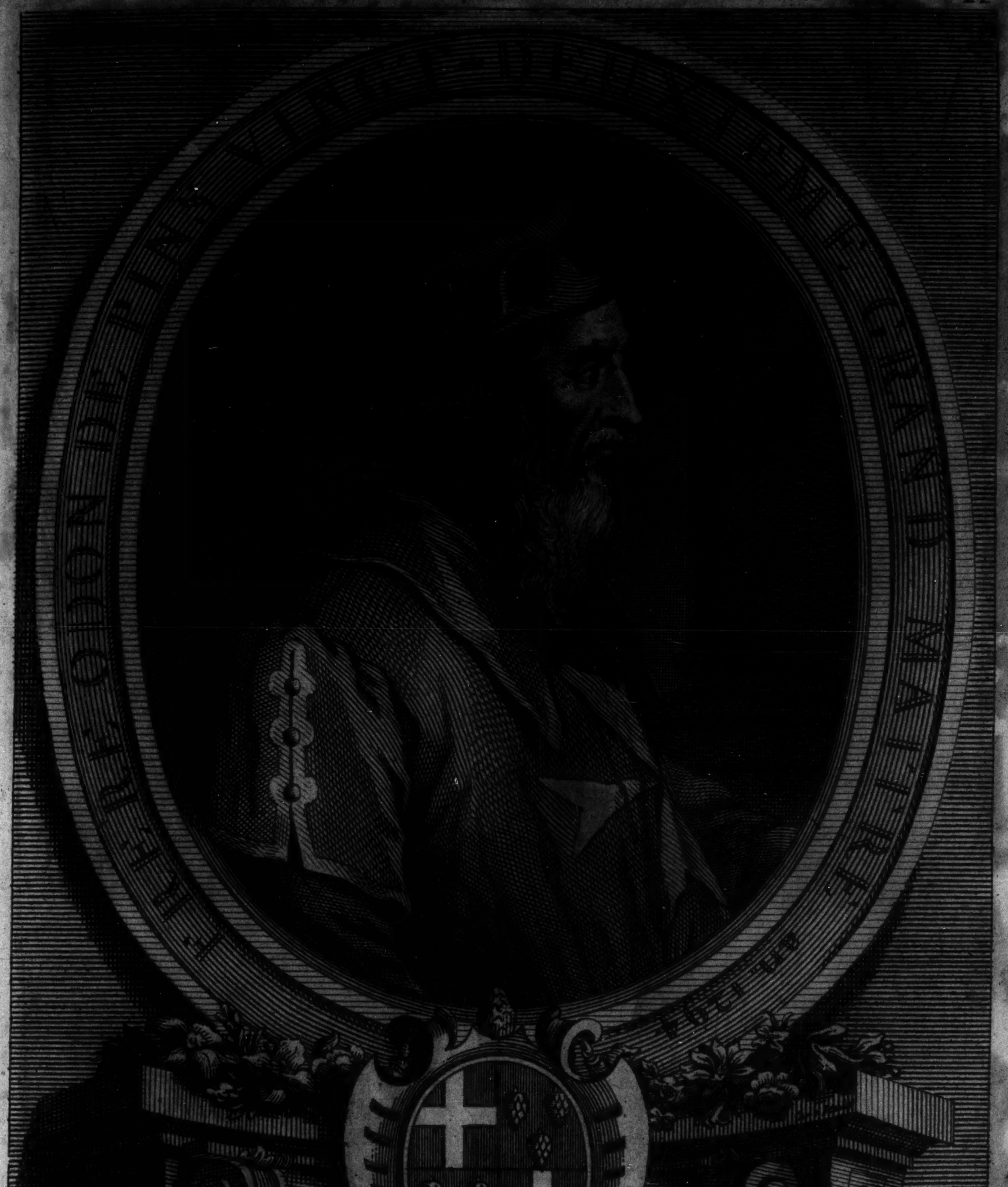
FRERE ODON DE PINS VINGT DEUXIEME GRAND MAITRE
an 1294

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MVSEVM
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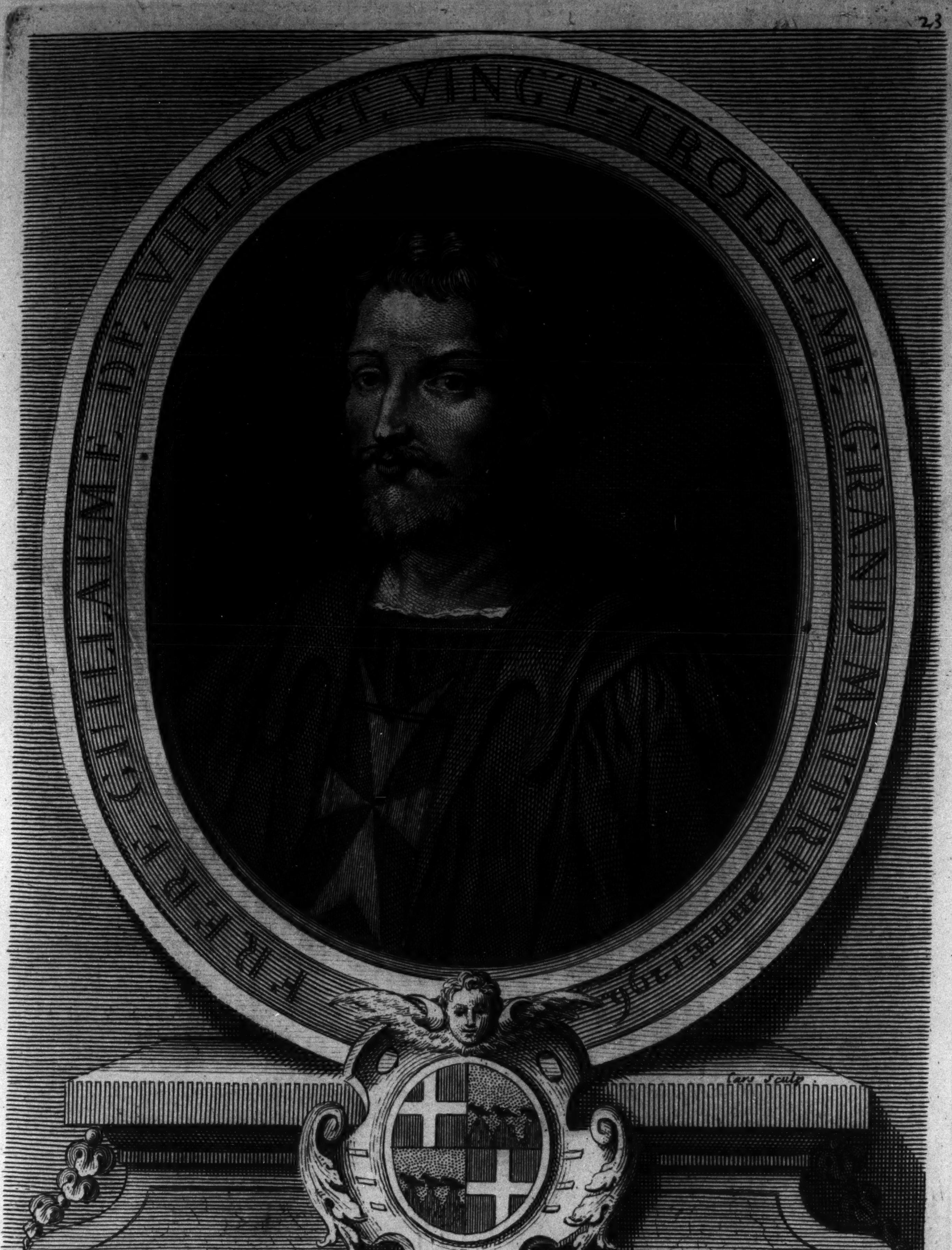
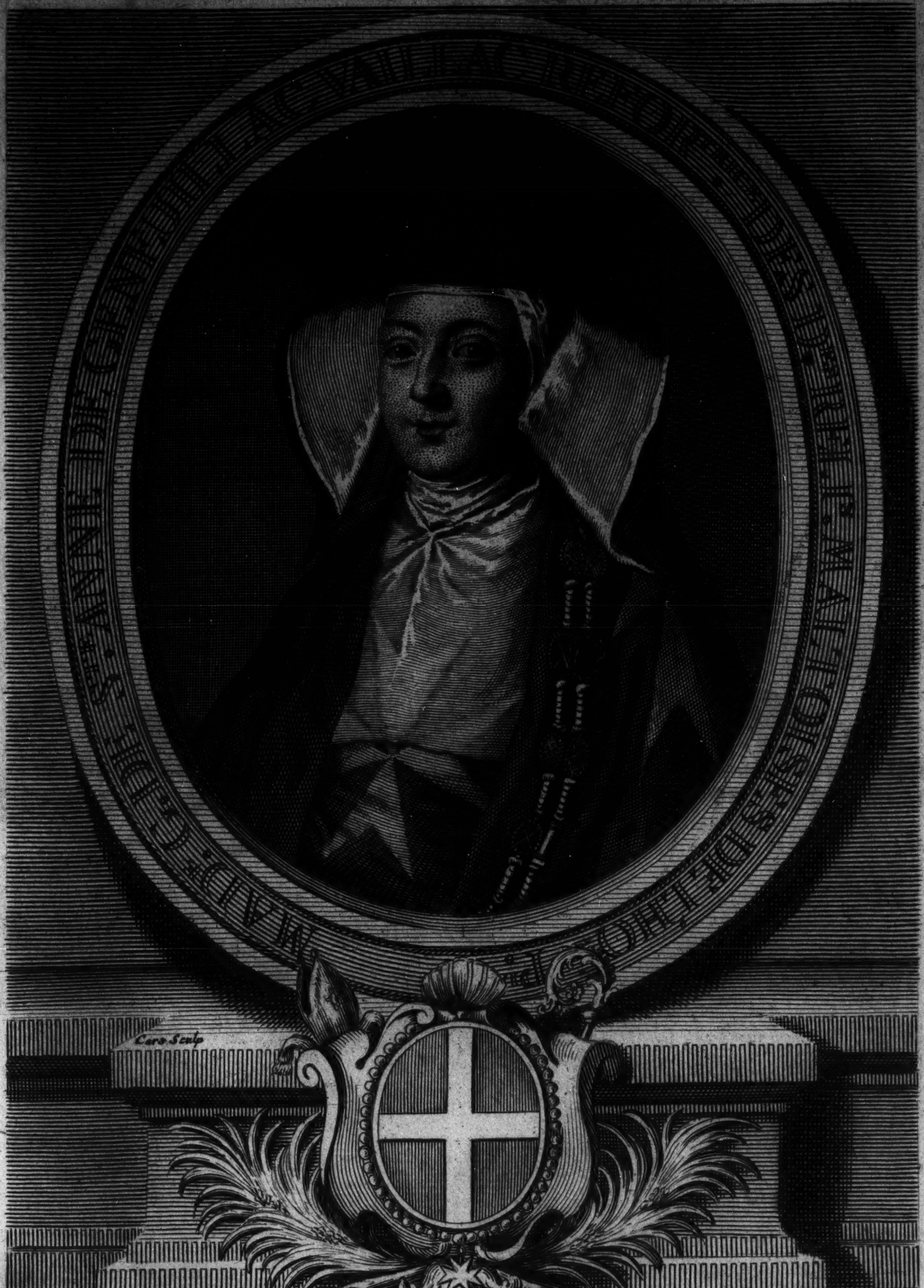

FRERE GUILLAUME DE VILLARET VINGT-TROISIEME GRAND MAITRE, ANNÉE 1296.
Caro sculp.


MAD.E CL.DE S.TE ANNE DE GENTIL LAC VAILLAC RELIG.SE PROF.E DES D.ES REL.ES MALTOISES DE THOL.
Caro Sculp

way in their paſſage to the Holy Land. In 1259, a lord of Themines, called Gilbert and Aigline his wife, gave this houſe to the order of St. John of Jeruſalem, with all the poſſeſſions annexed to it *. This donation was accepted in the name of the order, by brother Peter Gerard, commander of the houſes of Quercy, and brother Gerald de Baras, great commander of the houſes on the ſea-ſide, as the deed of gift expreſſes his title, which muſt evidently be underſtood of the firſt dignity of the order, (excepting that of the grand maſterſhip) and ſuch as was annexed to the language of Provence, preferably to all others. 'Twas in this chapter of la Tronquiere that William de Villaret, then grand maſter, gave the habit and croſs of the order to ſeveral young ladies of quality, who had devoted themſelves in that hoſpital to the ſervice of the poor, and appointed Aigline de Themines, the founder's daughter, for the prioreſs. The grand maſter made this houſe ſubject to the viſitation of the great prior of S. Giles, and eſtabliſhed ſeveral other regulations, which Aigline, and four other ladies, deputed by the convent and preſent at la Tronquiere, ſubmitted to the ſame, being afterwards ratified in a particular meeting of their chapter.

We cannot diſcover the time of the foundation of the houſe of Martel, ſituate in the city of that name, and which for a long time was called the hoſpital of the true croſs. As for another houſe of the order called Fieux, Jourdaine de Villaret, ſiſter to the grand maſter, and Fulk de Villaret, knight of the order, was the firſt prioreſs of it, as may be ſeen in the catalogue of the ſuperiors of that houſe. But as it has been ſince united to that of Beaulieu, we ſhall ſay nothing farther about it; only obſerving, that in theſe three houſes, as well as in that of Tholouſe, which is of a modern foundation, and in all others of the order, in what countrey ſoever they are ſituate, the nuns are obliged to be of noble birth, and the ſame proofs are required of them as for the knights.

Their habit is a robe of red cloth, with a mantle of black cloth, upon which they wear a croſs of white linen with eight points, a practice which has varied in different provinces, and in different ages, the cauſes of which we ſhall relate in the courſe of this hiſtory.

At the latter end of this century, and during the maſterſhip of William de Villaret, pope Boniface VIII. conſidering the loſs which this military order had ſuffered of all their poſſeſſions in Paleſtine, to enable them the better to carry on the armaments they had ſet on foot, annexed the famous abbey of the holy trinity of Venuſia, in the kingdom of Naples, to the manſe of the grand maſter. The pope, by his bull of the third year of his pontificate, declares, that he was induced to ſuppreſs the monks of that convent, on account of the irregularity of their manners, and that for a contrary reaſon, he had thought fit to confer it upon the hoſpitallers, who daily expoſed their own lives to defend thoſe of pilgrims, and guard them in their paſſage to the Holy Land. 'Twas almoſt at the ſame time, and out of a like motive, that Henry, marquis of Hochberg, of the houſe of Baden, before he entered into the order of the templars, gave the hoſpitallers his lordſhip of Heiterſheim, near Friburg, the reſidence of the great priors of Germany. This grant was confirmed twenty years after by Henry and Rodolph, marquiſſes of Hochberg, as may be ſeen in the appendix.

In arch. vatic. ex regiſt. Bon. VIII. t. 2. fol. 308.

Proof II.

The grand maſter repaired to Rome to thank the pope for his benefactions, and after receiving his bleſſing, ſet out for the iſle of Cyprus, and arrived

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* The antient family of Themines paſſed ſucceſſively into thoſe of Cardaillac and de Penne, and afterwards into that of Lauſiere, from whence, about the end of the ſixteenth century, ſprung Pons de Lauſiere Themines, knight of the orders of S. Michael and the Holy Ghoſt, marſhal of France, ſeneſchal and governour of the province of Quercy.

rived happily at Limiſſo, in the head houſe of the order, and ſeat of its reſidence. He was expected there with impatience, not only becauſe of the opinion they had entertained of his wiſdom and capacity in government, but alſo in hopes that his preſence and application would give new warmth to a ſcheme projected for driving the Sarazens out of the Holy Land.

1300 GAZAN, Son of Argun before-mentioned, cham of the mogul Tartars, king of Perſia, and a deſcendant or ſucceſſor of Genchizcan, was at the head of this league. Pachymerus, a Greek and cotemperary hiſtorian, has given us a character of that prince, which is too great, if it be a juſt one, not to be inſerted here. “When that prince, ſays the hiſtorian, mounted the throne, he caſt his eyes upon the hiſtories of Cyrus and Alexander the great, to take from thence the model of his conduct. He admired particularly the great qualities of the vanquiſher of Darius. In his military expeditions he made uſe of the Iberians; and he did ſo, ſays this hiſtorian, as well in regard to the ſincere piety of that nation, and their inviolable attachment to the Chriſtian religion, as for their courage and intrepidity in the field. As he knew the croſs was the trophy of the Chriſtians, he placed it on the top of his ſtandards, and 'twas under the protection of this ſign of our ſalvation, that he gained glorious victories over the ſultan of Egypt. He fell into Paleſtine, and to gratify the Iberians that were in his army, he attacked the city of Jeruſalem, and was very near delivering the ſepulchre of our Saviour from the tyranny of the infidels.” Pachym. l. 2.

No body that reads this paſſage of the hiſtory of Pachymerus, would have any other notion of Gazan but that he was a Chriſtian: Yet all the other writers of his nation, Arabians, Perſians, poets and hiſtorians, maintain that this prince was bred a pagan and idolater, as moſt of the Tartars were at that time; that he turned Mahometan afterwards, to conform to the religion of the greateſt part of his ſubjects, who were of that profeſſion, and, at the ceremony of his circumciſion took the name of Mahomet. The miſtake of the Chriſtian hiſtorians aroſe probably from hence. The Tartar had married a Chriſtian princeſs of admirable beauty, daughter to Livron or Leo, king of Armenia, and out of complaiſance to the queen his wife, had allowed her the publick exerciſe of her religion in his palace, which might induce the miſſionaries and travellers to believe, that Gazan himſelf was a Chriſtian. But be that as it will, ſome time before, and even antecedent to the misfortunes of Henry king of Cyprus, a league was ſtruck up between the Tartarian prince, the king of Armenia, his father in law and neighbour, the king of Cyprus, Amaury de Luſignan his brother, and the two orders of the templars and hoſpitallers, who were conſidered in the eaſt as the principal ſtrength, and only reſource of the Chriſtians. See the Bibliotheque oriental in the word Gazan.

Chap. 43. HAITON, lord of Curchy, nephew, or as others ſay only, couſin to the king of Armenia, an eye witneſs of theſe wars, has left us an exact account of them in his hiſtory of Tartary. 'Tis from this author that we learn what advantages theſe allies gained over the Sarazens. They defeated Nazer ſultan of Egypt, took the famous city of Damaſcus, and afterwards reduced the greateſt part of Syria. The hoſpitallers, who had no other view in this league but to chaſe the infidels out of the Holy Land, entered Paleſtine without oppoſition, at the head of a body of cavalry, which Gazan gave them for a reinforcement. They found the countrey open and defenceleſs; the cities, if they were not rather to be called villages, without any fortifications; Jeruſalem deſtitute of walls, as well as Chriſtian inhabitants; no body appearing to oppoſe their conqueſts. But that which facilitated theſe conqueſts, made it afterwards impoſſible to maintain them: The Sarazens, after the taking of S. John d'Acre, had raſed the fortifications of all the towns in Paleſtine, ſo that the kingdom was only a large countrey, expoſed to the ſtrongeſt power, and every force that was maſter of the field.

THE hoſpitallers, infinitely pleaſed with having made their way to the holy city, thought of rebuilding the walls, in order to maintain themſelves there. But the cham of Tartary, being obliged to repaſs the Euphrates, and return into Perſia, to march againſt a body of rebels that had made an inſurrection in his abſence, that prince recalled out of Paleſtine the troops which he had lent the hoſpitallers; and after their retreat, there was no poſſibility with the ſingle forces of the order, to keep the field againſt the armies of the Sarazens.

ACCORDINGLY the ſoldan, after the Tartars were drawn off, fell again into Paleſtine, and upon the news of his march, and that he was advancing with a mighty body of troops towards Jeruſalem, the hoſpitallers, who had entered like conquerors, were forced to quit it in a manner like pilgrims.

1301 GAZAN, in the mean time, having quickly pacified the troubles that had riſen in Perſia during his abſence, reſumed his firſt deſigns againſt the ſoldan of Egypt. The politick Tartar had no other view in re-eſtabliſhing the Latin Chriſtians in Paleſtine, but to make uſe of them afterwards for a barrier, to hinder the Sarazens of Egypt from having any communication with Syria. But having diſcovered by the former campaign how inconſiderable a force the kings of Armenia and Cyprus were able to bring into the field, and being ſenſible, that the military orders could not of themſelves make head againſt the ſoldan's power, he was fully convinced, that to drive the Sarazens both out of Syria and Paleſtine, and enable the Chriſtians to maintain themſelves in the latter, it was neceſſary to engage the princes of the weſt in this war, and bring ſome cruſade into the Levant, like the firſt of Godfrey de Bouillon, which had driven them out of the Holy Land.

THIS was the motive of a noted embaſſy, which he ſent to pope Boniface VIII. and which afterwards proceeded on to France. There are ſome hiſtorians indeed, that aſcribe this negotiation to Mahomet Gayateddin, otherwiſe called Algiaptou, brother and ſucceſſor to Gazan. The Perſians in their tongue, call this latter Chodabenda, i. e. the ſervant of God: Haiton the hiſtorian, names him Carbaganda, and ſays that his mother was a Chriſtian, and that he was baptized and named Nicholas, but that after his mother's death he turned Muſulman. But whoever was the author of this embaſſy, the perſon deputed upon that occaſion, arriving at Rome, deſired the pope in the cham his maſter's name, to engage the moſt powerful princes of his communion, to join part of their troops to the armies he had on foot, in order to drive the Sarazens out of Syria and Paleſtine, offering to leave the Latin Chriſtians the entire poſſeſſion of the Holy Land.

THE embaſſador, to make his propoſals go down the readier, politickly inſinuated, that the cham his maſter was no way averſe to embracing the Chriſtian religion*: An artifice perhaps new at that time, and too ſtale at this, but which ſerves at leaſt for a proof, that this prince was either a Pagan or Mahometan. Spicil. t. 11, p. 609.

UNLUCKILY for the ſucceſs of ſo great an enterprize, the pope was then in the violenteſt fits of his implacable hatred to Philip the Fair, king of France, whom in reproach he compared to the idol of Bel, or Baal, by a ridiculous ſenſeleſs alluſion that his groſs ignorance of that Phœnician word betrayed him into. The ground of this hatred was Philip's openly refuſing to

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* Pariſius ipſa hebdomada Paſchæ venerunt ad regem Franciæ nuncii Tartarorum, dicentes, quod ſi rex & barones gentes ſuos in Terræ Sanctæ ſubſidium deſtinarent, eorum dominus Tartarorum rex Sarracenos totis viribus expugnaret, & tàm ipſe quàm populus ſuus efficerentur libenti animo Chriſtiani. Contin. chron. de Nangis ad ann. 1303.

William de Villaret.

ſubmit to that abſolute and deſpotick power, which Boniface claimed over all Chriſtian ſtates. He owned indeed, that ſovereigns within their own dominions were ſupreme in temporals, but then he pretended to a right of taking cogniſance of the differences that roſe between them, under pretence, as he ſaid, that it behoved him to know, if they could in certain junctures and circumſtances make war without ſin. In virtue of this cavilling diſtinction, the new caſuiſt was for drawing to his own tribunal the cogniſance and abſolute deciſion of all their differences, and he threatened ſuch as refuſed to ſubmit to it, to excommunicate them, to lay an interdict on their dominions, and abſolve their ſubjects from their oath of fidelity. 'Twas the ſhorteſt way of attaining to an univerſal monarchy, but unluckily for the ſucceſs of theſe pretenſions. The pontif, in the perſon of Philip the Fair, had to do with a powerful prince, haughty and imperious in his nature, infinitely jealous of the rights of his crown, rightly apprized of thoſe of the pope's, and who at the ſame time that he denied them nothing that was due to the viſible head of the church, did yet maintain with an invincible firmneſs, that thoſe pontifs, with regard to Chriſtian monarchs, had not authority but what was purely ſpiritual, that this very authority was barely miniſterial, and that they ought to govern the church of Chriſt according to the canons of general councils.

Boniface, enraged to meet with ſuch an obſtacle to the eſtabliſhment of his chimerical project, had raiſed up enemies on all ſides againſt France, and even againſt the perſon of the king. 'Tis to this pontif, that the revolt of the Flemings, and the Engliſh war is aſcribed. And whilſt theſe open enemies were attacking the frontiers of the kingdom, the ſovereign pontif left no methods untried to raiſe ſeditions within it, and debauch the ſecular and regular clergy from the obedience they owed their ſovereign.

Such was the diſpoſition of Boniface, when the cham of Tartary's embaſſador arrived at Rome. The imperious pontif eagerly catched at this pretence of ſignalizing his pretended power over the perſon of the king and his ſubjects.

In the firſt cruſades, the popes, with regard to ſovereigns, never made uſe of any means but thoſe of intreaty and exhortation. But afterwards, and as opportunities offered, to get rid of princes whoſe power they were jealous of, they engaged them in thoſe expeditions by motives of penance, and ſometimes on pain of excommunication. Thus by menacing them with the cenſures of the church, they had created a ſort of right in the papacy to ſend the greateſt monarchs into the eaſt in a ſtate of exile, tho' ſtill under the pretext of delivering the Holy Land out of the hands of the infidels. 'Twas with ſuch views, that Boniface diſpatched the biſhop of Pamiers to the king. That prelate, who was animated with the ſpirit and haughtineſs of his maſter, delivered his meſſage to Philip not ſo much like an embaſſador and meſſenger of peace, as a herald ſent to declare war againſt him.

He told him, that it was the pope's intention, he ſhould croſs the ſea immediately at the head of all the forces of France, and join his troops with thoſe of the king of Perſia, to drive the Sarazens out of Syria and Paleſtine. Boniface, under colour of this pious motive, had no deſign but to get the king at a diſtance from his dominions, in hopes of being able to eſtabliſh his pretended temporal power there in his abſence. But beſides that the haughtineſs and inſolence of his nuncio, tho' a Frenchman, was of itſelf abundantly ſufficient to make the pope's propoſals be rejected, that pontif had to do with a prince infinitely jealous, as we have ſaid, of the ſovereign rights of his crown, who underſtood his true intereſts perfectly well, naturally frugal, and indeed ſo graſping at money, that his memory has been reproached for not always confining himſelf to juſt meaſures, for raiſing it. Far therefore from being diſpoſed to put himſelf to the neceſſary expences for ſo tedious an expedition, it was pretended, that he wanted even ſupplies to maintain the wars that the pope had ſecretly ſtirred up againſt him.

THERE did not likewiſe want ſuſpicions, that Boniface had a deſign of making war upon France. Reports went current about, that the templars had offered their ſervices to that pontif, and had alſo furniſhed him with conſiderable ſums to begin the war. So that Philip, inſtead of entertaining a thought of quitting his dominions in ſuch a juncture, ordered the pope's nuncio away, who had ſpoken to him with ſo much haughtineſs and inſolence; and by his diſmiſſion, the cham's embaſſador, who was come on purpoſe into France, ſaw his negotiation miſcarry.

'TWAS a very ſenſible affliction to the hoſpitallers to hear of the ill ſucceſs of this embaſſy; they ſaw their hopes of recovering the Holy Land farther off than ever. Beſides, they had but a very indifferent ſituation in the iſle of Cyprus, conſidering the temper of the king, a covetous and jealous prince, who was for impoſing taxes upon them, as we have ſaid, though they had never paid any tribute under the kings of Jeruſalem, but that of their blood, which they daily ſhed ſo generouſly in defence of the Chriſtians.

THE ſurprizing death of Boniface, who died through grief, that he was fallen under the power, and into the hands of the French, gave the hoſpitallers ſome hopes of ſeeing in a ſhort time a more religious pope, who inſtead of ſowing, and keeping up diviſions among Chriſtian princes, as Boniface did, would on the contrary employ all the intereſt that his dignity gave him, to diſpoſe them to unite together and form a new cruſade. 1303.

ACCORDINGLY the cardinals, eleven days after Boniface's deceaſe, choſe in his ſtead Nicholas Bocaſſini, a dominican, cardinal and biſhop of Oſtia, a prelate of a holy life, and profound learning. He took the name of Benedict XI. and as ſoon as he was ſeated in the holy ſee, he expreſſed a great deal of eagerneſs to procure powerful ſuccours, and a conſiderable armament to be ſent into the eaſt. But theſe pious diſpoſitions were attended with no effects, by reaſon of the pope's death, who was only eight days on the throne of S. Peter.

THE conclave met at Perugia, where it continued near a year, and there was reaſon to fear it would not end ſo ſoon, becauſe of the miſunderſtanding between the cardinals who were divided into two factions, and determined never to conſent to the election of any perſon that was then in the conclave. Cardinal Francis Cajetan, nephew to Boniface, and inheritor of his hatred againſt Philip the Fair, and the two cardinal Colonna's, who were partiſans of France, was at the head of one of the factions. The other party, which was devoted to the king, was headed by cardinal Dupré, an intimate friend of the two cardinal Colonna's, whom Boniface, during his pontificate, had out of averſion to France, cruelly perſecuted as well as all their houſe.

THE Cardinals that were ſhut up in the conclave, aſſembled every day, conferred together ſometimes in publick and ſometimes in private, and the moſt artful among them endeavoured to gain over ſome votes in the contrary faction.

CARDINAL Dupré, who was excellent at theſe weapons, and a moſt refined politician, addreſſing himſelf one day to cardinal Cajetan, “We do a “great deal of miſchief, ſays he to him, with all the appearance of frankneſs, and “cauſe an infinite prejudice to the church by keeping it ſo long deſtitute of a “head”: Adding, that, ſince they could not agree about a cardinal to be made pope, they muſt neceſſarily chuſe ſome perſon out of the conclave that was worthy of being advanced to that great dignity; and that, to facilitate the

Jo. Villani lib. 8. c. 8.
S. Antonin. p. 3. t. 21.
Bern. Chron. Rom. Pont.
Rain. t. 15. Contin. ann. Eccl.

election, he was of opinion, that one of the factions ſhould nominate any three archbiſhops that they pleaſed beyond the mountains, and the other faction ſhould have the right of chuſing within forty days whomſoever they liked beſt of the three for pope. Cajetan replied, that there was no equality in this propoſal, and that every body muſt ſee plainly, that the faction which ſhould name the three candidates, had vaſtly the advantage, ſince by their nomination they were ſure of having one of their creatures for pope. Cardinal Dupré owned it, but added, that to ſhew how ſincerely he and the cardinals of his party wiſhed to have an end put to the ſcandal which their diviſions cauſed in the church, they were ready to give up that advantage to the cardinals of the other faction; that thoſe of his party would freely conſent they ſhould have the naming of the three candidates, out of whom the pope was to be choſen, and that for their own parts they would only reſerve to themſelves the right of chuſing out of three of their creatures, the perſon they thought the moſt deſerving, and him that was leaſt diſagreeable to them.

BONIFACE's nephew communicated this propoſal to his faction, aſcribing it to the impatience which Dupré and the old cardinals had to get out of the conclave: And having brought the cardinals of his party in to approve of it, a formal treaty was drawn up and ſigned by all the cardinals; in conſequence of which Cajetan named three Ultramontain archbiſhops, all creatures of his uncle, and who, during that pope's pontificate, had eſpouſed his intereſt againſt the king. The firſt of the three was Bertrand de Got, archbiſhop of Bourdeaux, a prelate of a noble houſe in Aquitain, but wedded to his pleaſures, and eaten up with ambition, an intimate friend and entire confident of Cajetan's, and a ſubject of the king of England's, who was then duke of Aquitain. Beſides, this prelate was an enemy to Philip the Fair, and particularly ſo to Charles de Valois, that prince's brother, who, during the wars between the French and Engliſh, had ravaged the caſtles and lands of his brother and neareſt relations. Yet this was the prelate upon whom cardinal Dupré fixed his eyes to make him pope. He knew him thoroughly, and made no queſtion but a man of his character would eaſily ſacrifice his old friends, and firſt benefactors to his promotion. He was likewiſe of opinion, that it would be no difficult matter, whilſt Italy was infeſted with the factions and wars between the Guelphs and Gibbelines, to keep a man of his ambition and vanity in France, who would be charmed with ſhewing himſelf to his relations and countreymen in that height of power, to which the papal diadem was going to raiſe him. Cardinal Dupré communicated theſe views of his to Philip the Fair by an expreſs which he diſpatched to him with great ſecrecy, and which went from Perugia to Paris in eleven days. He ſent that prince the treaty between the two factions, and obſerved to him in his letter, that he had nothing to do but to make ſure of the archbiſhop of Bourdeaux, who to get at the papacy, would eaſily ſubmit to all the conditions he ſhould require of him.

THE king having peruſed theſe diſpatches and the treaty between the cardinals, ſaw plainly what advantages were to be drawn from it. He wrote immediately to the archbiſhop of Bourdeaux, that he had ſome affairs of conſequence, in which he was particularly concerned, to communicate to him. He fixed at the ſame time a certain day on which he appointed him to repair to an abbey ſeated in the middle of a foreſt near S. John d'Angelu, promiſing to be there himſelf without fail, and enjoining him above all things a profound ſecrecy on this head.

BOTH were punctual to the appointment; they came to an interview in the morning in the church of the abbey, Philip, after hearing maſs, required the archbiſhop to put his hand upon the altar, and ſwear, to keep the ſecret he was going to confide to him, inviolably. After this precaution, he told him, that it was in his power to make him pope, and to convince him of it, he ſhewed him the treaty made at Perugia between the cardinals, with the paſſage in Dupré's letter, where that cardinal in his own name and in the name of the cardinals of the French faction, refers it to the king to chuſe which of the three archbiſhops he thought moſt worthy of the papacy.

THE archbiſhop of Bourdeaux read theſe inſtruments with great aſtoniſhment, and when he had ended, threw himſelf at the king's feet, and embracing 'em with a tranſport eaſier to be imagined than expreſſed, asked pardon of him for his paſt conduct, " I ſee well, ſir, ſays he to him, that you are
" for rendring me good for evil, if I am happy enough to be advanced to the
" popedom, I beg of you to be aſſured, that you ſhall ſhare all the authority
" of it with me, and I am ready to give you all the aſſurances of it that you
" can demand for ſo great a kindneſs."

THE king raiſed him up graciouſly, and having embraced him in token of a perfect reconciliation, told him, that when he ſhould be upon the throne of S. Peter, he deſired, that he would grant him ſix favours, all of them juſt, and tending only to the good of the church, and his kingdom, but he would be aſſured of them before he entered into any more particular engagements with him. The two firſt conditions which that prince propoſed, related only to the differences between him and pope Boniface, inſiſting, that he ſhould annul all the acts of that pope againſt himſelf, the cardinals Colonna's and his principal ſubjects. He required for the third condition, that he ſhould promiſe him to condemn the memory of Boniface, and order his bones to be burnt as uſed to be done with thoſe of atheiſts and hereticks. The fourth article was concerning the affair of the cardinal Colonna's, whom Boniface had degraded for their adherence to France; the king required that they ſhould be re-inſtated in their former dignities, and an entire reſtitution made them of all their effects and poſſeſſions. Philip demanded, as the fifth condition, that he might have leave to raiſe the tenths upon the clergy of France for five years together. The ſixth condition was, not to be declared till after the ceremony of the future pope's coronation ſhould be over. " But I will have you, ſays the
" king, for a further aſſurance of your promiſes, take a ſolemn oath upon the
" holy ſacrament, and give me your brother and two nephews in hoſtage,
" whom I will take with me to Paris, under pretence of reconciling them to
" the count de Valois, my brother, and keep them there, till you have fully
" made good your word. 'Tis now for you, adds the king, to ſee, if you
" like the conditions."

THE ambitious prelate, drunk with joy and hope, promiſed every thing, and ſwore ſolemnly on the holy ſacrament to perform the conditions required. He ſent at the ſame time for his brother and nephews, and delivered them into the king's hands. That prince diſpatched away immediately an expreſs to cardinal Dupré, and thoſe of his faction, with advice, that he had taken all the neceſſary ſecurities from the archbiſhop of Bourdeaux for his own intereſt and thoſe of the houſe of Colonna; that he was actually bringing along with him to Paris the brother and two nephews of the archbiſhop, and that they might without any further delay, chuſe him for pope. The king and that prelate parted equally ſatisfied with one another, and his majeſty's expreſs arrived at Perugia five days before the term agreed on by the treaty was expired. Cardinal Dupré, apprized of the king's intentions, communicated 'em to the other cardinals of the French party, who thereupon notified to thoſe of the contrary faction, that they were ready to execute their promiſe, and chuſe one of the three archbiſhops propoſed for pope. Upon this notice a ſolemn aſſembly was held in the chapel of the conclave, it was opened with the invocation of the Holy Ghoſt, after which they ratified anew the treaty for the election. Then cardinal Dupré named Bertrand de Got, archbiſhop of Bourdeaux, for vicar of Jeſus Chriſt, which was followed with the acclamations of the whole ſacred college; eſpecially of the nephew and creatures of Boniface, who knew nothing of what had paſſed between the king and archbiſhop, and flattered themſelves with having a pope of their own party, and an enemy to the king.

But that prelate had no ſooner received the decree of his election, than in the tranſports of his joy, on occaſion of a good fortune ſo much above his hopes, he let ſlip a word which betrayed the ſecret of his reconciliation with the king of France. This was no longer doubted of, when they ſaw him ſummon the whole college of cardinals to meet at Lyons, for the ceremony of his coronation, which Philip honoured with his preſence.

'Twas after this great ceremony, that his majeſty is ſaid to have open'd himſelf to the pope, upon the ſixth condition that he had required of him at their interview, and which he was not to know till his coronation was over. The pontif was ſtrangely ſurprized to find that this condition contained the ſuppreſſion and extinction of the whole order of the templars. The king, to ſupport the juſtice of his demand, told him, that they were guilty of the moſt abominable crimes, and that he had good proofs of it. Clement, to make good his engagements, aſſured him, that he would apply himſelf to procure private informations to be taken on that ſubject, and deſired Philip on his part, to communicate to him what proofs he had againſt thoſe knights.

The new pontif, after his coronation, declared, that as long as the two factions of the Guelphs and Gibelines continued to tear Italy in pieces, he would take up his reſidence in France, and in conſequence of this declaration ſet out for Bourdeaux, paſſing thro' Mâcon, Brives, Bourges and Limoges. The continuator of Nangis, in his account of the year 1305, relates, that in croſſing theſe dioceſes, he plundered either by himſelf or his followers, all the churches and incumbents that he met with in his paſſage, ſo that the archbiſhop of Bourges, for his daily ſubſiſtence, was reduced to the neceſſity of aſſiſting at all the offices of the quire, as a ſimple canon, to be entitled to a ſhare in their daily dividends *.

It was not long before the Italian cardinals repented, that they had placed a French prelate, ſo greedy of money, upon the papal throne. They were ſenſible, that if it continued any conſiderable time in France, they ſhould have no great ſhare in the government, nor conſequently in the treaſures of the church. Cardinal Mattheo Roſſo Urſini, an Italian, and an enemy to the French, vexed to ſee himſelf over-reached by cardinal Dupré, and meeting him one day in the pope's antichamber, "You have carried "your point, ſays he, with a ſneer, and we are tranſplanted on this ſide the "mountains, but either I do not know the character of the Gaſcons, or I "ſhall be much miſtaken if we ſee the holy ſee again at Rome this long "time."

That capital of the Chriſtian world, formerly the miſtreſs and queen of nations, loſt, by the removal of the court of Rome, the little it had left of the luſtre of its antient empire. All the Italians made heavy lamentations for this tranſlation, which on account of the time it laſted, they have generally compared

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* Papa Clemens circa purificationem beatæ Mariæ à Lugduno recedens Burdegalis per Matiſconem, Brivatum, Biturigas,——& Lemovicas iter faciens, tam religioſorum quàm ſæcularium eccleſias & monaſteria tam per ſe quàm per ſuos ſatellites deprædando, multa & gravia intulit eis damna, & frater Ægidius, Bituricenſis archiepiſcopus per hujuſmodi deprædationes ad tantam devenit inopiam, quòd, tanquam unus de ſuis ſimplicibus canonicis, ad percipiendum quotidianas diſtributiones pro vitæ neceſſariis horas eccleſiaſticas frequentare coactus ſit.

to the captivity of Babylon. Some hiſtorians have not ſcrupled to aſcribe it to the pope's paſſion for the counteſs of Perigord, daughter to the count de Foix, a princeſs of ſingular beauty, and from whom it is probable, he could not part without pain. The ſame authors accuſe him of a ſcandalous traffick in holy things, to gratify his avarice.*

Hiſt. de M. l'Abbé Fleuri. l. 92. p. 239.

Perhaps the reader may think we have given too large a detail of the intrigues of this conclave, but conſidering the facts which follow, we thought ourſelves neceſſarily obliged to repreſent the character of this pope, and relate the ſecret cauſes of the complaiſance he ſhewed afterwards for moſt of the deſigns of Philip the Fair, with regard to the templars, as well as the hoſpitallers of S. John.

The new pontif, deſirous to ſignalize his zeal by ſome enterprize that would make a noiſe, and ſuit the taſte of the age, propoſed to ſend a new cruſade into the eaſt for the recovery of the Holy Land. With this view, and to be juſtly informed of the forces of the infidels, perhaps alſo to inquire into the accuſations brought by the king of France againſt the templars, he ſent an order to the two grand maſters to come immediately to him, with the principal knights of both orders.

Rain. t. 15.

Proof III.

“The kings of Cyprus and Armenia, ſays he, in his letter to the grand maſter of the hoſpitallers, ſolicite us earneſtly to procure them ſome ſuccour. We have therefore reſolved to conſult about it with you, and the maſter of the temple; ſince by the knowledge you have of the countrey, you are much better qualified than any others to adviſe us, in regard to the conduct and management of ſuch an enterprize; beſides, that next to the church of Rome, no one has a greater intereſt than you in the ſucceſs of it. We order you therefore to come hither ſpeedily, with as much ſecrecy as poſſible, and with a very little retinue, ſince you will find on this ſide the ſea a ſufficient number of your knights to attend you. But be careful to leave in the iſle of Cyprus a good lieutenant, and a body of knights, capable of defending the city of your reſidence, that ſo your abſence, which will not be long, may be of no prejudice to the affairs of your order. Neverthelesſ, do not neglect to bring along with you ſome knights, who by their wiſdom, experience and zeal, are qualified to give us proper advice, in conjunction with you.” This letter is dated from Bourdeaux, June 6, 1306.

1306

The grand maſter of the hoſpitallers was at ſea, when this letter was ſent him from the iſle of Cyprus, whither it was directed. He wrote back immediately to the pope to excuſe himſelf, that he did not make ſo much haſte in his voyage as his holineſs ſeemed to recommend, being actually engaged in an enterprize that he had formed. The hoſpitallers, being tired out with the ill treatment they received from the king of Cyprus, and the oppreſſion of his government; and ſeeing themſelves cooped up as it were in a town, without the convenience of a port for their naval armaments, came to a reſolution to abandon ſo improper an abode, deſigning to make themſelves maſters of ſome iſland in the neighbourhood of the Holy Land, where the order, without being accountable to any but their own ſuperiors, might go to ſea, and diſcharge the obligations and duties of their ſtation.

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* Queſto papa fue huomo multo cupido di moneta è ſimoniaco bhe ogni beneficio per moneta in ſua corte ſi vendea è fue luſurioſo, ſi dicea che tenea per amica la conteſſa di paragordo belliſſima dona ſigliuo la del conte di foy. Giovan. Villani. lib. 9. ch. 58.

Papa, ut chronica referunt, fuit nimis cupiditatibus deditus; propter quod ſcelus ſimoniæ, maximè a canonibus deteſtatum & punitum, multum viguit in curia ſua circa beneficia. Quod autem quidam dicunt in papam non poſſe cadere ſimoniam, beatus Thomas hos reprobat: inſuper & minùs honeſtæ vitæ fuit, & communiter dicebatur cum quadam comitiſſa pulcherrima muliere contubernium habere. Sanctus Antoninus Flor. archiep. de concilio Viennenſi. tit. 21. ſect. 3.

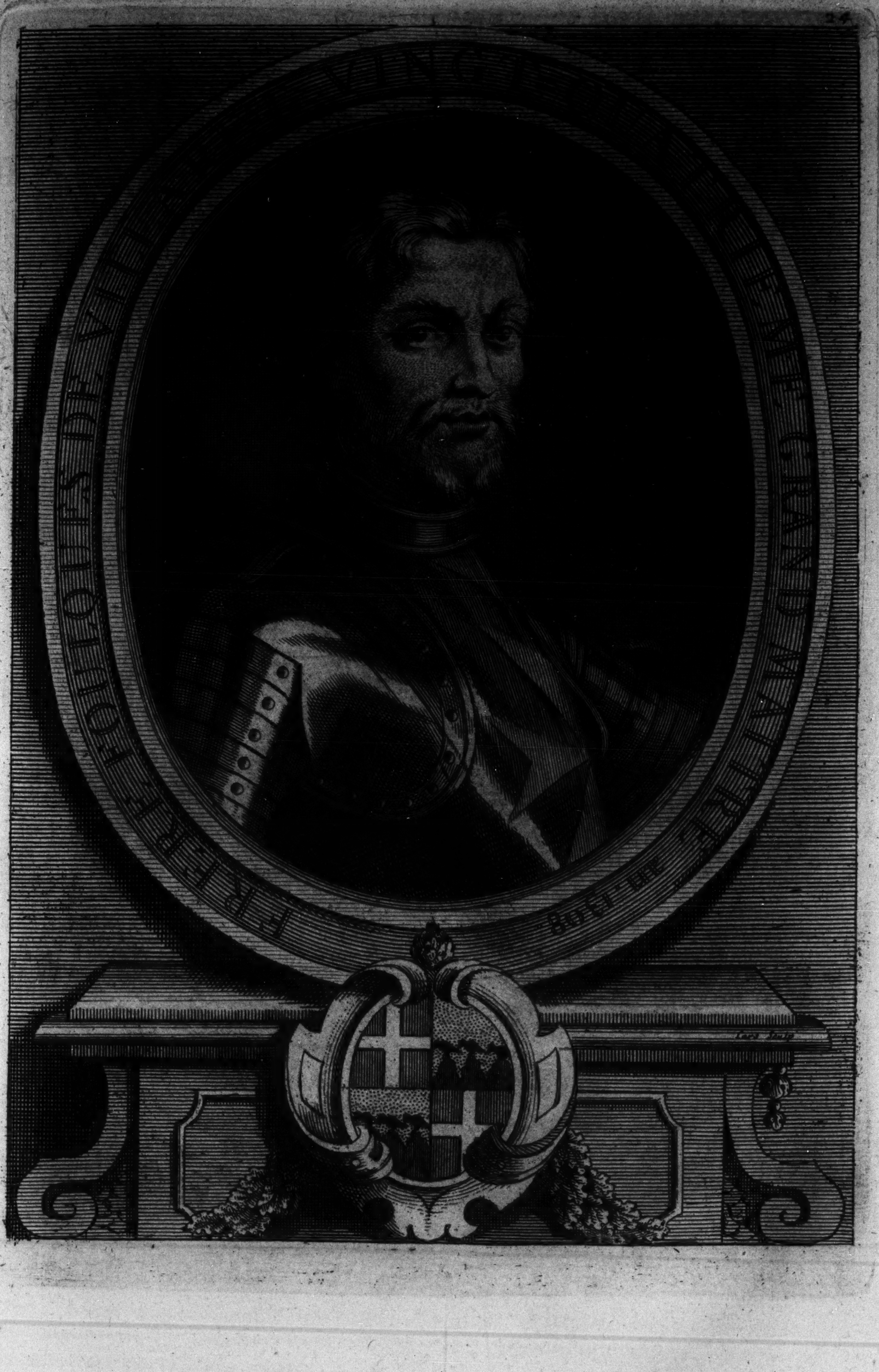
William de Villaret.

The grand maſter, whoſe thoughts were entirely taken up with this great deſign which he kept very ſecret, fixed his eyes upon Rhodes, an iſland at a ſmall diſtance from Paleſtine, and accommodated with an excellent port. This iſland, a member of the empire of Conſtantinople, ſuffered, like moſt of thoſe of the Archipelago, in the revolution that happened in that capital, by the conqueſt which the French and Venetians made of it. The Genoeſe, for their part, had ſeized on moſt of the Cyclades and Sporades. Rhodes, and the little iſles depending on it, fell into the hands of thoſe republicans, during the abſence of their governour, a Greek lord, called John de Gabales. Vatacius, whom we have ſpoken of already, and who, in the diſmembring of the empire, had erected one for himſelf, of which Nice was the capital, vexed to ſee the Latin princes pare off every day ſome morſel or other from the Greek empire, ſent in A. D. 1249, John Cantacuzenus, his great cupbearer, with a ſtrong fleet to drive the Genoeſe out of the iſle of Rhodes. That Greek general arrived off the iſland, and landed his troops without oppoſition: But by great good luck for the Genoeſe, William de Villehardouin, a French lord, and prince of Achaia, and Hugh, a prince of the houſe of Burgundy, were paſſing at that time by Rhodes, in order to join S. Louis in the iſle of Cyprus, and left the Genoeſe a body of troops, which helped them to drive out the Greeks. Vatacius, the moſt politick prince of his time, to make his advantage afterwards of the conſternation the Latins were in at the captivity of S. Louis, the head of the cruſade, ſent Theodorus Protoſebaſtus to Rhodes, who retook the iſland from the Genoeſe. The Greeks re-eſtabliſhed their authority there, but the empire being on the decline, ſome lords of the houſe of Gualla, governours of Rhodes, inſenſibly ſet up for princes of the iſle; and to fortify themſelves againſt their ſovereign, they peopled it with a great number of Turkiſh and Sarazen merchants and inhabitants. 'Tis ſaid likewiſe, that they admitted the infidel Corſairs into their ports, who were always ſure to find refuge there, when they were purſued by the galleys of the hoſpitallers, or by the ſhips of other Chriſtian princes.

The grand maſter, after coaſting the iſle of Rhodes, obſerving its ports and fortreſſes, and apprizing himſelf of the number of its inhabitants, did not find that he had forces ſufficient to attempt the conqueſt of it. Then he took a view of ſeveral ſmall adjacent iſlands, which though inhabited, are ſcarce any thing but rocks. But finding no fortified places in them, wherein he could maintain his ground, and fearing, that if he made an attempt on any one of theſe little iſlands, it would diſcover his deſign upon Rhodes, he ſtood away for the iſle of Cyprus, and returned to Limiſſo. After this expedition, he was preparing to go and give the pope an account of the project he had in view, and to try if he could obtain from that pontif, and the weſtern princes, the neceſſary ſuccours for ſuch an enterprize. But he was ſtopped by a long illneſs, which carried him to his grave.

All the knights were ſenſibly afflicted at the loſs of the grand maſter, eſpecially in a juncture ſo important to the order. The chapter being perſuaded, that Fulk de Villaret, his brother, was acquainted with all the particulars of his ſecret deſigns, and was well qualified by his valour, to put them in execution with ſucceſs, thought proper to appoint him for his ſucceſſor. This grand maſter, as ſoon as he was inveſted with that dignity, went on board the galleys of his order, and paſſed into France, to confer with the pope and the king, about the enterprize of Rhodes, the deſign of which the late grand maſter had communicated to him. It was now above a year ſince Jame de Moley, of an illuſtrious family in the county of Burgundy, and grand maſter of the order of templars, had, in obedience to

Fulk de Villaret.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FRERE FOULQUES DE VIL
VINGT
IEME GRAND MAITRE
en 1308

FULK DE VILLARET.

the pope's orders, repaired to the town of Poitiers, where the court of Rome then was. The grand maſter was attended with moſt of his knights, who tired out, like the hoſpitallers, with the oppreſſions and exactions which the king of Cyprus and his miniſters were continually laying upon them, had at laſt abandoned the iſle. They diſperſed themſelves afterwards into ſeveral countries of Chriſtendom, where they had a great number of rich commanderies, and no body was left in the iſle of Cyprus but the great marſhall of the order, and ſome commanders. The grand maſter is ſaid to have brought prodigious treaſures from the Levant, which he laid up afterwards in the houſe of the temple at Paris.

THAT lord, upon his arrival in France, kept the principal knights of his order with him, and thus attended, he waited upon the pope. They were all well received, the pontif giving not the leaſt hint of the ſecret motive that had induced him to ſend for them into France. He ſeemed even pleaſed with the turn and capacity of the grand maſter, diſcourſing with him frequently upon the ſubject of a cruſade, which he pretended he would publiſh without loſs of time. He carried his diſſimulation ſo far as to deliver him a memorial, requiring him, at his leiſure, to draw up an exact anſwer to it.

IN this memorial, the pope, ſtill ſuppoſing the project of a cruſade, demanded of him, what aſſiſtance the Latins might expect from the king of the leſſer Armenia; what were the ports, the roads, and the coaſts of Paleſtine, where the forces of the cruſade might land with moſt convenience; and whether the troops ſhould be ſent from Europe in the great or the little paſſage, i. e. in the months of May or September, the ordinary ſeaſons in which the caravans of pilgrims ſet out for the Holy Land. Thoſe embarkations being called great or little paſſages, according to the number of veſſels and troops that were ſent to the Levant.

THE pope, in a ſeparate memorial, added, that the diſſenſion, which was too often breaking out afreſh between the templars and hoſpitallers, having contributed not a little to the loſs of the Holy Land, he had been adviſed for the common good of both orders, and the general edification of the faithful, to incorporate the templars and hoſpitallers for ever, under one and the ſame rule, habit, and grand maſter. The ſovereign pontif ordered him to give him his ſentiments freely and ſincerely on this head. The pope, perhaps, by ſuch an union of the templars with the hoſpitallers, whoſe reputation was untouched, would not have been ſorry to ſave the templars from the king of France's inſtances for the extinction of that order.

PROOF IV.

HISTORY has conveyed down to us, the anſwer which the grand maſter of the templars made to theſe two memorials of the pope. He ſays, in the firſt place, that in a battel or deciſive action, there was no depending on the Armenians, who were much more diſpoſed to turn their backs, than ſtand their ground in an engagement; and if they bounded the ſuccour they were for ſending into the eaſt, meerly to the defence of the leſſer Armenia, without attempting any further conqueſt, his holineſs ought to be made ſenſible, that the Armenians, being ſchiſmaticks and enemies to all the Latin Chriſtians, would never admit them into their caſtles and ſtrong places, tho' they were come into the eaſt only for their aſſiſtance; and that the troops of the cruſade, being thereby forced to keep the field, would be frequently ſurprized and maſſacred by the Turcomans and Bedovins, that lived on the mountains bordering on Armenia, from whence they were continually making incurſions into the flat countrey.

FOR theſe reaſons and many more, which are repreſented at large in this memorial, the grand maſter ſhews the inſignificancey of the little paſſage, and a weak ſuccour, which would ſerve, ſays he, only to deſtroy ſuch as compoſed it, and render the Latin Chriſtians contemptible. He concludes, that to flatter themſelves with the hopes of good ſucceſs, it was neceſſary to omit nothing that could be ſerviceable for making the paſſage as numerous and powerful as poſſible.

Philip the Fair, Edward II. Henry de Luxemburg, Don Fadrique d'Arragon, Don James, Ferdinand IV.

With this view he preſſes the pope to communicate his memorial to the kings of France, England, Germany, Sicily, Arragon, Caſtile, and all other ſovereign princes of Chriſtendom, whoſe hearts, ſays he, may God Almighty touch with his grace, and inſpire them to drive the infidels out of a land died with the adorable blood of Jeſus Chriſt.

He propoſes in the next place to engage the Genoeſe, the Venetians, and other maritime powers, who had ports in the Mediterranean, to furniſh the galleys and ſhips neceſſary for the great paſſage, and for tranſporting the troops of the cruſade. He repreſents likewiſe, that the Chriſtians not being maſters of a foot of ground in the kingdom of Jeruſalem, or in the principality of Antioch, if they pretended to drive out the infidels, their army ought to conſiſt at leaſt of fifteen thouſand men of arms, and five thouſand foot.

With regard to their landing, he adviſes, that the Chriſtian army ſhould for refreſhment put firſt into the iſle of Cyprus, from whence they might eaſily paſs afterwards into Paleſtine. But as to the coaſt and place of the kingdom, where it was proper to make their deſcent, he deſires the pope to excuſe him from putting his opinion in writing, and allow him to explain himſelf on that head by word of mouth, either to him or to the king of France, for fear, that a deſign of ſuch importance, and a point on which the whole ſucceſs of the cruſade depended, might come to be diſcovered, and conſequently traverſed by the infidels.

He intimates, that it would be very proper to ſend ten galleys in the ſpring towards the iſle of Cyprus, to cruiſe at ſea, and intercept the ſhips of ſome Chriſtian merchants, who preferring a ſordid gain to the intereſts of religion, held criminal correſpondences with the Sarazens, and carried them, in contempt of the prohibitions of the church, arms and timber ready worked and fitted, ſo that, for making their galleys, they had nothing to do but to join the ſeveral pieces together.

He adds, that nevertheleſs the command of theſe ten Chriſtian galleys ought not to be given either to the templars or hoſpitallers, for fear, that if thoſe knights ſhould catch any veſſels belonging to the Venetian or Genoeſe merchants in this clandeſtine commerce, and ſeize 'em, they might draw upon the military orders the hatred and reſentment of thoſe two potent republicks.

The ſecond memorial contains an anſwer to the pope's deſign of uniting the templars and hoſpitallers under one and the ſame rule and head. The grand maſter repreſents to him, that, during the pontificate of Gregory IX. and in the reign of S. Louis, a propoſal had been made in the council of Lyons, for a project of the like nature, but much more comprehenſive, the deſign being to incorporate all the military orders that were in the church together: That the pope and the king, who aſſiſted both of them at that council, were pleaſed to conſult brother William de Beaujeu, grand maſter of the templars, and brother William de Courcelles, one of the principal knights of the order of S. John, who met at the ſame time at Lyons, and to hear their ſentiments on this ſubject: that the grand maſter of the templars urged, that the kings of Spain, who were engaged in continual wars againſt the Moors, and drew their beſt forces from the military orders ſettled in their dominions, would never conſent, that thoſe Spaniſh knights, which depended on their reſpective ſovereigns, ſhould be put under the authority of a foreign head, or be incorporated with other military orders, that were inſtituted for different ends, and regulated by different ſtatutes; and that, upon theſe remonſtrances of the grand maſter, they gave over the deſign.

He owned, that after the loſs of S. John d'Acre this queſtion was brought upon the ſtage again, and that pope Nicholas IV. to ſkreen himſelf from the ſhame of not having furniſhed the leaſt ſuccour to the beſieged, declaimed warmly in ſeveral conſiſtories againſt the templars and hoſpitallers, as if by their pretended diſſenſions they had occaſioned the loſs of that important place; but that there was not one perſon in Chriſtendom, nor even among the infidels, but knew, that the grand maſter of the templars, the marſhal of the hoſpitallers, and above four hundred knights of both orders, died in the defence of that city, out of which there came but ten templars alive; and that all the projects and diſcourſes of that pontif about the neceſſity of an union, were attended with no effect. That pope Boniface VIII. who had a particular affection for the military orders, and was deſirous to unite them, only to render them more powerful, had likewiſe given over the deſign; and that after much reaſoning upon the ſubject, it was reſolved at laſt to let each order continue as it was, in its particular conſtitution, and keep to its own rules and form of government.

The grand maſter, after producing theſe inſtances, enters next into a thorough examination of the affair, and repreſents to the pope, Firſt, the danger to which he would expoſe the ſalvation of theſe military friars, by forcing them to quit their firſt rule, and putting them under the obligation of obſerving another, to which they had not received the grace of a particular call.

Secondly, He remonſtrates to him, that ſuppoſing ſuch an union, the knights, tho' originally of different orders, being obliged to live together in the ſame community, would never fail to have diſputes with one another about the preference of their firſt profeſſions, and that theſe diſputes between men of courage, and provided with arms, might degenerate into combats, to the great ſcandal of all Chriſtendom.

Thirdly, That in every houſe of the templars they gave a general alms three times a weak, and every day the poor had all the meat that came off the tables in the refectory; that in like manner, the hoſpitallers, whoſe original foundation was on the foot of a continual exerciſe of charity, employed their alms chiefly in affording various helps and aſſiſtances to the ſick and pilgrims. And that, if two houſes of different orders were to be reduced to one, there would be but a ſingle charity for the poor to their great detriment and prejudice: And the caſe would be equally the ſame with regard to the offices of divine worſhip, and all the exerciſes of piety, which were performed but in a different manner, in the commanderies of both orders.

Fourthly, ſays he, each order has one head and one grand maſter, and ſeveral officers of eminence, ſuch as the priors, the bailiſs, the marſhal, the grand commander, the draper, the hoſpitaller, and the turcopolier; and if, in the union propoſed, they keep up theſe offices, there will be in every priory two perſons with the ſame title; if they ſuppreſs one, upon which of the two orders ſhall that reform fall? Is it juſt, under pretence of ſuch an union, to deprive old knights of their poſts to which they have riſen by their ſervices, and by ſhedding their blood for the defence of Chriſtendom?

I am very ſenſible, continues the grand maſter, that the view in this union is to put an end to that jealouſy and emulation, which too often reigns between warriours that aſpire all to the ſame glory. But let it be conſidered, ſays he, by way of reply, that the Latin Chriſtians have derived great ad-

vantages

vantages from this very emulation, that nothing has more contributed to raiſe the courage of one order, than the valour they have been witneſs of in another; and that it has been always obſerved, that if the hoſpitallers at any time ſent for troops, ſhips, arms and proviſions from their commanderies, for the relief of the Holy Land, the templars, after their example, and to outdo them, if poſſible, made the more powerful armaments on their ſide.

'Tis not, moſt holy father, continues the grand maſter, but that I am convinced, that in a time like this, when all the world, princes, prelates, eccleſiaſticks and regulars, envy the great revenues of the two orders, and contrive various pretences to get them into their own hands, it would be a great advantage for us to be united, that we may the better oppoſe the enterpriſes of ſuch uſurpers. But 'tis for your holineſs to weigh this advantage againſt the reaſons I have laid before you, and if you pleaſe, I will call a chapter to be held in your preſence, of the priors, bailiſs, and principal commanders that are on this ſide the ſea. You may there, moſt holy father, inform yourſelf of their ſentiments on this ſubject, and ſee, how the whole order ſtands diſpoſed to this union. After hearing them, your holineſs will in your great wiſdom, and in virtue of that ſovereign power you have received from God, decide ultimately in this point, as ſhall appear to you moſt conducive to the general good of all Chriſtendom."

History does not acquaint us with the uſe the pope made of theſe two memorials; nor was it till two years after, that he renewed the project of the cruſade.

With regard to the union of the two orders, the pope, in all probability, was ſenſible of the inconveniences attending it, and the ſolidity of the grand maſter's reaſons, and the pious and religious ſentiments that appear throughout his laſt memorial could not but make an impreſſion on him. Nor is it improbable, that the pope propoſed this union of the templars with the hoſpitallers only as a ſort of reform of the firſt, and to avoid bringing thoſe crimes upon the board, which Philip the Fair had complained to him of in private, and which his embaſſadors ſolicited him warmly to examine into and puniſh. Not to interrupt the thread of the narration, with regard to the particulars concerning the iſle of Rhodes, I ſhall forbear to enter into the detail of this extraordinary event, and of the proceedings againſt the templars, till I come to the year in which that affair was ended.

The deſign of the hoſpitallers, as we have ſaid, was to abandon the iſle of Cyprus, and endeavour to make themſelves maſters of that of Rhodes. But a project of ſuch importance required forces ſuperior to thoſe of the order. The grand maſter, in hopes of obtaining aſſiſtance from the pope and king of France, went into that kingdom, and came to Poitiers, where they were both met by agreement to treat about the affair of the templars. Fulk de Villaret deſired a private audience of them. He began with laying before them the cruel exactions with which the king of Cyprus and his miniſters were continually loading the hoſpitallers; the miſtruſtful and jealous humour of that prince, who, for fear of drawing upon himſelf the reſentment and arms of the ſultan of Egypt, and other infidel princes, obſtructed the armaments of the order, and hindered the knights from going out of his ports. The grand maſter, after ſhewing how impoſſible it was for his order to continue any longer in the territories of a prince governed by ſuch timorous politicks, acquainted them with the intented enterprize on the iſle of Rhodes. He laid before them all the advantages of it, and repreſented to them, that it would ſerve as a ſtaple and place of rendezvous for all the cruſades and Chriſtian fleets that paſſed into the eaſt; that the conqueſt of this iſland ought to be conſidered as a ſure earneſt of that of the Holy Land, upon account

count of the great number of veſſels that the knights would put to ſea, which would hinder the Turkiſh and Sarazen corſairs, from carrying any ſuccours to the infidels in Judæa. But he added, that the forces of his order were not ſufficient for ſo great an enterprize, and they could not engage in it, without being aſſured of the aſſiſtance of the common father of the faithful, and that of the moſt powerful monarch of Europe.

THE pope and the king perſuaded, as they generally were at that time all over Chriſtendom, that there was not a more meritorious action whereby to gain heaven, than to engage in, or contribute to theſe holy wars, were laviſh in their praiſes of the grand maſter, and the knights of S. John: And to encourage them to purſue ſo noble a project, they promiſed them mighty ſuccours. The pope, thinking the conqueſt of Rhodes would be a great honour to his pontificate, advanced ninety thouſand florins to the order, out of his own purſe, for the levying of troops.

FOR the better covering the ſecret of this enterprize, they publiſhed a general cruſade for the recovery of the Holy Land. The pope annexed plenary indulgences to it, with all the privileges that his predeceſſors had granted in the like expeditions; and even ſuch as ſhould contribute to the expence of this armament were comprendended in the benefit of theſe apoſtolical graces. A great number of perſons of all conditions, eſpecially in Germany, abandoned their countrey, and liſted in this holy militia. The very women would have a ſhare in the cruſade; ſeveral parted even with their rings and jewels, and an hiſtorian pretends, that the knights of S. John ſold them for a trifle, for want of knowing their value. All this money was laid out in purchaſing veſſels, arms, and proviſions.*

CHARLES II. king of Sicily, and the common-wealth of Genoa, tho' they did not know the ſecret deſign of this expedition, furniſhed galleys to tranſport ſuch as engaged in the cruſade. The rendezvous was at Brunduſium, in the further part of the kingdom of Naples, whither they flocked in ſuch numbers, that the knights, not having tranſports enough, and fearing to be incumbered with a multitude of people of all conditions, contented themſelves with chuſing, out of this vaſt crowd, ſuch as were beſt armed and diſtinguiſhed by their quality and condition. It is ſaid, that a great number of gentlemen of the beſt families in Germany were there, who upon this occaſion, took the habit and croſs of S. John; and theſe illuſtrious knights were preſented to the grand maſter, by brother Heltwig de Randerſack, great prior of Germany, who, at the head of ſuch a brave and honourable company, acquired a great deal of glory in this expedition.

Pantal. hiſt. Johan. Baſileæ. 1581.

AFTER this, the grand maſter took leave of the pope, who heaped favours and bleſſings in abundance upon him, and the order in general. He particularly granted them, in caſe the enterprize ſucceeded, the right of naming the archbiſhop of Rhodes, in a vacancy of the ſee. The weather was ſo foul, that they could not ſet ſail till the beginning of the ſpring, when the Chriſtian fleet coaſted Albania, paſſed by the Morea, and the iſle of Candia; and leaving Rhodes on the left, at a ſufficient diſtance to give no ſuſpicion to the Greeks and infidels, ſtood in for the iſle of Cyprus, and landed in the port of Limiſſo.

THE grand maſter ſtay'd no longer there than was neceſſary to take on board the knights that were in the iſland, with all the effects of the order, which being done he put to ſea again. The king of Cyprus, the neighbouring princes, and even the knights and troops of the cruſade that were

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* Pro paſſagio congregata fuit pecunia & armorum ac aliarum rerum copia, offerentibus fidelibus viris ac mulieribus jocalia & quæ habebant cariſſima, hoſpitalariis ad hoc miſſis, qui vili pretio diſtrahebant. Ex quinta vita Clementis V. Bal.

FULK DE VILLARET.

on board, were all perſuaded, that this armament was intended for the Holy Land. But the grand maſter, after ſome days ſail put into Macri, on the coaſt of Lycia, either to take in water and refreſh himſelf, or elſe to Lib. 7. c. 30, & 31. wait for the return of ſome ſpies that he had ſent to take a view of the iſle and town of Rhodes, and upon the advices they brought, to take the laſt meaſures for the landing of the army.

THIS was in all probability the place from whence, as the hiſtorian Pachymerus relates, he diſpatched embaſſadors, in the name of the order, to the emperor Andronicus, to acquaint him with his enterprize, and demand the inveſtiture of Rhodes, which held indeed of the empire, but had been ſeized by ſome rebel Greeks, in concert with the Sarazens, who, to fortify themſelves in their uſurpations, had called in ſome corſairs to their aſſiſtance.

THESE embaſſadors repreſented to him, that the order engaged to drive out thoſe pirates which infeſted all the ſeas of the empire, and that, in conſideration of the inveſtiture, and in token of vaſſalage, they would furniſh him every year three hundred knights, moſt of them fit for commanding, which he might put at the head of his troops on the frontiers of Perſia.

BUT Andronicus, being naturally an enemy to the Latins, as moſt of the Greek princes were, rejected the propoſal with contempt. A caſtle which he ſtill enjoyed in the iſland (as the Greek hiſtorian relates) and ſome ſmall ſhadow of a precarious ſovereignty, which the Guallas ſtill complimented him with, made him fanſy, that it would be eaſier for him to recover his whole authority there, whilſt in their hands, than if the hoſpitallers, ſupported by the princes of the weſt, were maſters of it. Whilſt this negotiation was carrying on at Conſtantinople, the grand maſter, who expected what would be the iſſue of it, had ſet ſail, and after publickly declaring his deſign, had made a deſcent upon the iſle of Rhodes, ſurprized the Greek and infidel inhabitants, and landed his troops, proviſions and military engines with very little oppoſition.*

VARIOUS are the names that have at various times been given to the iſle of Rhodes. The Greeks called it Ophiuſa, or the iſle of ſerpents, becauſe of the multitude of ſerpents that infected it. Some ſay, that it had the name of Rhodes from a roſe bud made of braſs, which was taken up out of the foundation of Lindus, one of its chief cities, and that the inhabitants ſtamped the figure of it on their coin. But an able antiquary has ſhewn, that thoſe who eſpouſe this ſentiment, have miſtaken a roſe for the flower of a pomegranate, which the Rhodians ordinarily made uſe of in dying their cloth, and which they impreſſed upon their coin for the ſame reaſon that the Tyrians ſtamped theirs with the ſhell of that valuable little fiſh called the purple. The moſt common and probable opinion derives the original of the name of Rhodes, from the quantity of roſes with which that iſland is ſtocked almoſt all the year round.

THE iſland of Rhodes is ſituate in that part of the Mediterranean which is called the Carpathian ſea. It has the iſle of Cyprus on the eaſt, that of Candia on the weſt, Egypt on the ſouth, and on the north lie Caria and Lycia, which make part of Aſia Minor, now called Natolia, from which it is divided only by a channel, not above twenty miles broad; it is about ſixſcore miles in circumference. The air is clear and temperate, the climate mild, and the ſoil almoſt every where fertile: The countrey abounds particularly in fruit-trees of all ſorts: There were anciently iron and copper mines in it; and the inhabitants, who were famous for the perfection to which they carried their improvement of all manner of arts, employed theſe metals in making arms, warlike inſtruments, and eſpecially ſtatues, of which there were reckoned to be in the old town of Rhodes, no leſs than three thouſand of different ſizes, all wrought by excellent workmen, and repreſenting either deities, princes, or illuſtrious men. The city was, if I may uſe the expreſſion, peopled with them; but of all theſe images, the moſt remarkable and ſurprizing was a coloſſus, conſecrated to the ſun, the tutelar god of the iſle. Pliny tells us, that it was ſeventy cubits high, 'twas the work of Chares of Lindus, a diſciple of Lyſippus. An earthquake overturn'd this prodigious ſtatue: There were few perſons, adds the hiſtorian, that could claſp its thumb in their arms; its fingers were bigger than ſeveral ſtatues, and large cavities being diſcovered by its falls, they found great ſtones within, which the excellent artiſt had ſo adjuſted, as to poize the weight of the coloſſus, and keep it firm upon its feet. I forbear to ſpeak of the paintings and pictures with which their temples were filled, all maſter-pieces of art, and the works of the Parrhaſius's, the Protogene's, the Zeuxis's, and the Apelles's. The iſle of Rhodes was no leſs famous for its academies, and for the great men that came out thence, accompliſhed in all kinds of literature. 'Tis ſufficiently known to have been the ſchool of the Romans, particularly for eloquence, and whither they went to perfect themſelves in the talent of ſpeaking, ſo neceſſary in that commonwealth, for all that were concerned in the government.

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* Anno eodem 1306, hoſpitalarii cum exercitu Chriſtianorum oppugnare cœperunt inſulam Rhodi cum circumadjacentibus inſulis circiter quinque, quæ ab infidelibus Turcis inhabitabantur ſub dominio imperatoris Conſtantinopolitani: ceperunt autem ſtatim ab initio aliquas inſulas & caſtella: ſteteruntque in pugna & conflictu obſidentes pariter & obſeſſi annis quatuor contra Turcos & obtinuerunt finaliter Chriſtiani. Ex quarta vita Clementis V. autore Bernardo Guidonis epiſcopo Lodovenſi.

BUT what is yet more ſurprizing, is, that the Rhodians, a people of ſuch application to arts and ſciences, which ſeem only calculated for peace, were no leſs famous for their arms, their conqueſts, and their colonies. They excelled eſpecially in the art of navigation, their ports were filled with ſhips, they had arſenals and magazines capable of fitting out whole fleets, and they became ſo powerful by ſea, that there was not in all Aſia a monarch but courted their alliance. But they never employed their forces more willingly than againſt pirates. 'Twas by their skill in ſailing, and a wiſe diſcipline, ſays Strabo, that they ſo long kept poſſeſſion of the empire of the ſea.

But all theſe talents which made this iſle ſo famous in the time of the Greeks and Romans, were entirely neglected by the Greeks of the lower empire. The revolutions that happened in their own government, and in that of ſeveral other nations, to which they were afterwards ſubject, did no leſs contribute to the fall of this maritime empire, and the ignorance and effeminacy of the Rhodian Sarazens, who, except ſome corſairs, rarely ever went to ſea, gave the finiſhing ſtroke to their power and former reputation.

SUCH was the condition of the iſland, when the grand maſter entered it at the head of his army. The infidels, who were the main ſtrength of the place, uniting with the Greeks the old inhabitants of the iſle, had frequent engagements with the hoſpitallers, and the troops of the cruſade, which the grand maſter had brought from Europe. There was ſome action or other almoſt every day, and it is ſurprizing, that the ancient hiſtorians have not left us the particulars of them; but that the ſucceſs was various, is evident from the length of the war, which laſted near four years. The Greek emperor, flattering himſelf, that if he could drive out the Latins, he ſhould remain maſter of the iſle, ſent a great body of troops againſt them. The grand maſter, on the other hand, being ſenſible, that the ſucceſs of his enterprize, depended on the taking of the town of Rhodes, reſolved, notwithſtanding this ſuccour to beſiege it: He ſate down before the town, and his knights, by his example, threw themſelves into the greateſt dangers to forward the conqueſt. But as moſt of the cruſade were drawing off one after another, and the army was at laſt reduced to the troops of the order alone, the ſiege was turned into a blockade. The beſiegers were in a ſhort time beſieged themſelves by the Greeks and Sarazens, who ſtopped up the avenues by which they uſed to fetch in their proviſions, or march out for forage. The hoſpitallers were at laſt in want of troops, proviſions and money; but the grand maſter found a ſupply for every thing in his own capacity and courage, which the greateſt difficulties ſerved only to whet and improve. He borrowed conſiderable ſums of the bankers of Florence, and with this ſupply and the money he raiſed from the commanderies beyond ſea, he levied new troops, paid off the old, and allowing them ſome days for refreſhment, he went out of his intrenchments, with a reſolution, either to vanquiſh, or dye, marched directly againſt the enemy, and offered them battel.

THE action was bloody, and they fought on both ſides, with a warmth and fury to be expected between foreign troops that would ſeize a countrey, and inhabitants that are defending their houſes, lands, wives and children; the ſtrongeſt motives in nature to animate and put fire into a people the leaſt warlike. Hiſtorians give us no farther account, than that there was a great deal of blood ſhed on both ſides; that the grand maſter loſt the braveſt of his knights; but that their valour and reſolution at laſt carried the day, and the Greeks and infidels, no longer able to ſtand before them, quitted the field of battel; and ſeveral Sarazens, who deſpaired of being able to make head againſt the Latins, fled to the ſea-ſide, embarked, and, landing in the iſles of the Archipelago, and on the coaſt of Lycia, carried thither the firſt news of their defeat.

THE grand maſter brought his victorious troops back into his lines, and continued the ſiege with new vigour. After he had gained the principal fortifications, the knights, at the head of the troops, advanced to ſtorm the place, and mounting through a ſhower of arrows and ſtones, which the beſieged let fly at the aſſailants, planted the grand maſter's ſtandard on the top of the breach, and carried the place*. They ſpared the lives of the Chriſtian inhabitants, and gave them their liberty, but the infidels were cut in pieces. This is the ſum of what the hiſtorians of that time ſay in their ſhort account of this expedition. The conqueſt of the capital was followed with the taking of the caſtle of Lindus, which is ſituate in the eaſtern part of the iſland. Near this caſtle there is a port and two bays, lying to the north, one of which is called to this day the bay of ſerpents. The other fortreſſes ſhared the ſame fate, and the whole iſland was in leſs than four years reduced under the dominion of the hoſpitallers. As an eternal monument of a conqueſt ſo uſeful to Chriſtendom, and ſo glorious to the order of S. John, all nations by common conſent gave the hoſpitallers the name of the knights of Rhodes: And it is by this name that we ſhall for the future ſpeak of a body of knights that continued to make themſelves as uſeful to Chriſtian princes, as they were formidable to the Mahometans.

Aug. 15. 1310.

THE grand maſter's firſt care was to repair the walls and fortifications of the town of Rhodes, which he had ruined during the ſiege: In the next place he brought all the veſſels of the order into the port; which were fitted out immediately and laden with troops, ammunition and proviſions: The grand maſter went himſelf on board the fleet, and ſet ſail. Of all the conqueſts that the old Rhodians had made, or colonies that they had ſettled in different countries, there was nothing left at that time under their dominion, but eight or nine ſmall adjacent iſles, or rather cluſters of rocks and ſhelves, which were then called the iſles of the Rhodians. Such were the iſles of Niſara, Lero, Calamo, Epiſcopia, Chalce, Simia, Tilo, and Cos, or Lango. To reduce theſe iſles under his obedience, the grand maſter had only the trouble of appearing before them. Niſara, called by the ancients Niſyris, was ſituate in the Archipelago, two leagues from the iſle of Cos, or Lango, and at the ſame diſtance from the province of Caria. This iſle had in it a town of the ſame name, which in ancient times was famous for a temple dedicated to Neptune, for hot and wholeſome baths, and a good port. The grand maſter, in concert with the ſupreme council of the order, granted this iſle in fief to John and Bonaville Aſſatiers, two brothers, who had ſignalized themſelves in the conqueſt of Rhodes; and this feoffment was made on condition, that they ſhould build immediately one galley of ſixſcore oars, well provided with ſoldiers and ammunition, and be obliged to go on board it themſelves, and repair to ſuch places as ſhould be appointed by the orders of the grand maſter.

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* Anno Domini 1310, in feſto aſſumptionis beatæ Mariæ, exercitus Chriſtianorum cum hoſpitalariis obtinuerunt civitatem Rhodi, quæ eſt caput & metropolis totius regionis & inſularum vicinarum. Ex vita Clementis V. p. 72.

THAT prince paſſed from thence to the iſle of Lero, which is about eighteen Italian miles in circumference. There are quarries of marble all over it: The whole iſle is but a rock or mountain, on the higheſt part of which there was a caſtle to defend the entrance of the port from any attempts of the corſairs. Though the iſle of Calamo is larger, and at leaſt forty miles in compaſs, yet it is neither more fertile nor rich than Lero; 'tis indeed nothing but rocks and mountains. The ſoil appeared ſo dry and barren to the grand maſter, that he was ſurprized to ſee near the port the ruines of a great city, the inhabitants whereof could not, in all probability, have any way of ſubſiſtance but by commerce.

THE iſles of Epiſcopia, Calche, and Tilo, afforded the knights as eaſy conqueſts, but not at all more profitable than the former. That of Syma, or Simia, ſeemed more important, by reaſon of the excellence of its wines, and the number of goats that are bred there. The children in this iſland were brought up to ſwim and dive in the ſea, in order to fiſh at the bottom of the water for ſponges, which are in great plenty all about the iſland; and there was a law among them in former times, prohibiting young men from marriage, till they could dive twenty fathom deep in the water, and continue there for ſome time. This iſle was ſtill famous among thoſe of the Archipelago for the skill of its carpenters, who built pinks and ſmall frigats ſo light and ſwift for ſailing or roving, that there was no veſſel could come near 'em. It is ſaid, that the grand maſter cauſed a tower of vaſt height to be built there on the top of a mountain, from whence they could diſcover ſhips at a great diſtance from the ſhore, and that he ordered the inhabitants, when they ſaw any appear, to ſend advice of it to Rhodes by their light barks, or give notice by the ſtated ſignals of lighting up fires in the night-time, and making a thick ſmoke by day.

OF all theſe iſlands, if we may give them that name, Cos, or Lango, famous for the birth of Hippocrates and Apelles, was the moſt conſiderable. 'Tis near forty Italian miles in length, and about ſeventy in circumference.

THIS iſland has that of Rhodes on the ſouth-eaſt. 'Tis about a hundred miles diſtant from Aſia Minor, or Anatolia, which lies directly eaſt of it. It has the iſle of Calamus on the weſt, and that of Scarpanto on the ſouth; the ſoil of it is fertile, and it produces fruits of all ſorts in great plenty: It excels in wines, which paſs for the moſt delicious in thoſe parts. The grand maſter obſerved there a little town, called Lango, from the name of the iſland, ſituate by the ſea-ſide at the end of a great bay, and at the foot of an hill, which terminates in a plain. The port was at that time large and convenient; but ſome time ſince ſtormy weather and the waves of the ſea have driven in ſuch a quantity of ſand, that the mouth of the port is almoſt choked up, and it admits none but little veſſels, large ſhips and galleys are obliged to ſtay in the road adjoining, which is clean, firm, ſandy, and proper for anchorage.

THE grand maſter, perceiving the importance of the iſle, cauſed a plan of a caſtle, fortified with ſeveral ſquare towers, to be marked out, which by his vigilance and care was finiſhed in a ſhort time, and he left a knight to command there. Such as ſucceeded him in that poſt, encouraged commerce in the iſland, adorned the town with fine houſes, and theſe with an infinite number of marble pillars and ſtatues: And this iſle became afterwards ſo powerful under the government of the order, that it was looked upon as a ſecond Rhodes, and made a bailiwick, and an epiſcopal ſee under the metropolitan of Rhodes.

THE grand maſter having eſtabliſhed his authority, and ordered all things to his mind in theſe iſlands, came back to Rhodes in triumph. He was in hopes of enjoying there with comfort and tranquillity the firſt fruits of his victory, when he found himſelf attacked by a formidable enemy, raiſed up againſt him by the corſairs and the other Mahometans, who had joined with the Greek inhabitants, in defending the iſle of Rhodes againſt the knights. Theſe infidels, after their defeat, and to avoid the firſt fury of the victorious ſoldiers, had got on board ſome barks, and under the ſhelter of the night had landed ſafe on the coaſt of Lycia, from whence they diſperſed themſelves into different places, and part of them took refuge in the territories of Ottoman, carrying thither their complaints and the hiſtory of their calamities.

Obſervations ſur l'origine des Turcs, l. 3. c. 8.

OSMAN, or Ottoman, from whom the Turkiſh emperors of that denomination are deſcended, reigned at that time over part of Bithynia, a province of Aſia Minor, or Natolia. That prince, either out of zeal for his religion, or out of ambition, and a deſire of aggrandizing himſelf, or it may be to prevent ſuch bold and enterprizing neighbours from ſettling ſo near his dominions, took theſe refugees into his protection, and reſolved to drive the knights out of the iſle of Rhodes before they had time to eſtabliſh their dominions there: This we are now going to relate. But perhaps the reader will not be diſpleaſed to have a more particular account of the original, the fortune, the deſigns and conqueſts of a prince and houſe, which from very weak beginnings has extended itſelf with a wonderful rapidity into three parts of our continent, and laid the foundation of this new empire almoſt at the very time that the knights of S. John ſeized the iſle of Rhodes, as if providence had directed them thither, to ſerve as a barrier againſt Ottoman and his ſucceſſors, and ſtop the progreſs of the Turkiſh arms by their valour.

THERE are different accounts of the origin of this houſe; ſome derive it from a Tartar, or Nomadian ſhepherd, who quitting the care of his flock, applied himſelf to arms, ſet up for a dueller, and upon vanquiſhing in ſingle combat a Greek trooper belonging to the army of the emperor John Comnenus, received by way of recompence from Aladin, ſultan of Iconium, the town of Ottomanzick, from whence his poſterity have taken their name.

THOUGH the Turks in general are not uſually fond of counterfeit genealogies, leaving that illuſion to the vanity of Chriſtians; yet the princes of this houſe, after they were arrived to that grandeur and height of power which made them formidable to all their neighbours, did not care to own ſo mean an original; and in defect of truth, were forced to have recourſe, like a great many others, to fable and romance. They pretended, that the Tartar, we are ſpeaking of, was a prince of the illuſtrious houſe of the Comneni, and nephew to the emperor John Comnenus, who meeting with ill treatment, retired, in hopes of revenging himſelſ, to the court of Aladin, turned Mahometan, and married the ſultan's daughter, who having for her portion the town of Ottomanzich, with ſeveral villages depending upon it, their poſterity took their ſurname from thence down to ſultan Ottoman, who diſtinguiſhing himſelf above all his race by his valour, laid the foundation of the new monarchy of the Turks, and left the name of Ottoman to the famous deſcendants of that Comnenus, who was nephew to the emperor.

Histoire de Mahomet, II. par la Guilletierre.

Thus the romance; but inſtead of ſuch a piece of flattery and impoſture, take the true hiſtory of the fact as follows. It appears from all the writers of that time, that the original of this houſe cannot be carried higher than one Soliman, who lived A. D. 1214. and in the year 611. of the Hegira. He was chief of one of thoſe tribes of Nomades, who having no particular countrey of their own, wandred from place to place, ſtopping ſucceſſively wherever they were ſuffered to do ſo, and where they found good paſture for their flocks: It is ſaid, that this Tartar, or Turk, being driven out of Perſia with his tribe, was drowned in attempting to ſwim croſs the Euphrates on horſeback.

After his death, Orthogul, or Orthogrul one of his children, became the head and leader of the tribe, and applied himſelf for a place of retreat to Alaédin III. of the Selgeucidian race of Turcomans, and ſultan of Iconium: That prince took him into his ſervice, and aſſigned his tribe ſome lands in Armenia Minor to inhabit. Ottoman, ſon to Orthogul, by his courage and valour carried his hopes and fortune to a higher pitch. His tribe and troops increaſed conſiderably by a great number of adventurers that joined him, and drawn by the fame of his valour and liberality, were deſirous to fight under his banner. He made them brave ſoldiers, and excellent warriors, and the ſucceſs of his arms kept pace with his courage. Alaédin, charmed with his reputation, ſent him a veſt, a ſabre, a ſtandard, and a pair of kettle drums. It is reported, that as often as Ottoman heard the ſound of that warlike muſick, to ſhew his reſpect to the ſultan, he never failed, if he was ſitting, to riſe up, thereby ſignifying, as it were, that he was always ready to march at his command. But notwithſtanding theſe exterior marks of zeal and ſubmiſſion, the ſultan, who was old and without iſſue, grew jealous of him, and dreading his courage and ambition, put him upon making war againſt the Greeks, for fear he ſhould turn his arms againſt himſelf.

A.D.1299. Hegir.699.

Ottoman took whole provinces and conſiderable towns from the Greek emperors, which rendered him ſo powerful, that he aſſumed the title of ſultan, with the conſent of Alaédin himſelf. Others ſay, that he was not inveſted with that ſovereign title, till after the death of his maſter.

That prince, the laſt of the Selgeucides, being dead, his gen[illegible]ls, like Alexander the Great's captains, divided his dominions among them. Part of Bithynia and Cappadocia fell to Ottoman. That prince knew how to maintain this riſing empire, by new conqueſts which he gained in Lycia and Caria, as well as by the wiſdom of his government, and the ſingular goodneſs of his nature; a virtue rarely to be found in a warlike prince and a conqueror. The fame of his affability has been conveyed down by tradition among the Turks, and is preſerved to this day. When their emperors mount the throne, amidſt the publick acclamations, and among the virtues worthy of a ſovereign, they never fail to wiſh them the goodneſs of Ottoman; which ſhews, that they are heroes, and virtuous princes, that found and raiſe empires, and tyrants and effeminate ones that loſe 'em.

Fulk de Villaret.

The prince we are ſpeaking of, being ſolicited by the Mahometans, whom the knights had chaſed out of Rhodes, put his troops on board a fleet, landed in the iſle, advanced towards the capital, and inveſted it. The grand maſter had ſcarce time enough to repair the walls, but the baſtions and fortifications were ſtill in a ruinous condition. Experience ſhewed on this occaſion, that no place can be more ſecurely fortified, than by the courage and valour of thoſe that defend it. The knights ſtood ſeveral ſtorms: The Turks loſt abundance of men in theſe aſſaults; and Ottoman, that was ſo ſucceſsful in all his enterprizes, miſcarried in this, and was obliged to raiſe the ſiege and embark.

1310. Several hiſtorians pretend, that the knights of Rhodes owed their deliverance, and the preſervation of their late conqueſt, to Amée V. called the Great, count of Savoy. They ſay, that this prince, coming with a mighty fleet to their ſuccour, landed his troops, advanced againſt the enemy, defeated them in battel, and forced Ottoman to raiſe the ſiege, and re-imbark. Theſe writers add, that Amée, to preſerve the memory of this great event, and ſo glorious a victory, took thereupon for his device theſe four capitals, divided by ſtops from one another, F. E. R. T. which were afterwards explained by theſe latin words, Fortitudo ejus Rhodum tenuit; meaning, that the valour of that prince preſerved the town of Rhodes; nay, they will needs have it, that Amée, after this battel, ſtruck the eagle of Savoy out of his arms, and took in its ſtead the croſs of S. John.

Though an event ſo extraordinary in itſelf, and ſo honourable for the houſe of Savoy, has been related by an infinite number of writers, and is mentioned too in the hiſtorians of the order, yet the ſtrict regard we owe to truth, obliges us to declare, that we look upon this relation as falſe, falſe both in ſubſtance and in all its circumſtances.

It is not true, that Amée came into the iſle of Rhodes, and made war there, either in 1310, or in the years which immediately preceded or followed the conqueſt of it by the knights of S. John.

Guicheron. t. 1. p. 359.

That prince, in 1309, was in England, and preſent at the ceremony of the coronation of Edward II. and the year following A. D. 1310, in September, he was at Chambery, where he entertained Henry II. count of Luxemburg, emperor elect, and attended him afterwards in his Italian voyage to Rome, whither that prince went to receive the imperial crown; and it is plain from cotemporary hiſtorians, that he did not ſtir from the emperor either in that or the following year.

With regard to the myſterious device, upon which they found this pretended expedition into the iſle of Rhodes, Louis of Savoy, baron de Vaux, who died in 1301, ſtamped it upon his coin above ten years before Ottoman attacked the knights; and we ſtill ſee upon the tomb of Thomas of Savoy, father of Amée V. whom we are now ſpeaking of, the repreſentation of a dog lying at his feet, with a collar, about which we read the word, Fert, without any points to disjoin the Letters.

Nor is there any more force in the proof they would draw from the croſs of the order of S. John, which they ſuppoſe was firſt born by Amée, in the arms of his family. For beſides that the princes of Piedmont bore the ſame croſs long before, we find it as high as A. D. 1304, in a ſeal of Thomas of Savoy, fixed to a treaty which he made that very year with Stephen de Coligni, lord of Andelot; which ſhews clearly, that all that they have invented to explain theſe four myſterious letters, is a mere fable, and that the knights of Rhodes owed the firſt defence of that place to nothing but their own valour and their arms.

THE grand maſter, as ſoon as he ſaw the Turks re-imbarked, to put the town of Rhodes for the future in a good ſtate of defence, ſtrengthened the walls with a good rampart, and added new fortifications to it. After this, he applied himſelf with great diligence to reſtore commerce to its former flouriſhing ſtate, which before the war, and indeed in all ages, had made it one of the moſt conſiderable towns of Aſia. His port was free and open to all nations: A great number of Chriſtians, eſpecially of the Latins, who after the loſs of the Holy Land had diſperſed themſelves in different parts of Greece, flocked thither to ſettle themſelves, and live under the ſtandard of S. John, from which they had ſo often found protection. Out of this medley of knights and inhabitants, as well Greeks as Latins, a new warlike and trading ſtate was formed, that ſoon became as potent by its riches as it was formidable by the courage and valour of its new ſovereigns.

THE fame of this conqueſt, and the news of the raiſing of the ſiege, paſſed ſoon into the weſt: 'Twas the ſubject of univerſal joy in all the ſtates of Chriſtendom. It was followed with a compariſon between the two military orders, not at all to the advantage of the templars. They ſaid, that the hoſpitallers had never ſhewn any diſpoſition to give over the hopes of driving the infidels ſome time or other out of the Holy Land; that they had ſtaid in the eaſt for this end; and that their late conqueſt of an iſland ſo conſiderable as that of Rhodes, ſecured a commodious port for all the cruſades: Whereas the templars by their precipitate retreat into Europe, to their commanderies, and by the effeminate and luxurious lives they led there, ſeemed to have renounced their profeſſion, and left the holy places for ever as a prey to the Turks and Sarazens. Theſe diſcourſes, which were not deſtitute of truth, with others ſtill more odious that were privately ſpread abroad, determined the king of France to proſecute his deſign of ſuppreſſing that order.

WE do not certainly know in what year that prince took up this terrible reſolution againſt the templars: It only appears from hiſtory, that a citizen of Beziers, named Squin de Florian, and a templar that had apoſtatized from his order, having been apprehended for enormous crimes, and committed to the ſame dungeon, theſe two villains deſpairing of life, confeſſed one another, for want of the ſacrament of penance, which at that time was not adminiſtred to criminals going to execution. The ſame practice was in uſe among ſuch as travelled by ſea, if in a ſtorm they found themſelves in danger of being loſt, and there was no prieſt in the ſhip. PROOF V.

SQUIN having heard the templars confeſſion, called one of the king's officers, and told him, that he was ready to reveal a ſecret to that prince of ſuch importance, that he would receive more advantage from the knowledge of it, than from the conqueſt of an entire kingdom; but that he would never diſcover it to any body but the king himſelf. Other hiſtorians aſcribe this fact to a templar prior of Montfaucon, and to another knight of the ſame order, called Noffodei, who, for their impieties and infamous lives, had been both condemned by the grand maſter and council of the order, to be immured for life.

WHATEVER were the names of theſe villains, Philip the Fair, at the inſtance of him that deſired to ſpeak with him, and perhaps out of impatience to know the ſecret which was to procure him ſuch immenſe riches, ſent for him to Paris. He reſolved to hear himſelf what he had to ſay, and after promiſing him a full pardon, and even a reward, if he told the truth, the criminal, who had drawn up the plan of his accuſation, charged the whole body of the templars with robbery, murder, idolatry, and ſodomy. He added, that when a templar was received into the order, they obliged him to renounce Jeſus Chriſt, to ſpit upon the croſs in token of his abhorrence of it;

and that theſe knights being ſecret Mahometans, had, by a vile piece of treachery, ſold the Holy Land to the ſultans and princes of that ſect. More of this nature may be ſeen in the collection of Peter Dupuy, where there is a particular detail of all the abominations and obſcenities which this informer charged upon his brethren, and which decency does not allow us to mention here.

THE king gave the pope an account of theſe accuſations in the interview he had with him at Lyons, and preſſed him ſtill more cloſely upon the ſame ſubject the year following at Poitiers, where they met by concert to treat of this grand affair. But it does not appear that the pope had as yet taken any method but that of private information. As the embaſſadors, which the king left at the pope's court, ſolicited him continually to condemn this order, we have a Letter of Clement's to the king, dated July 9, in which he declares expreſsly, that if the corruption charged upon the templars was as general as he pretended, and the whole order was to be aboliſhed, he would have all their effects and revenues employed for the recovery of the Holy Land, and would not ſuffer the leaſt part thereof to be converted to other uſes; which would make one believe, that the pope ſuſpected the proſecution carried on againſt the templars, was levelled as much at their great riches and eſtates, as againſt the irregularity of their manners.

PROOF VI.

IT appears likewiſe, that the pope, either on account of this affair, or that of Boniface, whoſe memory the king inſiſted he ſhould condemn, and cenſure him as an impious perſon and a heretick, finding himſelf beſet with the miniſters of that prince, had been deſirous of a time to be out of his territories; and that he even diſguiſed himſelf to eſcape from Poitiers, and in A. D. 1306, ſet out with ſome cardinals for Bourdeaux, without any other attendants but ſome mules to carry his money. But being diſcovered on the road by the king's emiſſaries, he thought it beſt to return back again to Poitiers *.

PHILIP, who was warm and impatient, and could not bear with the pope's ſlow and dilatory way of proceeding, gave private orders to apprehend, on one and the ſame day, the grand maſter and all the templars that were in Paris, and the ſeveral provinces of his kingdom: This order was executed on Friday Oct. 13, and at the ſame time all their effects were ſeized and ſequeſtered into the king's hands. †

A STEP ſo extraordinary, cauſed a general ſurprize all over Chriſtendom. Some aſcribed it to the ſecret reſentment which the king, who was revengeful in his nature, retained, as they ſaid, againſt the templars, for having declared themſelves in favour of Boniface VIII. during the differences between him and that pontif. It was ſaid likewiſe, that they had furniſhed the pope with conſiderable ſums; and to incenſe the king the more, they added, that a templar, treaſurer to Philip, had been ſo faithleſs to his maſter, as to take the king's own money to aſſiſt his enemy with it out of the treaſury, as may be ſeen in the ſixth article of the accuſations brought againſt them, and recited in the great chronicle of St. Denis, in the reign of Philip the Fair.

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* Tunc papa & cardinales venerunt Pictavim, ubi longiorem moram, ut dicitur, quam voluiſſent fecerunt, Rege Francorum & ejus complicibus & miniſtris illic eos quaſi detinentibus violenter. Nam papa, ut dicitur, ſub alterius fictione perſonæ aliquando tentavit cum paucis, ſummariis tamen oneratis, argento & auro præcedentibus, verſus Burdegalam proficiſci: Sed à quibuſdam qui pro rege erant agnitus, cum rebus quas illuc volebat transferre compulſus eſt Pictavim remeare. Prima vita Clementis V. ex Baluſio p. 5.

† Eodem anno in Octobri capti fuerunt omnes templarii una die in toto regno Franciæ, accuſati de hæreſi peſſimâ, unde confiſcata 1307 ſunt omnia bona eorum, quæ nunc tenet ordo hoſpitalariorum & ipſi in carcere duo detinentur. Secunda vita Clementis V. auctore Ptolemæo Lucenſi ordinis prædicatorum.

Qu'eux reconnurent du treſor du roi, à aucuns avoit donné, qui au roi avoient fait cotrarieté, laquelle choſe étoit moult domageable au royaume: Meaning hereby, as Belleforeſt ſays, Boniface VIII. a mortal enemy to the king, and continually at variance with him.

Cosmog. l. 3. Traité des templiers, p. 1105.

Other hiſtorians, without going ſo far back as the king's difference with Boniface, pretend, that this prince, having debaſed his coin without lowering its value, to carry on the war againſt the Flemings, the templars, who found their intereſt touched by it, had been underhand the authors of a ſedition raiſed on that occaſion at Paris, or at leaſt had fomented it by ſpeaking it too freely againſt the perſon of the king. The people, who are always people, i. e. always diſcontented with the government, whatever it be, maintained, that there was no need to ſearch for any other motive for the apprehending of the templars, than the avarice of that prince and his miniſters, and their greedineſs to have the plunder of the immenſe riches of the order. Upon this occaſion they cited the late example of the Jews, who were tolerated in the kingdom; but Philip had the year before cauſed them all to be arreſted in one day, as he had juſt ſerved the templars; and after ſtripping them of all their effects, had obliged them to depart the kingdom with their families, half ſtarved and naked, with only a poor pittance for them to ſubſiſt on in the road.

Some warm perſons, called likewiſe to mind what had paſſed in Italy at Anagni, the countrey and reſidence of Boniface VIII. whoſe treaſure was plunder'd by ſome French and Italian adventurers, that the king maintained privately beyond the mountains, under the command of Nogaret and Colonna. They ſaid the king had put into his own pocket the greateſt part of this treaſure, which was the richeſt in Chriſtendom, either in gold and ſilver, or in diamonds and pretious ſtones.

Proof VII.

There is ſtill in being an anonymous memorial of thoſe times, which might induce one to ſuſpect, that among the motives ſuggeſted to that prince to engage him to puſh on the condemnation of the templars, there were ſome not altogether diſintereſted. As the deſign of aboliſhing the order was no longer made a ſecret in France, after the templars were taken up, one of that ſet of men who raiſe their own fortune on the ruin of that of others, propoſed to king Philip the Fair, to inſtitute and found a new order, by the name of the royal order, and to obtain a grant from the pope, to annex the great revenues of the templars to it; that the knights of Rhodes, and the knights of all the other military orders in Chriſtendom, ſhould be incorporated into this new order; that they ſhould be all obliged to take the habit of it, and acknowledge the authority of one grand maſter general, who ſhould be named for that purpoſe by the ſovereign pontif. To engage the king in this project, the author of the memorial propoſed, that his majeſty ſhou'd enter into a treaty with all the other ſovereigns that aſſumed the title of kings of Jeruſalem, and get that title conferred on the king of Cyprus, who had neither wife nor children; and that this prince, being made grand maſter of the order, ſhould take the habit, be profeſſed, and declare Philip, ſecond ſon to the king of France, his ſucceſſor in the grand maſterſhip, and the two crowns, which young prince, by this union of two crowns, joined to the immenſe revenues of all the military orders, would become one of the moſt potent princes of the eaſt. The bait was like enough to go down with a king that had three male children.

Louis Hutin, Philip the Long, Charles the Fair.

But be the caſe how it will, with regard to the various motives that determined Philip the Fair to preſs the condemnation of the templars, we leave it freely to the reader to decide, whether he acted in this grand affair, out of a pure zeal for the preſervation of religion, as is affirmed in the bulls of pope Clement V. or whether that prince did not proceed with ſo much heat againſt the templars, merely out of the principle of a gainful vengeance blended with avarice, as was given out by foreign writers, prejudiced perhaps, and enemies to France. I know not whether we are to aſcribe the letters of Edward II. king of England, to this national jealouſy; but as ſoon as that prince heard of the impriſonment of the templars in France, he wrote immediately to the pope, and moſt of the European princes, deſiring them to give no credit to the calumnies ſpread abroad againſt thoſe knights, who are, ſays he, reverenced over all England for the purity of their faith, the regularity of their lives, and their zeal for the defence of religion.

But notwithſtanding this apology, it muſt be owned, that after the firſt age of the inſtitution of the templars, a worldly ſpirit, luxury, and the delicacies and exceſſes of the table, had begun to infect ſeveral knights of that order. The old proverb of drinking like a templar, which after ſuch a diſtance of time, is ſtill kept up, ſhews what a character they had upon this article. 'Tis true, indeed, that the primitive valour and zeal of the old templars againſt the infidels, ſtill diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the body of the order, but in moſt of its particular members, there was no longer to be found that ſpirit of religion, animated by a lively faith, which St. Bernard ſo highly extolled, nor yet that diſintereſtedneſs and Chriſtian moderation which their predeceſſors preſerved, even in the midſt of the moſt glorious victories. That happy age once gone, a haughty deportment, which high birth is too apt to inſpire, a fierceneſs which their valour gave them, and a certain domineering ſpirit, which great riches never fail to produce, made them afterwards paſs for the proudeſt of men.

The templars were accuſed of ambition, a fatal paſſion, which drew upon them afterwards the ſeverity, and, if I may venture to ſay ſo, the unmercifulneſs of moſt of the biſhops their judges, with whom both they and the hoſpitallers had formerly had great differences, on account of their independence, and the privileges of their order.

These prelates, at the king's inſtance, and aſſiſted by William de Paris, a dominican, the inquiſitor general, and confeſſor to that prince, called the priſoners before them to undergo their firſt examination; and the famous William de Nogaret, ſo noted for the boldneſs of his enterprizes againſt Boniface VIII. had likewiſe the management of this terrible affair.

The pope was not a little ſurprized to hear of the impriſonment of the grand maſter, and all the templars in France, and he looked upon the proceedings of the biſhops and inquiſitor, as an incroachment upon his own authority. In the firſt heat of his reſentment, he ſuſpended the powers of William de Paris, and inhibited the biſhops of France from taking any cogniſance of this affair, which he reſerved to himſelf. He wrote at the ſame time to the king, to complain of his impriſoning the members of a religious order, who held, as he ſaid, of no ſuperior but the holy ſee; and told him, in a letter written with much ſpirit, that he had ſent the cardinals Berenger de Fredole, and Stephen de Suſy, and expected that he ſhould immediately put both the perſons and effects of the templars into their hands, or thoſe of the biſhop of Preneſte his nuncio.

Hiſt. de la condemn. des templiers par Dupuy, p. 11.

Philip anſwered him, that he had not cauſed them to be apprehended but upon the previous requeſt of the inquiſitor, an officer of the court of Rome, and appointed by the pope himſelf in his kingdom; that the ſuſpenſion of the powers of that dominican, and of thoſe of the biſhops, who by a right eſſential to their order, were judges in matters of doctrine, was very prejudicial to religion; that the templars would not fail to make their advantage of it, and might upon this occaſion flatter themſelves with hopes of finding protection at his court. He complained in the next place of the pope's too great dilatorineſs, in ſeconding him in ſo juſt a proſecution, and repreſented to him in terms which carried an air of reproach, that God abhorred nothing ſo much as the lukewarm; that to be ſlow in puniſhing the crimes of the accuſed, was giving a kind of conſent to them; that inſtead of interdicting the biſhops as he had done, the diſcharge of the eſſential functions of their dignity, he ought on the contrary to excite their zeal for the extirpation of ſo corrupt an order; and that after all theſe prelates were called, as well as himſelf, to ſhare in the care of the church of God. That prince, jealous of the rights of epiſcopacy, goes on in theſe words. “It would “ be a cruel injuſtice, moſt holy father, to theſe prelates, which God for- “ bid, to inhibit them the exerciſe of a miniſtry, which they have received “ immediately from him, and deprive them of the right they have to defend “ the faith. Neither have they merited ſo unjuſt a treatment, nor can they “ ſuffer it, or we ourſelves wink at it, without violating the oath we took “ at our coronation. 'Twould be a moſt crying ſin indeed to throw ſuch “ a contempt on thoſe whom God has ſent. For our Lord ſaith, he that “ deſpiſeth you, deſpiſeth me. Who then, holy father, continues this prince, “ is the ſacrilegious wretch that dares adviſe you to deſpiſe theſe prelates, or “ rather Jeſus Chriſt, who has ſent them?” The king concludes this ſmart letter with ſome maxims and expreſſions that are ſtill ſeverer. He affirms, that the pope is ſubject to the laws of his predeceſſors, ſo far, adds he, that ſome have maintained, that the pope may be involved, ipſo facto, in a canon or ſentence paſſed on a matter of faith. Dupuy. ibid.

This letter, taken from the royal records of France, by Peter Dupuy, ſhews us how impatient the king was at the leaſt delay in this affair. The conduct he had obſerved, in regard to pope Boniface, making his ſucceſſor apprehenſive of drawing upon his back a prince, reſolute and incapable of ever deſiſting from what he had once taken in hand. Clement found himſelf obliged to yield to a temper, and relax ſomewhat of the formalities of law. The affair was accommodated by the endeavours of the two cardinals, and a good harmony reſtored between the ſpiritual and temporal powers. It was agreed, that the king ſhould put the perſons and effects of the templars into the hands of the pope's nuncio, which was executed immediately, tho' they were ſtill guarded by the king's ſubjects. Proof VIII.

But for form ſake, and to pleaſe the pope, it was ſaid, that they were guarded in his name, and in the name of the church. Much the ſame method was obſerved with regard to their effects, and the perſons in whoſe hands they were depoſited. Every thing indeed was adminiſtred in the pope's name; but among the adminiſtrators, were William Piſdoue and Rene Bourdon, valets de chambre to the king; which ſhews plainly, that in this whole affair, there was nothing but the ſtile and form of the ſequeſtration changed. The king, in return for ſo ſlight a ſatisfaction, required the pope to take off his confeſſor's ſuſpenſion, and to allow that dominican ſtill to aſſiſt in the proſecution and trial of the templars. “Though this be in contradiction to my own “ authority,” ſays Clement, in one of his bulls, “yet I give the king my “ word, ſince he will have it ſo, that the inquiſitor ſhall be ſuffer'd to pro- “ ceed with the ordinaries; but this upon condition,” adds the pope, “ that no biſhop ſhall examine any templars but ſuch as are private mem- “ bers of the order, and belong to his own dioceſe; and that thoſe knights “ ſhall not be judged but by metropolitans, and in a council of each pro- “ vince; and that none of thoſe prelates ſhall take cogniſance of the general “ ſtate of the whole order, or of what relates to the perſon of the grand “ maſter, and principal officers of the order, the examination and judgment “ whereof I reſerve, ſays he, to myſelf, and to the holy ſee.” Dupuy, p.15. Dupuy, p.1

The pope and the king being agreed, began in concert to carry on the proſecution of the templars. The priſons were crowded with theſe knights, who, excepting ſuch as pleaded guilty, were all put to the moſt violent torture. Nothing was to be heard but the cries and groans of ſuch as had their fleſh torn off with burning pincers, or were broken and diſmember'd on the rack. A great number, to avoid ſuch inhumane tortures, confeſſed at once all that was required of them; but there were alſo abundance of theſe templars, who in the midſt of the moſt horrible torments maintained with an invincible firmneſs and obſtinacy, that they were innocent. The different and indeed contradictory manner, in which ſeveral authors have related theſe facts, has left poſterity the moſt impenetrable piece of hiſtory that ever ſuffered by the malice or negligence of hiſtorians.

THE pope being minded to take cogniſance of this affair, examined ſeventy two templars himſelf, who confeſſed themſelves guilty; and a knight of the order, who was alſo an officer of that pontif's, owned to him, as he ſays, ingenuouſly all the iniquity he had diſcovered among his brethren. The pope after this, ordered the grand maſter, the great priors, and the principal commanders of France, Gaſcogny, Normandy, Aquitain and Poitu, to be brought before him. "We have ordered them, ſays he in one of his bulls, to be removed to Poitiers, but ſome of them being ſick at Chinon in Touraine, ſo that they are not able to travel on horſeback or to bear any other method of conveyance whatſoever, we have appointed the cardinals Berenge, Stephen and Landulfe to take their examination." 'Tis very probable, that thoſe knights, who could not be brought to Poitiers on horſeback, or in any other manner, were ſuch as had been broken on the rack.

THE grand maſter, as it is ſaid, owned at Poitiers moſt of the crimes charged upon his order. There are ſome hiſtorians, that ſay, he had made the like confeſſion before at Paris, and in conſequence of that had even wrote a circular letter to all his knights, exhorting them to imitate him in his confeſſion, and repentance. The commiſſioners of the holy ſee at their return from Chinon, delivered the verbal proceſs or report of this confeſſion to the pope and the king. That prince was returned to Poitiers, to ſolicite the more effectually the condemnation of the whole body of the templars, and obtain from the pope the utter extinction of the order.

BUT while they were taking their meaſures for this purpoſe, and laying the main ſtreſs of their proceedings upon the confeſſions of a great number of templars, they were ſurprized to hear, that moſt of thoſe knights had recanted their confeſſions, and declared, they were extorted from them by force of torments; that they openly deteſted the pardon, which the king's officers tendered them, and that they looked upon it as the price of falſehood and the ſcandalous recompence of a prevarication that was equally prejudicial to their honour and their conſcience.

IN the mean time, the kings of England, Caſtile, Aragon, and Sicily, the count of Provence, and moſt of the princes of Chriſtendom, and even the archbiſhops of Italy, had, at the pope's inſtances, cauſed all the templars in their dominions to be apprehended. Garriſons at the ſame time had been put into their commanderies, all their effects had been ſeized, and continual preparations were making in all quarters to carry on the proſecution againſt them.

Zurita, l. 5. c. 73.

THE templars of Aragon took refuge immediately in ſome fortreſſes, which they had built at their own expence to defend the countrey againſt the incurſions of the Moors, from whence they wrote to the pope in their own juſtification. They remonſtrated to him, that their faith was pure, and had never fallen under the leaſt ſuſpicion; that they had often ſealed the confeſſion of it with their blood; that great numbers of their brethren, at this very time, when they were ſo barbarouſly perſecuted, were actually groaning under a grievous ſlavery among the Moors, who were daily offering them their liberty, if they would but change their religion, ſo that, ſay they to the ſovereign pontif, the templars, who are ſlaves to the infidels, are expoſed to the moſt cruel tortures as being Chriſtians, and yet at the ſame time Chriſtian princes burn them as infidels: That if any of their order had acknowledged the commiſſion of enormous crimes, whether they did ſo, thro' a ſenſe of guilt, or only to deliver themſelves from the tortures of the rack, they deſerved to be puniſhed either as criminals, or as men that were baſe enough to betray their conſcience, the honour of their order, and the ſacredneſs of truth. But that a noble order, which for two ages had done ſuch ſervices to the church, ought not to ſuffer for the crimes of ſome particular members, and the weakneſs, or prevarication of others. They add, that their great poſſeſſions were the true cauſe of the perſecutions they ſuffered, and beſeech the pope, that in imitation of his predeceſſors, he would vouchſafe to honour them with his protection, or that they might be allowed to defend their innocence themſelves with the point of their ſwords, according to the cuſtom of that time, and the duties of knighthood, againſt ſuch profligate wretches as ſhould defame them.

It is not known what anſwer the pope made to their petition: We only learn from hiſtory, that James II. who was then upon the throne of Aragon, beſieged them in the caſtles whither they were retired; that he made himſelf maſter of thoſe places; that he appropriated 'em to himſelf, and ſent the templars into different priſons, where the biſhop of Valentia had orders from the pope to proſecute them.

Preparations were made at Paris for carrying on the like proceedings againſt them. Moſt of the priſoners were removed * thither; but their recanting the firſt confeſſion they had made, and aſcribing it to the violence of the rack, or the fear of torture, put the judges to a nonplus. A great conſultation was held on this ſubject, and it was long debated, whether they ſhould take any notice of their proteſtations. At laſt by a very ſingular deciſion, it was reſolved to treat all that had recanted their firſt confeſſion as hereticks relapſed, and as perſons that had renounced Jeſus Chriſt. Purſuant to this determination, the grand maſter de Molay was brought again before the commiſſioners: They asked him, if he had any thing to ſay in defence of his knights. He replied, that he would freely undertake their defence, and ſhould be infinitely pleaſed to maintain the innocence of his order to the face of the whole world; but that he was an illiterate knight, i.e. he could neither write nor read, as was the caſe of moſt of the gentry at that time. He deſired the liberty of having council, "though, ſays he, they have not left me four deniers "to defray the expence of ſuch a proſecution."

The commiſſioners replied, that in a proſecution for hereſy, the accuſed were never allowed the benefit of council, or the aſſiſtance of an advocate; that before he undertook this defence he would do well to conſider ſeriouſly what he was about, that he ought eſpecially to remember the confeſſion that he had made himſelf at Chinon of his own crimes and thoſe of his order: And then the confeſſion was read over to him. Never was aſtoniſhment equal to that of the grand maſter. When he heard it read, he made the ſign of the croſs, and cried out, that if the three cardinals before whom he had appeared at Chinon, and who had ſubſcribed his examination, were of any other quality, he knew well what he ſhould ſay. As the commiſſioners preſſed him

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* Eodem anno templarii omnes qui erant in Regno Franciæ mittuntur Pariſius. Multi eorum revocant quod dixerant. Movetur quæſtio contra eos, utrum talis revocatio poſſet dici relapſio, & judicatur contra eos quod ſic. Unde Pariſius comburuntur quinquaginta quatuor, ſtantibus eis in propoſito quod veri Catholici eſſent. Ex ſecunda vita Clementis quinti, pag. 37.

to explain himſelf more openly, being no longer maſter of his reſentment, he added, that they deſerved the ſame puniſhment that the Sarazens and Tartars inflict on liars and perſons guilty of forgery, whoſe bellies, ſays he, they rip up, and cut off their heads.

Dupuy, p. 42.

YET it is plain by the inſtruments and records of this proſecution, that before the meeting of Chinon, and in hopes of the impunity which the pope and king had promiſed him, he had on two occaſions confeſſed part of the crimes laid to his charge. But it is probable, that the ſecretary or regiſter, who drew up his confeſſion at Chinon, had, to improve the charge, and render him more criminal, added ſeveral aggravating circumſtances to it: Perhaps too he had enlarged his confeſſion with all the crimes, which were in general imputed to the whole order, and to conceal the fraud, had not read it over to him.

BUT be that as it will; the grand maſter, without explaining himſelf more diſtinctly upon the ſubject of his confeſſion, thought fit only to urge, that the pope had reſerved to himſelf the cogniſance of what related to him, and inſiſted upon being ſent to him. He added, that with regard to his order he ſhould only mention three things in their favour: "First, That, excepting "cathedral churches, there was not one in all Chriſtendom where divine "ſervice was celebrated with more devotion, or where there were a greater "number of relicks, or richer ornaments. Secondly, That in all their com"manderies they gave a general alms thrice a week. Thirdly, That there "was not any order or nation where knights and gentlemen expoſed their "lives more freely for the defence of Chriſtianity, than the templars had al"ways done." The commiſſioners told him, that all this was uſeleſs without faith. But he replied, that the templars believed aſſuredly all that the catholick church believed, and that it was to maintain this holy belief, that ſuch a number of thoſe knights had ſhed their blood againſt the Sarazens, the Turks and the Moors.

BROTHER Peter de Bologna, a prieſt, and procurator general of the order, repreſented to the commiſſioners, that promiſes of impunity and threats of torments, had been equally made uſe of to obtain an acknowledgment of the crimes imputed to his brethren; that they had been told, that their order was tacitly given up already to deſtruction, and the pope was to aboliſh it ſolemnly in council. That letters patents with the king's ſeal upon them had been ſhewed to ſeveral priſoners, wherein, in caſe of their confeſſion, they were promiſed life, liberty and a penſion, as long as they lived, and that ſuch as could not be ſeduced by theſe promiſes, had been conſtrained by violent tortures. That it was much leſs ſurprizing, that frail men, to ſave themſelves from torments, ſhould ſpeak according to the intention of thoſe that tormented them, than it was to ſee ſuch numbers of the templars endure with conſtancy the moſt dreadful tortures, rather than betray the truth. That many of theſe knights were dead in dungeons, of the tortures they had ſuffered on the rack, and he deſired, that their executioners and jailers might be examined to give an account of the ſentiments wherein they died, and declare, whether it was not true, that they had perſiſted to the laſt gaſp, when men have nothing more to hope for or fear in averring their own innocence, and that of their order in general. Then he beſought the commiſſioners, to ſummon before them a templar, called brother Adam de Valincourt, who had paſſed from their order to that of the Chartreux, out of a deſire of greater perfection, but not being able to ſupport the auſterities of theſe latter, had petitioned to be again admitted into the order of the templars. He added, that the ſuperiors and brethren of that knight had looked upon his firſt change as apoſtaſy; that they had obliged him before they would re-

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FULK DE VILLARET.

ceive him, to preſent himſelf at the door of the temple in a white ſheet; that after his reſuming the habit of the order, they had condemned him to eat upon the ground for a whole year, to faſt upon bread and water on wedneſdays and fridays every week, and to undergo the diſcipline every ſunday from the hands of the prieſt that officiated. The procurator demanded, if it was probable, that this templar ſhould return to them from the Chartreux, and ſubmit to a correction and penance ſo long and auſtere, if he had diſcovered among his brethren of the order all the abominations that had been alledged to blacken their character, and inſiſted to be heard with his ſuperiors and the deputies of the whole ſociety in a full council, in order, ſaid he, to demonſtrate our innocence to the face of all Chriſtendom.

NOTWITHSTANDING this defence, they proceeded to paſs ſentence. Some were entirely acquitted; others were condemned to a canonical penance, after which they were to be ſet at liberty. Theſe were ſuch as adhered to the confeſſion of their faults, and had, to ſhew their abhorrence of the order, laid aſide the habit, and ſhaved the long beards, which they wore in conformity to the cuſtom of the eaſtern nations. The templars, on the contrary, who had revoked their firſt confeſſion, and perſiſted in the proteſtations they had made of their innocence, were treated with exceſſive rigour. Fifty nine of them, among whom there was a chaplain of the king's, were degraded as relapſed hereticks by the biſhop of Paris, and delivered over to the ſecular arm. They were carried out of the gate of S. Antoine, and burnt alive at a ſlow fire. All of them in the midſt of the flames called upon the holy name of God, and what is more ſurprizing, there was not one of theſe fifty nine, that, to ſave himſelf from ſo dreadful an execution, would accept of the pardon, which their relations and friends offered them in the king's name, provided they would renounce their proteſtations.

THERE were great numbers of them in ſeveral other parts of France, that ſhewed the ſame firmneſs in the midſt of the flames: They burnt them, but they could never extort from them an acknowledgment of the crimes laid to their charge. " A thing aſtoniſhing indeed, ſays the biſhop of Lodeve, a co-" temporary hiſtorian, that all thoſe unfortunate perſons, who were executed " in the moſt terrible manner, gave no other reaſon for their retractation but " the ſhame and remorſe they felt for having, through the violence of the " rack, confeſſed crimes of which they pretended to be innocent*."

THE king, who had the affair of the templars exceedingly at heart, as the pope ſays of him, and the hiſtorians of that time agree, repaired to Vienna in Dauphiny at the time fixed by the pontif's bull; and came thither attended by Louis his eldeſt ſon, king of Navarre, in right of his mother, by Philip and Charles, brothers to that young prince, by Charles de Valois, and Louis count d'Eureux, their uncles and the king's brothers. That prince appeared in this auguſt aſſembly with a great court, others ſay, with a numerous body of troops, to ſhew his power, and command reſpect. There were preſent in the council above three hundred biſhops, without reckoning the abbots, priors and moſt famous doctors of Chriſtendom.

Baluzius in vitis paparum Avenion.

THE firſt ſeſſion was held the ſixteenth of October, A. D. 1311, wherein the pope laid before them the three reaſons for calling the council, 1. The affair of the templars. 2. The recovery of the Holy Land. 3. The reformation of manners, and of the diſcipline of the church. We ſhall confine ourſelf to what particularly concerned the templars, and the part which the knights of Rhodes came afterwards to have in this great affair.

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* Unum autem mirandum fuit, quòd omnes & ſinguli eorum confeſſiones ſuas quas priùs jurati fecerant, in judicio retractarunt, dicentes ſe falſa fuiſſe confeſſos, nullam ſuper hoc reddentes cauſam aliam niſi vim aut metum tormentorum quòd de ſe talia faterentur. Ex ſecunda vita Clementis quinti.

In the firſt place, the pope cauſed to be read in full council, the proceedings carried on in ſeveral provinces againſt different knights of the temple; and after this was over, he demanded of each of the fathers, in his turn, if they did not think it proper to ſuppreſs an order, wherein they had diſcovered ſuch crying abuſes, and ſuch enormous crimes. An Italian prelate addreſſing himſelf to the pope, preſſed him to aboliſh immediately, and without any formality, an order, againſt which, he ſaid, above two thouſand witneſſes had depoſed in various parts of Chriſtendom. But all the biſhops and archbiſhops of the council, and the moſt eminent doctors repreſented unanimouſly to the pope, that before he ſuppreſſed an illuſtrious order, which from the time of its foundation, had rendered very important ſervices to Chriſtendom, they were of opinion, the grand maſter and principal perſons of the order, ought to be heard in their own defence, as juſtice required, and they themſelves had ſo earneſtly requeſted in many petitions.

P. Dupuy.

THE hiſtorians of that time, tell us, that all the Italian biſhops but one, were of this opinion, as were alſo thoſe of Spain, Germany, Denmark, England, Scotland and Ireland; that all the prelates of France alſo were of the ſame ſentiment, except the archbiſhops of Rheims, Sens and Roan *; ſo that in a council, compoſed of above three hundred biſhops, there were but four that gave their opinion contrary to this motion, and, if I may venture to ſay ſo, contrary to the firſt principles of natural equity.

The audience which they inſiſted on in favour of the accuſed, very much perplex'd the pope, who ſaw plainly what wou'd be the conſequence of it. Whatever authority he was inveſted with, he was ſtill ſenſible that it would be difficult for him to wave, hearing them upon the various cauſes they had of exception, or to refuſe the right of being confronted with their accuſers, and the witneſſes againſt them; proceedings, which would all take up a great deal of time, and leave the iſſue of the proſecution uncertain.

THE affair was ſpun out to the length of ſix months, all that time being probably employed in conferences, and perhaps in ſecret negotiations, to perſuade the prelates to diſpenſe with the ordinary forms, in a matter that ſeemed plain enough already. At leaſt, Alberic de Roſate, a celebrated lawyer, informs us, that upon the fathers of the council, maintaining that they could not condemn the accuſed without hearing them, the pope cried out, that if they could not give a judicial ſentence againſt the templars for want of ſuch a formality, the plenitude of the papal authority ſhould ſupply every defect, and he would condemn them in a ſummary way, rather than offend his dear ſon the king of France. †

Les meditations de Camerarius 3. v. l. 5. c. 4.

1312.

ACCORDINGLY, the pope on the 22d of May, in the following year, having firſt in a private conſiſtory ſecured the cardinals and ſeveral biſhops, who out of complaiſance came over to this ſide of the queſtion, held the ſecond ſeſſion of the council with great ſolemnity, and therein diſſolved and annulled the order of the templars ‡. And though we could not, ſays he, in his ſentence, give judgment in form of law, we condemn them by way of provi-

PROOF IX.

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* Interim autem vocantur Prælati cum cardinalibus ad conferendum de templariis: leguntur acta ipſorum inter prælatos; & in hoc conveniunt requiſiti à pontifice ſigillatim, ut det templariis audientiam ſive defenſionem. In hâc ſententiâ concordant omnes Prælati Italiæ præter unum, Hiſpaniæ, Theutoniæ, Daniæ, Angliæ, Scotiæ & Hyberniæ. Item Gallici præter tres metropolitanos, videlicet Remenſem, Senonenſem & Rotomagenſem. Hoc autem actum eſt ſive actitatum in principio Decembris. Ex ſecunda vita Clementis V. p. 43. Autore Ptolemæo Lucenſi.

† Et ſi via juſtitiæ ordo ille deſtrui non poſſit, fiat tamen via expedientiæ, ne ſcandaliſetur carus filius noſter rex Galliæ.

‡ Summus pontifex multis prælatis cum cardinalibus coram ſe in ptivato conſiſtorio convocatis, per proviſionem potiùs quam condemnationis viam, ordinem templariorum caſſavit & penitus annullavit. Quarta vita Clementis V. p. 85. Autore quodam Veneto coætaneo.

ſion, and by our apoſtolical authority, reſerving to ourſelf and the holy church of Rome, the diſpoſal of the perſons and eſtates of the templars.

THERE was nothing wanting now but the determination of the council, in regard to the uſe and diſpoſal of thoſe great eſtates. The pope, who was apprehenſive, that moſt princes would in their own territories ſeize upon what lay convenient for them, repreſented, that theſe eſtates having been conſecrated to the defence of the holy places, and the pilgrims that viſited them, they could not put them to a better uſe than by giving them to the knights of Rhodes, who were devoted to thoſe holy functions, and had lately given new proofs of their zeal and courage, by the conqueſt of the iſle of Rhodes*. But the partiſans of France inſiſted loudly on the creation of a new order, and uniting the whole order of St. John to it: They ſaid, that ſuch an augmentation of the eſtates of thoſe knights, would only ſerve to plunge them into the ſame irregularities, which had juſt occaſioned the condemnation of the templars; and that under colour of taking poſſeſſion of them, they would be immediately diſperſed all over Europe, and it was to be feared, would adopt the pride, the haughtineſs, the luxury and diſſoluteneſs of the templars.

THE pope, who by this creation of a royal order, and ſuppreſſion of all others, ſaw they were going to withdraw all the military friars in Europe and Aſia from under his authority, ſtrenuouſly rejected the propoſal; and to refute the reaſons of ſuch as were for it, he declared, that he would be anſwerable himſelf for reforming the order, both in its head and particular members, if ſuch a reformation ſhou'd be thought neceſſary; that he would not ſuffer any knight to continue in the weſt, excepting ſuch as were old and infirm, and appointed to take care of the commanderies; that he would cauſe an exact valuation to be made of the revenues of the order, that he might the better regulate the number of the knights, and the expence to be allowed for their ſubſiſtence, and that all the reſidue ſhould be employed for the relief of pilgrims, and the defence of Chriſtian ſtates, all admirable projects, but they were never put in execution.

See the letter of Philip the Fair to Clement V. dated Aug. 24. 1312. Dupuy, condemnation des templiers, p. 178 & 179.

THE bare promiſes of this pontif brought moſt of the fathers of the council over to his opinion, but the king of France ſeemed to come into this propoſal with great reluctance. That prince, who was prejudiced againſt the hoſpitallers, inſiſted upon the pope's propoſal for a reformation, and that proper meaſures ſhould be immediately taken for that purpoſe; that the grand maſter and all his knights ſhould be comprehended in it, and that they ſhould be obliged to make themſelves for the future, as agreeable to the body of biſhops, as they had ever till then been oppoſite to them: Which may induce us to believe, that their ancient differences with the biſhops of Paleſtine were well enough known in France. All the eſtates of the templars were adjudged to the knights of Rhodes, except ſuch as lay in Spain, which by a particular appointment, were to be applied to the defence of the countrey againſt the Moors, who were ſtill in poſſeſſion of the kingdom of Granada.

1313

AT length, after the diſſolution of the council, and in the year following, came on the laſt act of this tragedy, in which the fate of the grand maſter and dignitaries of the order, ſtyled the great preceptors, or the great commanders,

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* Priuſquam concilium ſolveretur, poſt habitos tractatus varios de bonis templariorum, quibus vel ad quos uſus eſſent potius applicanda, quibuſdam conſentientibus quòd nova religio ad quam applicarentur eſſet fundanda, aliis alia dicentibus, tandem providit apoſtolica ſedes, regibus & prælatis aſſentientibus, eadem in favorem Terræ Sanctæ integraliter ad fratres hoſpitales devolvi, ut ad ejuſdem terræ recuperationem ſive ſubſidium poſſent effici fortiores ex ipſis: ſed ut apparuit proceſſu temporis facti ſunt deteriores. Contin. Guill. de Nangis, p. 646.

commanders, was to be decided. The pope had reſerved the cognizance of their caſe to himſelf, and in conſideration of their confeſſion, had promiſed them an entire impunity. But at his return from the council, whether he had changed his ſentiments, or was minded not to condemn them himſelf, he appointed two cardinals to ſit as judges upon them, who by his orders repaired to Paris, and took for their co-aſſeſſors there the archbiſhop of Sens, and ſome other prelates of the Gallican church. Theſe commiſſioners of the pope, ordered the prevôt of Paris, to bring before them James de Molay, grand maſter of the templars, a dignity, ſays M. Dupuy, which put him on the level with princes, having in that quality had the honour of being godfather to one of the king's children. The ſecond of theſe priſoners was Guy, brother to the dauphin of Viennois, ſovereign prince of Dauphiny. The third was Hugh de Peralde, great prior or viſitor of the priory of France; and the fourth was the great prior of Aquitain, who before his impriſonment had the management of the king's exchequer and revenues.

IT no where appears from the inſtruments and records of this famous proſecution, that theſe prelates examined or interrogated them anew, or that they confronted them with witneſſes. And though ſuch a method of proceeding was according to the ordinary forms and courſe of the law, yet, it is probable, the commiſſioners were reſolved to conform themſelves to the conduct which the pope and council had obſerved before them. They contented themſelves with the acknowledgment made by the priſoners before the pope and the king, of the crimes laid to their charge: And it was upon this acknowledgment, purſuant to the intentions of the ſovereign pontif, that the judges determined between themſelves to condemn them only to perpetual impriſonment, in caſe they ſtood to their firſt confeſſion. But as it was a matter of great conſequence to calm the minds of the people, who were ſhocked at the vaſt number of fires that had been lighted up in the ſeveral provinces of the kingdom, and it behoved them above all things to convince the people of Paris, that it was with juſtice, that ſo many templars had been condemned to be burnt alive, they required of theſe four laſt who were the chief among them, to make a publick and ſincere declaration of all the abuſes and crimes committed in the order, if they had a mind to ſave their lives, or expected that the pope and king ſhould keep their word with them. For this purpoſe, a ſcaffold was erected in the court before the cathedral church, and the ſheriffs men and ſoldiers brought the priſoners upon it. Then one of the legates ſtood up, and opened the diſmal ceremony with a diſcourſe, wherein he enlarged upon all the impieties and abominations, of which, he ſaid, the templars had been convicted by their own acknowledgment. And to leave the audience no room to doubt, he called upon the grand maſter and his companions, to renew in the hearing of the people, the confeſſion which they had made before the pope, of their crimes and errors.

'TWAS in all probability to induce them to make this declaration, that on the one hand he aſſured them of a full amneſty, and on the other the executioners, to intimidate them, erected a pile of wood, as if they were to be burnt the moment that they revoked their confeſſion.

THE priors of France and Aquitain, either out of ſincerity or fear, at the ſight of ſo dreadful a puniſhment perſiſted in their firſt confeſſion. But when it came to the grand maſter's turn to ſpeak, that priſoner, ſhaking his chains, advanced to their great ſurprize, with a countenance full of reſolution, to the edge of the ſcaffold, and then raiſing his voice to be the better heard, "It is but juſt, cryes he, that in this terrible day, and in the laſt moments of my life, I lay open the iniquity of falſehood, and make truth to triumph. I declare then in the face of heaven and earth, and I own, though to my eternal ſhame and confuſion, that I have committed the greateſt of crimes; but it has been only in acknowledging thoſe that have been charged with ſo much virulence upon an order which truth obliges me now to declare innocent. I made the firſt declaration they required of me, only to ſuſpend the exceſſive tortures of the rack, and mollify thoſe that made me endure 'em. I am very ſenſible what torments they inflict, and what executions they prepare for thoſe that have the courage to revoke ſuch a confeſſion; but the horrible ſight they offer to my eyes, is not capable of making me confirm a firſt lye by a ſecond. On a condition ſo infamous as that, I freely renounce life, which is already but too odious to me. And what good would it do me to ſpin out a few miſerable days, when I muſt owe 'em only to the blackeſt of calumnies *?

Villani, lib. 8. c. 92.
Pap. Maſſ. in Phil. Pulch.
Sabell. Æne-ad. 9. lib. 7.

HE would have gone on, but was interrupted. The brother of the Dauphin of Viennois, who came next, ſpoke after the ſame manner, and with the ſtrongeſt aſſeverations bore teſtimony to the innocence of his order. The legate, upon this occaſion, did by no means gain the applauſe of the people, but he ſoon had his revenge. The grand maſter and his companions were brought down from the ſcaffold, and the Prevôt of Paris carried them back to priſon. The king, who was revengeful in his nature, and looked upon the deſtruction of the templars as his own work, being incenſed at this recantation of the chiefs of the order, cauſed them to be burnt alive the ſame day with a ſlow fire, in a little iſle of the Seine between that prince's garden, and the convent of the Auguſtines. The grand maſter, in the midſt of that exquiſite torment, ſhewed to his laſt moment the ſame firmneſs that he had done in the court of the cathedral; and expreſſed himſelf in the ſame manner. He repeated his proteſtations of the innocence of his order; but declared, that as to himſelf he deſerved to ſuffer, for having allowed the contrary in the pope and the king's preſence. Mezeray tells us, that he had read an account of this affair, in which it is ſaid, that the grand maſter, when he had no other liberty left him but that of ſpeech, and was almoſt ſtifled with the ſmoke, cried out a-loud, "Clement, thou unrighteous judge and barbarous executioner, I ſummon thee to appear in forty days before the judgment-ſeat of God." Some writers ſay, that he ſummoned the king likewiſe to appear there within a year. Perhaps the death of that prince and the pope which happened preciſely within thoſe terms, gave occaſion afterwards to the ſtory of this ſummons. The two great priors of France and Aquitain, ended their days in priſon. But Paulus Æmilius ſays, that one of them was burnt with the grand maſter and the Dauphin of Viennois's bro-

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* Sunt auctores non obſcuri Jacobum Burgundionem Ordinis principem, cùm productus ad ſupplicium, circumfuſa ingenti multitudine, dum pyra extruitur, ſtaret, propoſitâ vitæ ſpe ac impunitate, ſi quæ in cuſtodiâ faſſus de ſe ſuiſque eſſet, nunc quoque confeſſus, veniam publicè peteret, hujuſmodi verba feciſſe, "Ego nunc ſupremis rebus meis, cum locum mendacio dari nefas ſit, ex animo, veréque fateor me ingens in me, meoſque ſcelus conſcîſſe, ultimaque ſupplicia cum ſummo cruciatu promeritum, qui in gratiam quorum minimè decuit, dulcedineque vitæ, flagitia impia, ſceleraque, ad tormenta ementitus ſum in ordinem meum, de religione Chriſtiana optimè meritum. Nec mihi nunc vita opus eſt precaria & novo ſuper vetus mendacio retenta." Paul. Emil. in Philip. Pulch.

Exin rogo impoſitum ac admoto paulatim primoribus pedibus, ad exprimendam ſcelerum confeſſionem, ne tunc quidem cùm reliquo corpore depaſto vitalia fœdo nidore torrerentur, ab hujus orationis conſtantia deſciviſſe, aut mutatæ mentis ullam ſignificationem præbuiſſe, neque ipſum, neque duos cum ipſo ſupplicio affectos nobiliſſimos ejus ordinis viros, quorum alter eſſet Delphini Allobrogis frater. Paul. Emil.

ther: If ſo, it was in all likelyhood, becauſe he retracted after their example.

Liv. 3. p. 393. All the people ſhed tears at the tragical ſpectacle of theſe holy knights; and ſeveral devout perſons, as Papirius Maſſon relates, gathered up their aſhes, preſerving them afterwards as pretious Relicks. As for the two wretches that were the authors of this diſmal cataſtrophe, they periſhed miſerably ſoon after. One was hanged for freſh crimes, and the other was aſſaſſinated by his enemies.

We do not pretend to draw any inference from theſe facts: There is too much variety in the ancient hiſtorians, and too much partiality in the modern, to be able to pronounce on either ſide with certainty. Among the latter, ſome complain, that the templars were accuſed and indicted for holding a criminal correſpondence with Saladine, whereas, ſay they, after the battel of Tiberias, that victorious prince cut off the heads of all the templars that he had taken priſoners, as may be ſeen in this hiſtory: Which is hardly conſiſtent with ſuch a pretended correſpondence.

Nor do they find any greater probability in the accuſation brought againſt them of having ſold the town of S. John d'Acre to one of Saladine's ſucceſſors: Since it is plain from all the cotemporary writers, that three hundred templars died in defence of this place, that their grand maſter de Beaujeu was killed on the breach, and that there eſcaped out of the maſſacre when the town was taken, only ten of his knights, who got into a bark, and ſailed to Cyprus.

As for the ſins againſt chaſtity, and ſuch as nature itſelf abhors, theſe writers maintain, that no ſtreſs ought to be laid on their confeſſion; that on the one hand they were offered a general pardon, with the promiſe of life, liberty, and a good penſion, and on the other they ſaw fires kindled to burn 'em; and that it is no wonder, if frail men ſhrink, and are intimidated at the apprehenſions of ſo terrible an execution.

Rainaldi ad annum 1313. n. 39. Other hiſtorians of different ſentiments maintain on the contrary, that it is impoſſible to reflect on the courſe of the proſecution, the infinite number of witneſſes as well templars as others, the quality of the judges, the agreement of the accuſations brought againſt theſe knights in all the kingdoms of Chriſtendom, the quality too of the perſons guilty, the teſtimony of ſeveral foreign hiſtorians, the little inclination that the pope had at firſt to condemn them, and what paſſed in the council of Vienne; that it is impoſſible, I ſay, to reflect on the nature and number of theſe different circumſtances, without being perſuaded of the juſtice of their condemnation. 'Tis very probable, ſays Mariana the Jeſuit, that they were not all innocent, nor yet all guilty. This is the judgment of that judicious hiſtorian, who obſerves, that the puniſhments inflicted on them, ſeemed cruel to abundance of people, and that it was ſcarce probable, that theſe irregularities ſhould have infected all the particulars of ſo large a body diſperſed over all Chriſtendom, but that the extinction of ſo famous an order, ought to ſerve for an inſtruction to others of the ſame kind, and teach them not to depend ſo much on their riches, as on the practice of thoſe virtues, that are ſuitable to their profeſſion, in order to avoid falling into the like misfortunes. Mariana l. 15. c. 10.

Though the knights of Rhodes had no hand in this ſurprizing revolution, yet ſince the univerſal church, aſſembled in the council of Vienne, had thought fit to beſtow the eſtates and effects of the templars upon their order, the grand maſter did not think he ought to refuſe them. For this reaſon he called a council, to conſider what methods were proper to be uſed, in order to get poſſeſſion of 'em; and it was reſolved to ſend ample powers to ſuch of the principal commanders in the weſt, as were noted for their capacity and prudence, to treat with the ſeveral ſovereigns of Europe, about an affair of ſuch importance, and which might be attended with great difficulties in the execution. For this purpoſe, the grand maſter and council drew up a formal inſtrument in the nature of a procuration, wherein they declared, that being informed of the diſpoſal, which the pope and holy council had made of the eſtates of the templars in favour of the order of S. John, and that it was the intention of the church that theſe eſtates ſhould be employed as well for the convoy and defence of pilgrims as for the recovery of the Holy Land, they had, by common conſent, choſen brother Albert Lallemand de Chateau-noir, grand preceptor, or grand commander, whoſe wiſdom and capacity the order had long experienced, to be procurator general and lieutenant of the maſterſhip in Europe; and that the council had thought proper to join in commiſſion with him, brother Richard de Ravelink, draper; brother Philip de Grangana, prior of Rome; brother Leonard de Tibertis, prior of Venice, and procurator general in the court of Rome; brother Henry de Mainieres, brother Arnald de Soliers, brother Arnald de Chavaneuf, both companions or aſſiſtants of the grand maſter; brother Durand de la Prevôté, preceptor of Montchalix, and brother Sauveur d'Aurillac; and that the grand commander might uſe the aſſiſtance of all theſe knights, either jointly or ſeparately, to go and take poſſeſſion of the eſtates and effects granted to the order, to receive 'em from the hands of the adminiſtrators, and to give a good and ſufficient diſcharge for the ſame.

'Twas expreſsly mentioned in the ſame inſtrument, that the revenues of the order of S. John being conſiderably diminiſhed, and the commanderies for the moſt part in a declining condition through the negligence of the preceptors and ſtewards; upon which account there was a neceſſity for a ſpeedy viſitation and an exact reform, as well in the priorial houſes as in ſuch as depended upon them, the council appointed the ſaid brother Lallemand, viſitor, inquiſitor, corrector, reformer, adminiſtrator and comptroller in ordinary of all the houſes ſituate on this ſide the ſea, as well of the ancient commanderies of the order of S. John, as of thoſe of the templars, which were to be conſigned to them. That the commander ſhould require an exact account of the revenues of the order, and of the uſe to which they had been applied, by the preceptors entruſted with them; that he had authority to proſecute all perſons comprehended within his commiſſion, of what dignity ſoever they were, to deprive the guilty of their commanderies, ſubſtitute others in their places that were more worthy to fill 'em, remove the knights and ſerving brothers from one houſe to another, and even to ſend 'em to Rhodes if he thought fit. He was likewiſe impowered by the ſame commiſſion to admit into the order perſons of noble birth, and even yeomen, i. e. knights, and ſerving brothers, to cloath them with the habit of the order, and in particular to give the military girdle to the knights: Which plainly points out the diſtinction that was always made between the different members of this body: And it were to be wiſhed, they had never confounded ſo juſt a diſtinction, by allowing the ſerving brothers to wear the golden croſs: Which can be of no other uſe, but to debaſe the nobleſt branch of this illuſtrious order.

THIS inſtrument is dated at Rhodes Oct. 17. 1312. and we ſee at the head of the ſignatures, that of the grand maſter's, who ſtyles himſelf, Brother Fulk de Villaret, by the grace of God, and the holy apoſtolick ſee, humble maſter of the holy houſe and hoſpital of S. John of Jeruſalem, and guardian of the poor of Jeſus Chriſt: And underneath his ſignature, we find thoſe of brother Thierry de Lorgne, marſhal; brother Peter de Clermont, vice-hoſpitaller; brother Richard de Ravelink, draper; brother René de Dieu, treaſurer; brother Philip de Grangana, prior of Rome; brother Martin-Pierre de Ros, prior of Meſſina, and Peter de S. John, preceptor of Achaia.

THE great commander and the other commiſſioners, in virtue of theſe powers, went into France, to take poſſeſſion of the effects and eſtates of the templars. But they met with great difficulties, ſays Rainaldi, to get theſe effects out of the griping hands of ſome courtiers, that had ſeized on 'em. The pope being informed of the various obſtacles to the execution of the decree of the council, wrote upon that occaſion to Philip the Fair in the moſt preſſing terms. That prince gave him a dry anſwer, viz. that he had never conſented to make over the templars effects to the hoſpitallers, but upon his holineſs's promiſe of endeavouring a neceſſary reformation of that order, both in its head and particular members; beſides, that it was but juſt they ſhould firſt re-imburſe themſelves the neceſſary charges of the proſecution of that great affair, which he made to amount to the ſum of two hundred thouſand pounds; an immenſe ſum for thoſe times *.

THE commiſſioners of the order ſpent a great deal of time, and were at infinite pains before they could force the ſecular adminiſtrators to quit their hold, who left no ſtone unturned to ſecure to themſelves in property, what had been committed to them only in truſt. To get the commanderies out of the hands of thoſe leeches, they were forced to give them great ſums of money: Which, ſays S. Antonine, drained the treaſury of the order †.

Traité entre les gens du roy & les hoſpitaliers, Dupuy p.184.

KING Philip the Fair dying after he had given the knights of Rhodes ſeiſin of the eſtates of the templars, Louis Hutin his eldeſt ſon and ſucceſſor, demanded ſixty thouſand pounds more than his predeceſſor had done; and to diſcharge this ſum, brother Leonard de Tibertis, one of the commiſſioners that treated with him, was forced to conſent, that he ſhould keep in his hands two thirds of the money of the templars, the ornaments of their churches, the furniture and goods of their houſes, all the profits and revenues of their lands, in a word all their moveable effects till the day that the hoſpitallers took poſſeſſion of their eſtates. But this prince, and the king his father, were not the only perſons that got by this rich plunder: There are ſome hiſtorians that ſay, the pope had a good ſhare of it.

M. Dupuy p. 59.

CHARLES II. king of Naples and Sicily, and count of Provence and Forcalquier, acted much after the ſame manner in the dominions which he had in France. A great number of templars, who would not own

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* Cum ad hujuſmodi conſenſum impartiendum unà cum prælatis in concilio congregatis fuerimus per vos inducti, quia ſanctitas veſtra diſpoſuerat & ordinaverat quòd per ſedem Apoſtolicam ſic dictorum hoſpitalariorum regularetur & reformaretur, tam in capite quàm in membris. Dupuy p. 179.

† Quia jam fuerat occupata à diverſis Dominis laicis, oportuit quòd illi de Hoſpitali magnum theſaurum exponerent in dando Regi & aliis qui occupaverant dicta bona; unde depauperata eſt manſio hoſpitalis, quæ ſe exiſtimabat inde opulentam fieri. Ant. p. 3. t. 21. ch. 3.

the crimes charged upon them, were burnt there. As for their eſtates, M. Dupuy tells us, that the immoveable effects were left to the hoſpitallers, but as for the moveable ones and money, they were confiſcated and ſhared between the pope and this prince. But it appears that the king of Naples deferred, as long as he lived, to put the hoſpitallers in poſſeſſion of the caſtles ſituate in that kingdom, and in Sicily. For hiſtory has conveyed down to us a letter of Clement's, wherein he exhorts king Robert, Charles's ſucceſſor, to follow the example of Philip the Fair, and give up readily the poſſeſſion of the landed eſtates that had formerly belonged to the templars; whence we may conclude, that Philip had made over thoſe in his hands to the commiſſioners before he died. But the difference about the charges was not ended till the reign of his ſucceſſor, as we have obſerved before.

Fulk de Villaret. Noſtradamus hiſtoire de Provence an. 1307.

Though the pope, at the inſtance of the kings of Aragon, Caſtile, Portugal and Majorca, had by his bull excepted all the eſtates of the templars within the dominions of thoſe princes, out of the grant made by the council of the poſſeſſions of that order to the hoſpitallers; yet, as he was apprehenſive that theſe ſovereigns might, upon one pretence or other, ſeize thoſe eſtates, he iſſued out a new bull, excommunicating all perſons of the kingdom of Majorca, that did not, within the ſpace of one month, deliver up the commanderies of the templars to the knights of Rhodes. In conſequence of this bull, and to avoid incurring the cenſures of the church, Sanchez James, ſovereign of the Baleares, put the hoſpitallers in poſſeſſion of all the eſtates of the templars. But whether the bull was deſigned only for this prince, to whom probably the pope had directed it, as being the weakeſt, or whether the other Spaniſh ſovereigns did not ſeem diſpoſed to ſubmit to it, the king of Aragon took no notice of it, and ordered his embaſſadors to tell the pope, that he hoped the deſign of appropriating the eſtates of the templars to the order of the hoſpitallers, would not extend to his dominions, which he deſired might be exempted from it; and that he had been obliged for the defence and ſecurity of his ſubjects, who were continually infeſted by the Moors, to ſeize upon ſeventeen commanderies of the templars, which were ſo many fortreſſes, to put troops in them for their defence, and to take at the ſame time into his hands the revenues annexed to them, to provide for the ſubſiſtence and pay of thoſe garriſons.

Not but the knights of Rhodes were as capable of maintaining themſelves in theſe places, and of defending the frontiers, as the templars were: But it is plain, from the whole conduct of the Spaniſh princes in this affair, that their ſecret view was to have the plunder of the templars to themſelves, without any regard to the right of the hoſpitallers, and not to ſuffer thoſe great eſtates to be enjoyed by an order that was under a foreign head and grand maſter, and pretended likewiſe to hold under no ſuperior but the holy ſee.

But be that as it will, after many negotiations and conferences, which laſted near five years, a treaty was at laſt concluded, by the mediation of pope John XXII. ſucceſſor to Clement V. between brother Leonard de Tibertis, procurator general of the order, and Vitalis de Villanova, the king of Aragon's miniſter, by which the knights of Rhodes, not only deſiſted from their pretenſions to the eſtates of the templars, ſituate in the kingdom of Valentia, dependent on the king of Aragon, but reſigned likewiſe to the pope, all the particular commanderies of their own order in that kingdom, except the ſingle commandery which was in the town of Valentia, and the caſtle called the Torrent, which the order of S. John reſerved to themſelves. All the other commanderies, as well thoſe of the hoſpitallers as the templars, and all the eſtates of both thoſe orders, ſituate in the kingdom of Valentia, were afterwards, at the requeſt and inſtances of the king of Aragon, granted by the pope to the order and knights of Calatrava, who fixed their chief ſeat at Monteza; and in exchange for this, it was declared by the treaty, that except the ſeventeen fortreſſes of the templars on the frontiers, which the king had ſeized into his own hands, the knights of Rhodes ſhould be put in poſſeſſion of all the other commanderies and eſtates that had belonged to the templars, as well in Aragon as in Catalonia. This rendred the knights of Rhodes ſo powerful in that kingdom and in Catalonia, that the caſtellan of Empoſta, being not ſufficient for ſo vaſt a charge, the grand maſter and council were obliged to create a great prior for that principality. If we recollect what has been ſaid in the beginning of this work, concerning the rights and juſt pretenſions that the hoſpitallers and templars had to the crown of Aragon, in caſe of a vacancy for want of lawful heirs, we can't ſufficiently admire the good policy of brother Leonard de Tibertis, who by this treaty, upon the uniting of the rights of both orders in that of S. John alone, took care to have them ſupported by forces lying near enough together, and able to make them good whenever an opportunity offered.

As the pope's deſign in diſpoſing of the templars eſtates in favour of the hoſpitallers did not ſuit the ſecret views of Denys king of Portugal, that prince made uſe of an honourable pretext to get the ſtart of the pontif. He inſtituted a military order, which he called the order of Chriſt, and 1318 annexed to it the eſtates of the templars in his dominions. After this ſettlement, he ſent embaſſadors to Rome, to demand of pope John XXII. a confirmation of this new order of knighthood, which the pope granted.

FERDINAND IV. king of Caſtile, did not take ſo much precaution; and though the templars had been declared innocent in a council held at Salamanca, this prince made no ſcruple to ſeize on their eſtates, and annexed to his demeſnes conſiderable cities which had belonged to them, and had been granted by the pope to the knights of Rhodes.

Zurita. l. 5. c. 101.

THE conduct which the kings of Caſtile, Aragon and Portugal, have obſerved ſince, with regard to theſe new military orders, moſt of them founded out of the ruins of that of the templars, ſhews, that the apprehenſions of the popes Clement V. and John XXII. were not altogether groundleſs. For the ſucceſſors of thoſe princes, found out a way afterwards to annex the four grand maſterſhips of the orders of S. James, Calatrava, and Alcantara, and of Chriſt, to their own perſons, by the title of perpetual adminiſtrators, which brought them in immenſe revenues. To make the religious knights of theſe Spaniſh orders ſome ſort of amends, they obtained from the court of Rome in their favour, the liberty of marrying, and of leaving off the regular habit, which they were obliged to wear, and of uſing in its ſtead a plain croſs of gold, with colours agreeable to the ancient colour of their religious habits.

PROOF X.

EDWARD II. king of England, acted in a more noble and diſintereſted manner, with regard to the order of S. John. The templars, beſides a conſiderable commandery, which they had in London, enjoyed likewiſe immenſe eſtates in all the counties of that kingdom, and the prior of London ſate in parliament as firſt baron of the kingdom. Edward, being informed that the pope and council had ſubſtituted the knights of Rhodes in the room of the templars, ordered his officers, by his writs, the originals of which are ſtill preſerved in the tower of London, to deliver up the poſſeſſion of all their eſtates to brother Albert de Chateaunoir, or l'Allemand, great commander, and firſt in the commiſſion appointed by the grand maſter and council, to receive them, in conjunction with brother Leonard de Tibertis, prior of Venice, and procurator general of the order at the court of Rome. That prince, by other writs, ſtill preſerved in the ſame place, and a copy of which will be inſerted at the end of this book, commands all ſheriffs to aid and aſſiſt in the execution of his orders, to uſe all their authority in behalf of the procurators of S. John, and to cauſe, not only the eſtates in land, but the fruits and corn, the produce thereof, to be delivered to them: A proceeding, that ſhews this prince would take no ſhare of the ſpoils of the templars to himſelf, to the prejudice of the knights of Rhodes.

Walſing. in Edw. II p. 99.

As for Germany, the hiſtorians of that nation relate, that pope Clement V. having ſent the bull aboliſhing the order of the templars, to the archbiſhop of Mentz to publiſh it, that prelate ſummoned all his clergy together, in order to do it with the greater ſolemnity; and that they were ſtrangely ſurprized to ſee the waltgraff, or count Sauvage, one of the principal of the order, enter the aſſembly, attended by twenty other templars armed under their regular habits; and that the archbiſhop, either out of a charitable diſpoſition, or a natural ſenſe of fear, received them very obligingly. They add, that the archbiſhop proceeded ſo far, as to invite the count to take a ſeat in the aſſembly; that the count, on the other hand, declared to him, that he was not come to do violence to any body whatſoever; but, that being informed that he was directed to publiſh a bull of the pope's againſt their order, he inſiſted, that the appeal which they made from that decree to the next council, and the ſucceſſor of Clement ſhould be received, read and publiſhed. The archbiſhop, to elude his demand, anſwered, that he would conſider of it; but the templars preſſed him ſo warmly, that the archbiſhop, not thinking it proper to deny men whom he ſaw armed, and in a paſſion, cauſed their appeal to be read publickly. He ſent it afterwards to the pope, who ordered him to have it examined in a council of his province. Accordingly a ſynod was called, and after various formalities, which were there obſerved, the templars of that province were declared innocent of the crimes charged upon them.

Mutius in Chron. l. 22. p. 211.

Nevertheless, as this grand order was at length wholly extinct, we are not particularly acquainted with what became of their eſtates in Germany. All that appears from the hiſtorians of that nation, is, that the knights of Rhodes, and the Teutonick knights ſhared them between themſelves. 'Tis very probable, that theſe two military orders, made afterwards, by way of recompence, mutual exchanges of ſome of their ancient commanderies; for the Teutonick knights are actually in poſſeſſion of the commandery of Margat, which the Germans call Mergentheim, and the French Mariendal, though it is evident from hiſtory,

Serrarius in Chron. Mogunt. l. 3. p. 850.

that the hoſpitallers were the founders of it; ſome German hoſpitallers after the loſs of the old Margat ſituate in Paleſtine, having built it on the ſame model, and given it the name of Margat, or Mergentheim, which ſignifies, the houſe of Mary, to preſerve the memory of a place which after the loſs of Jeruſalem, was made the chief reſidence of the whole order.

The End of the Fourth Book.

A DIS-

A
DISCOURSE
UPON THE
ALCORAN,

Deliver'd in the

ACADEMY of INSCRIPIONS

At the opening of it, on Tueſday the 14th of November, 1724, by Mr. de VERTOT.

OF all the ſciences in which mankind employ their time, there is not any one more agreeable, or more uſeful than the knowledge of hiſtory. What ſatisfaction muſt it be to a reader to behold the ſucceſſion of all ages; the revolutions of the greateſt empires, legiſlators and conquerors; the authors of different religions, another kind of conquerors; in a word, all thoſe famous men, who by their valour, or learning and talents, ſeem'd to have undertaken to change the whole face of the univerſe, paſſing along before his eyes, and as it were on a great theatre?

BUT time, in ſpite of all their manifeſto's, of all the colours which thoſe vain and ambitious men, or their partiſans have employ'd to diſguiſe their projects, has nevertheleſs taken off the varniſh, and diſcover'd truth in all its native ſimplicity: Hiſtory, free from the prejudices of party, penetrates into the moſt ſecret motives. We there ſee, that an unjuſt deſire of uſurpation in ſome, an exceſſive thirſt after riches or pleaſures in others; ſometimes a paſſion rooted in vanity in the learned, and the hopes of making their names famous in the world, have, generally ſpeaking, been the ſecret ſprings that have given motion to all their undertakings; and 'tis from the generality of theſe great examples, which ſerve inſtead of an anticipated experience, that we may learn, that all unjuſt enterprizes, though never ſo ſucceſsful, and that all upſtart and erroneous opinions, become at laſt the contempt of all ſucceeding ages, and that truth alone deſerves to be celebrated in all countries, and by all hiſtorians.

However, before we pin our faith entirely on the credit of theſe writers, it is very fit that we examine their works by the rules of ſound criticiſm, a kind of torch, which, like a faithful guide, conducts us through all the obſcure and gloomy paths of antiquity, and helps us to diſtinguiſh truth from falſehood; the noble ſimplicity of hiſtory from the marvellous, which we meet with in fiction, and all thoſe vain ornaments with which illuſion and error are deck'd.

In order, therefore, to be aſſur'd of the truth of facts related by hiſtorians, eſpecially the moſt ancient, we muſt carefully examine the text of their works, to ſee if it has not ſuffered by interpolations; the different readings of manuſcripts, the uniformity or difference of the ſtyle, the countrey in which an author was born, the age in which he liv'd, and the order which he has obſerved in chronology. 'Tis well known, that the changing of a date, and placing it either earlier or later, is enough to alter the very nature of facts, or at leaſt the conſequences that may be drawn from them: In a word, we ought to inform ourſelves of the name, the religion, and morals of a writer. And though he ſhould be anonymous, or appear under a fictitious name, yet the generality of theſe authors diſcover themſelves in their works, and ſome ſtrokes always drop from their pen that lay them open, and repreſent their characters more faithfully, than all the criticiſms and apologies that have been written either for or againſt their works, could have done.

'Tis by the aſſiſtance of theſe various rules of criticiſm, that I propoſe to examine who is the real author of the Alcoran; the motives which might probably have determined him to publiſh it; whether it were the effect of inſpiration, or the work of a ſingle perſon aſſiſted by ſeveral learned men; in ſhort, the different fate this book has met with, and whether it has not in the ſucceſſion of ages undergone ſeveral variations, and chang'd its principles and maxims more than once.

There are three different opinions, with regard to the author of the Alcoran: Mahomet and his followers aſcribe it to God alone; ſome Chriſtian writers are for fathering it upon the prince of darkneſs, tranſformed into an angel of light, and aſſuming the name of Gabriel; others pretend, that this book, which is made up of different paſſages of the Old and New Teſtament, was compil'd by Mahomet, with the aſſiſtance of a Rabbin, and ſeveral Chriſtians of different ſects: This is the opinion which I am to examine.

See Maracci, pag. 33.

The firſt ſyllable of the word Alcoran is only an article, and we may as well ſay, The Coran, an Arabick word, which ſignifies * Reading, or Writing. There is no one but knows, that it is a book which contains the religion of the Muſſelmen, and that it is had in the ſame veneration with them as the Holy Scripture is with Chriſtians. The Turks likewiſe give this book the title of El Forcan, i.e. which diſtinguiſhes good from evil; 'tis a feigned conference which Mahomet had with God and the angels, from whom he pretends to have receiv'd his law. Ali, Mahomet's couſin german and ſon in law, in order to inhance the merit of this divine book, gave out, that the faithful found therein the hiſtory of former ages, laws for the conduct of this life, and infallible predictions with re-

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* The book to be read, or the legend. Prideaux.

gard to futurity. Their preachers take it into the pulpits with them; they hold it open, and read every now and then out of it ſome verſe by way of text. Their poſitive and ſchool divinity is founded only on ſome paſſages of the Alcoran, which ſupplies them likewiſe with prayers, and their prieſts read a chapter out of it every day in their moſques.

THIS wonderful book did not appear in the world till about the beginning of the ſeventh century. But ſuch as believe in it, maintain from the ninety ſeventh chapter of that work, that it is as old as the creation of the world; that the original of this book was once a part of the great book of the eternal decrees; that it was depoſited in the heaven of the moon, and that it was brought from thence at the time appointed by providence, by the angel Gabriel to Mahomet, who could neither write nor read *.

ONE would readily believe, that it would have been ſcarce poſſible to have carried fiction to a greater length. Nevertheleſs, ſome divines, called Sonnites, whom the infidels look upon as the only orthodox, have improv'd this fabulous original with new idle fancies, and maintain'd publickly, that the Alcoran was increated, eternal, and made part of the divine eſſence, Si quis dixerit Alcoranum eſſe creatum, eſt infidelis †; as the Latin tranſlator of the Arabick Algazel has rendred it. But this opinion was afterwards attack'd under the reigns of the Abaſſidian caliphs, by other Muſſelmen divines, called Mortazales, who, in anſwer to this anathema, pronounced another drawn up almoſt in the ſame terms, Infidelis eſt qui dicit Alcoranum eſſe æternum ſeu increatum. This diſpute gave riſe to a great ſchiſm, and was the occaſion of civil wars, in which great numbers of both parties loſt their lives.

THE only point in which they agreed, was, that this book, whether created, or eternal, as it deſcended from the throne of God, and was fill'd with his ſpirit, it merited the reſpect and veneration of all men. And we actually ſee to this day an advertiſement prefix'd to moſt of the copies of it, in theſe words, Let none but the pure preſume to touch this book, for it is a preſent come down from heaven, and ſent from the king of ages: ne attingant eum niſi purificati.

'TIS plain from hence, that men, in the opinion of the Mahometans, are expreſly excluded from having been the authors of this new law. Mahomet, depending upon the excellency of the work, gave out, that neither devils nor men, though they ſhould unite all their talents, would be able to compoſe any thing that could come near the perfection of the Alcoran: Si ſimul congregarentur homines & dæmones ut facerent aliquid ſimile huic Alcorano, nunquam id efficere poſſint, etiamſi mutuò ſeſe ad hoc adjuvarent. Sura 17.

THE generality of Chriſtian writers, on the contrary, pretend, that the devil is the real author of Mahometaniſm, and that he only made uſe of Mahomet, as an inſtrument to found a falſe religion upon the ruins of Chriſtianity. 'Twas the devil, if they are to be believed, who appeared to Mahomet under the name and ſhape of the angel Gabriel, or if you pleaſe, under the ſhape of a pigeon, which Mahomet had taught

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* Laus Deo ait Mahmud, filius Omar, qui demiſit è cœlo Alcoranum. Maracci, p. 34.

† Algazel in profeſſione fidei Mahumeticæ profitetur Alcoranumeſſe æternum, ſubſiſtentem eſſentiâ Dei. Vide Maracci, p. 44.

to peck in his ear: a proof that this falſe prophet was an impoſtor, who only made uſe of religion as a means to aggrandize himſelf. His deſign was to unite all the various religions of Arabia into one body, and to make ſo many ſubjects of his proſelytes. There were in his time three religions in Arabia, viz. Idolaters, Jews, and Chriſtians, and the laſt were divided into Catholicks and Schiſmaticks. Chriſtianity had been eſtabliſh'd in Arabia Felix ever ſince the emperor Juſtinus, and this church was ſubordinate to the juriſdiction of the patriarch of Alexandria, as well as that of the Abiſſines.

Arabia Petræa, from Paleſtine to the gulph of Ayala, and all the reſt of the coaſt as far as the borders of Egypt, was ſubject to the Roman empire, as was alſo Arabia Deſerta, or at leaſt that part of it which is adjoining to Syria and Paleſtine, whereof Boſtra was at that time the metropolis. 'Tis pretended, that the emperor Philip was born in that city, which anciently was no more than a caſtle built by ſome Arabian prince. The emperor Severus made it a city, and ſettled a colony there: A council was held at Boſtra, on occaſion of Bercellus, its biſhop's being infected with the hereſy of thoſe who denied the incarnation of the Word: This was about A. D. 249.

Most of the inhabitants of the three Arabians were idolaters, and pretended to be all deſcended from Kedar, ſon of Iſhmael. The learned Levinus Warnerus, in his treatiſe of the manners of the Arabians before Mahometaniſm prevailed in their countrey, aſſerts, that the Koriſians, or Koraſhites, the moſt noble tribe of that great peninſula, had preſerved themſelves from idolatry; that they had conſtantly uſed circumciſion ever ſince Iſhmael's time; that they were frequent in prayer, were very bountiful in their alms, and that the moſt devout among them never drank wine. The city of Mecca, with regard to religion, was conſider'd as the metropolis of the pagan Arabians. Shoals of pilgrims came thither from all the provinces, to viſit an old temple, called the Caaba, which, according to a received tradition, they believed to be built by Abraham. They undertook theſe pious pilgrimages in commemoration of that patriarch's journeys, and ſacrificed the firſtborn of a camel upon the neighbouring mountains of Mecca. This perhaps might have been the moſt eſſential part of their worſhip, and they had at beſt but a very confuſed notion of the God of Abraham. There is in the wall of Caaba a black ſtone, which the Mahometans tell us, was brought milk white from heaven by the angel Gabriel at the beginning of the world, but that it has been ſince blackned by the ſins of men. The Turks in their pilgrimages pay a very ſuperſtitious veneration to this myſterious ſtone. But we muſt not fanſy, that Mahomet invented theſe ceremonies; they had been us'd ſo long before his time among the Arabians, that it would have been impoſſible for that impoſtor ever to have rooted out this piece of ſuperſtition from among them, though he ſhould have form'd a deſign of doing it.

The idolatrous Arabians acknowledged indeed a firſt being, the only and ſovereign creator of all things; but then they made him, as it were, a ſupine deity without providence; and in their neceſſities they addreſs'd themſelves to ſome ſubaltern genii, and to a kind of goddeſſes: Such were Allath, Menach and Aluzza, whom theſe modern Iſmaelites ador'd as the daughters of the great God.

Pocockii Specim. Arabic. p. 53.

Some Arabians, who were ſubjects of Perſia, followed the religion of that countrey, and worſhipped the fire. There were likewiſe other kind of idolaters called Sabians, (which we muſt take care not to confound with the antient Sabéans) and theſe ador'd certain genii, which they plac'd in the planets and ſtars. The worſhip of ſome went no farther than the ſtars which they ador'd; and others, who were ſtill more ſtupid, directed all their devotion to certain images which repreſented the ſeveral attributes of thoſe ſtars: And the Caaba, or great temple, was by degrees crowded with a multitude of idols, of which Mahomet afterward clear'd it.

As for the Jews, after the emperors Titus and Adrian had drove them out of Jeruſalem, a great number of that miſerable people had taken refuge in Arabia, a countrey that is contiguous to Paleſtine, where they multiply'd conſiderably: But the generality of them paid greater deference to the ridiculous fancies of their rabbins and talmudiſts, than to the law of Moſes, and the ſacred text of the Bible.

The Chriſtian Arabs followed the Greek rite, of whom very few were Catholicks, the greateſt part of them having turned Eutychians or Jacobites; nor were there wanting among them ſome antient ſectaries of the doctrine of Ebion and Cerinthus, two arch-hereticks who lived in the firſt century of the church, and were cotemporaries with the apoſtle S. John.

There were likewiſe ſome Arians, ſome Neſtorians and Cophti, a ſort of Eutychians: But excluſive of the exterior worſhip of thoſe different religions, a corruption that was almoſt univerſal, and an ignorance equal to it, prevail'd among the Arabians of all denominations, and the Jew was ſcarcely to be diſtinguiſh'd from the Chriſtian by any other mark but circumciſion and baptiſm.

If we enquire into the civil government of Arabia, we ſhall find, that beſides certain countries, which held either under the Greek empire or that of Perſia, Arabia had formerly enjoy'd its particular ſovereigns. Pocock, in his notes upon Abul-Faraghius, an Arabian author, and of the ſect of the Jacobites, has given us the names of theſe princes, but neither tells us the ſeat of their dominion, nor how long they reigned. And in the ſeventh century, in Mahomet's time, we meet with no other ſovereigns in Arabia Petræa, either in Mecca, or Medina, the two principal cities of that province, but the chiefs of each tribe, who were at the ſame time the generals and magiſtrates of thoſe little republicks.

This multitude of chiefs all independent on one another, and the great diverſity in worſhip and religion, made Mahomet think it a favourable juncture for putting his deſigns in execution. The character that Elmacin hath drawn of him, may be ſeen in the beginning of this work, but his conduct will paint it ſtill better. He was a man who thirſted after empire, and was greedy of pleaſures, of a ſuperior genius; and who, either by his education or reflexion, ſaw through all the ridiculous foppery of that multitude of deities which the people had ſet up. Had he not been vain enough to pretend his holding an intimate correſpondence with God, by the miniſtry of the angel Gabriel, the magiſtrates had never driven him out of Mecca: But as he was for acting an extraordinary part, and had neither a miſſion nor miracles to authorize it, he was at laſt obliged to ſupply the force he wanted in argument by that of arms, to eſtabliſh his ſyſtem ſword in hand, and to found it on a revelation, of which he himſelf was the miniſter and the herald.

p. 6. §. 9.

Abdias Benſalon. Cantat. Orat. 1. contra Mahometam. tract. Fr. Ric. c. 6 & 13. Theophzonaras fortalitium fidei, l. 4.

In order therefore to ſucceed in his ſcheme, he aſſociated with himſelf a learned Jew, born in Perſia, a rabbin in his ſect, whom Elmacin calls by the name of Salman. But the greateſt aſſiſtance he received was from a Neſtorian monk, call'd by the weſtern hiſtorians Sergius, and by the eaſtern Bahira, an apoſtate, who had been expell'd his monaſtery for his diſorderly life. Such were the architects whom Mahomet employ'd for erecting the new ſyſtem he projected. The Jew furniſh'd him with various hiſtories from the old teſtament, blended with the chimera's and dreams of the Talmud, which Mahomet, in order to heighten the marvellous, piec'd out with ſome fabulous circumſtances of his own invention, which are ſtill to be ſeen in the Alcoran. The Neſtorian monk, at the ſame time, brought him acquainted with the new teſtament, and the diſcipline of the church: All this chang'd and corrupted with fables, which he borrowed from pſeudo-goſpels, and apocryphal books; and 'tis manifeſt from the Alcoran, that he was not unacquainted with the hiſtory of the infancy of Jeſus, and the family of the virgin Mary.

But whatever were the names of thoſe Jews and Chriſtians who aſſiſted Mahomet in the forging of his Alcoran, 'tis certain, that as this book contains ſo many particularities of the old and new teſtament, Mahomet, who was born and bred a Pagan, and had liv'd in idolatry till he was forty years old, and who moreover was ſo illiterate, that he could neither write nor read, muſt neceſſarily have been directed in the compoſition of the Alcoran, by ſome Jew and by ſome Chriſtian, both of them learned in their religion, and who, upon the plan which he had form'd, ſupplied him with that infinite number of hiſtorical facts and paſſages which are ſcatter'd up and down that work.

Being ſoon after ſupported by ſome diſciples, he no longer makes a ſecret of his doctrine, but ſets up publickly for a preacher; he tenders the Alcoran to the people as a divine book, which had been brought him from heaven; and though he was wholly illiterate, as was before obſerv'd, he yet recommends himſelf, and is follow'd for the purity of his language, for the turn and loftineſs of his expreſſions, and for the care he took to imitate in the Alcoran, ſometimes the ſublime ſtyle of the beginning of Geneſis, and ſometimes the pathos of the prophets of the old teſtament.

If Moſes relates that God ſaid, Let there be light, and there was light; let the earth be made, and the earth was made: Expreſſions which a heathen philoſopher, Longinus by name, had propos'd as a model of the ſublime, and which give ſo fine a deſcription of the power of the creator, and the obedience of the creature; Mahomet, in imitation of the Jewiſh legiſlator, ſpeaking in the chapter Houd of the aſſwaging of the waters, makes God ſay, Earth, ſwallow up the waters; heaven, take back thoſe which thou haſt ſhower'd down. The waters immediately drew back, continues the falſe prophet; the command of God was fulfill'd, the ark reſted upon the mountain, and a voice was heard from heaven, ſaying, Woe to the wicked. Such as underſtand Arabick, agree, that Mahomet, as to expreſſion, does not fall very ſhort of the beauty of the original, which he endeavoured to imitate, and that his phraſes in particular are well choſen, and happily diſpos'd. Prideaux owns, that the Alcoran, with reſpect to the ſtyle and the purity of the language, is the moſt perfect model of any we have of the elegance of the Arabick tongue. That falſe prophet was particularly conſpicuous for brightneſs of thought, and particularly for drawing lively repreſentations and deſcriptions of the rewards and puniſhments of the next life. Of all the various motives that have an influence on the mind of man, he ſcarce made uſe of any but hope and fear.

WHEN he treated of paradiſe, as he had to do with people who were ſcorch'd with the burning rays of the ſun, and dwelt under the torrid zone, he repreſented that place of felicity, as a garden water'd with fountains and cooling liquors, and planted with trees that were ever green, and which bore delicious fruits in every ſeaſon. And for the ſatisfaction of ſenſual and voluptuous men, in a countrey, where, as Ammianus Marcellinus relates, 'tis incredible to think with what greedineſs both men and women abandon themſelves to luſt, Incredibile eſt quo ardore apud eos in venerem uterque ſolvitur ſexus; Mahomet, to draw them in, promiſes the men, that the kernels of the fruits they were to eat in paradiſe, ſhould be metamorphos'd into ſo many young girls divinely beautiful, and created on purpoſe for their felicity; and withal, ſo gentle, ſo complaiſant, and ſo ſweet, that if but a drop of their ſpittle was to fall into the ſea, that alone would be ſufficient to take away all its bitterneſs; and notwithſtanding that they were to repeat frequently the duties of the marriage bed, they yet ſhould remain ever virgins, without being ever mothers. Alc. c. 3, 4, 36, 37, 43, 47, 78. l. 14. c. 4.

IF this doctrine flattered ſenſual men, ſome old women on the contrary, fancying their age excluded them from this place of pleaſure, were very much alarm'd at it. One of them, as Lamay tells us, in his Lathaif, complained to the prophet about it, who told her for her comfort, that they would all riſe again at the blooming age of fifteen, and in all the perfection of beauty; this was calculated for the ſatisfaction of the old and ugly, and accordingly did not fail to pleaſe. Hotting. Hiſt. Orient. l. 2. c. 4.

MAHOMET, as a contraſt to paradiſe, repreſents hell as a burning furnace, eternally cover'd and ſurrounded in with thick clouds, and an hot ſaltiſh ſmoke. As for coolneſs, he makes the damn'd ſwallow a blackiſh ever-burning liquor, like melted pitch, which was to circulate in their veins; and he allows theſe unhappy wretches no ſhade but from a certain tree which he calls Zacoum, the fruits of which, he told them, reſemble the heads of devils. We may eaſily perceive, notwithſtanding their being ſo clouded with fictions, that the fountains and ſtreams of Mahomet's paradiſe, are borrowed from theſe words of ſcripture; The elect ſhall drink of pleaſures as out of a river, de torrente voluptatis potabis eos: And as for the young people who were to adminiſter to their pleaſures, all thoſe circumſtances were form'd upon the plan of the terreſtrial paradiſe, which Cerinthus had drawn, who maintain'd, that after the general reſurrection, Jeſus Chriſt ſhould reign on earth at Jeruſalem in Paleſtine; that men ſhould then have a full enjoyment of all the pleaſures of which they ſhould have depriv'd themſelves during their life time, and that their wedding day ſhould laſt a thouſand years. Alc. c. 7. 37, 43, 44, 47, 50, 74, 77, 78, 90.

IF we conſult the bare text of the Alcoran, and take it in a literal ſenſe, nothing can poſſibly be more groſs than theſe promiſes, which tend only to the gratification of the ſenſes. And indeed, Mahomet, perceiving that this kind of felicity would not ſatisfy men of underſtanding, he, in order to pleaſe them, as well as the reſt, adds, in the chapter entituled Jonas, that in theſe delightful gardens, the bleſſed ſhould be inceſſantly repeating theſe words, "Thou art holy, O Lord, our God, and eter-

“ nal, praiſe be to the Lord of all creatures”. And the Scheick Alalem cries out, “ Paradiſe, O Lord, is deſirable only becauſe it gives us a ſight of thee; “ for without the ſplendor of thy beauty it would be irkſome to us”; which affords room to imagine, that theſe different deſcriptions of the ſenſual pleaſures and corporeal pains of another life, were but ſo many allegories with which Mahomet heightened his diſcourſes; a figure very frequently us'd by the eaſterns, and which, upon that account, is not always to be taken in a literal ſenſe, according to ſome doctors of that ſect; which made a witty and devout Muſſelman ſay, “ O thou who inviteſt me to en- “ joy the delights of paradiſe, 'tis not paradiſe that I ſeek, but only the “ face of him who created paradiſe”.

Whatever care Mahomet might take to adapt the plan of his paradiſe to the different taſtes of mankind, an undertaking of no little difficulty: And as moreover, he was ſenſible, that every thing relating to religion which bears the character of novelty, is juſtly ſuſpected, he declares in the Alcoran, that he does not ſo much pretend to preach a new law, as to revive that which God had given to Adam and the firſt men, and which was afterwards tranſmitted to Noah and his deſcendants, down to Abraham and Iſhmael their anceſtors: A law, ſays he, more antient than either that of the Jews, or of the Chriſtians. He adds, that this law, notwithſtanding its being drawn up by a divine hand, had been chang'd and corrupted by the ſucceſſors of the patriarchs, who had baniſh'd the worſhip of the true God, and introduc'd in its ſtead that of images and idols, which they made the object of their religion; that God, in order to bring mankind back into the paths of truth, had at firſt ſent them a great prophet call'd Moſes, who had given them a new law in his name, and authoriz'd his miſſion by the moſt illuſtrious miracles; but that the people of Iſrael, to whom he was ſent, had in proceſs of time preferr'd human traditions before this holy law, and that that nation had relaps'd ſeveral times into idolatry.

That the ſovereign creator of mankind, had, at the time fix'd by his eternal decrees, rais'd up a ſecond prophet greater than Moſes, call'd Jeſus, the ſon of Mary, conceived, as he ſaid, by the breath of God, without a father, in the ſame manner as Adam, and born of a mother who had always been a virgin: But notwithſtanding, this new prophet publiſh'd a law that breath'd nothing but goodneſs and charity, and had wrought ſurprizing miracles in the face of all Judæa, in order to make it be receiv'd; nevertheleſs, his miſſion, in ſpite of all his miracles, had had no better ſucceſs than that of Moſes; that the prieſts and phariſees had determin'd to put him to death, but that God, in the moment of his paſſion and execution, had ſnatch'd him from the fury of his enemies, and taken him up into heaven, another fable which he had, borrow'd partly from the notions of Cerinthus. Mahomet adds, that the Chriſtians after his aſcenſion had adulterated his law to ſuch a degree, that it was deſtroy'd in a manner by falſe interpretations, and was no longer genuine. That in fine, God had ſent him as his laſt prophet, and greater than either Moſes or Jeſus, to purge religion of all the fables which men had introduc'd into it, under the notion of traditions and myſteries, and to unite them all in the ſame belief, and in the obſervance of the ſame law, of which, he ſaid, he was no more than a miniſter, and the bearer of the orders of heaven.

'Twas from theſe different principles that this artful impoſtor fram'd his ſyſtem. The Jew had furniſh'd him with that of the exiſtence of * one onely God, but without a multiplication of perſons: He forbids expreſly in the Alcoran, the aſcribing either ſon or daughters to God; and by this prohibition he excludes the three pretended goddeſſes of the idolatrous Arabs, and deſtroys at the ſame time the myſtery of the trinity, and the merit of the paſſion of our Saviour Chriſt.

ONE wou'd think he had taken the firſt principle of this unity of God from the words of Deuteronomy, where it is ſaid, Hear, O Iſrael, our God is one, the ſenſe of which he has alter'd by theſe Arabick words, la illach, illalach, there is no other God but God; and in order to recommend his own miſſion at the ſame time, he adds, in the ſame language, ou Mahammed reſoûl, and Mahomet is the meſſenger of God: Other words which are manifeſtly copied from thoſe we read in S. John's goſpel, This is life eternal, to know thee the only true God, and Jeſus Chriſt, whom thou haſt ſent, & quem miſiſti filium. Mahomet, in order to draw in both Jews as well as Chriſtians, borrow'd facts and paſſages indifferently from the Old and New Teſtament.

'TWAS out of complaiſance for his countreymen in general, and for the Arabian Jews in particular, that he retain'd the uſe of circumciſion, though there is not any mention made of it in the Alcoran; but that rite had been eſtabliſh'd for ſeveral ages among the greateſt part of the Arabians without diſtinction.

ORIGEN, who was at no great diſtance from Arabia, relates, that all
the Iſhmaelites who inhabit that countrey, get themſelves circumcis'd
when they come to be thirteen years old. S. Jerom confirms the ſame Philocalia,
circumſtance, in his commentary upon Jeremiah. The greateſt part, ſays c. 23. Hiſt. Eccleſ.
he, of thoſe people who inhabit round about Paleſtine, obſerve circumci- p. 103.
ſion, but chiefly the Egyptians, the Edomites, the Ammonites, the Moa- chap. 10.
bites, and all the countrey of the Saracens who dwell in the deſerts, i. e.
in the deſerts of Arabia: Whence we may preſume, that religion was not
the only motive for the eſtabliſhing of this cuſtom.

NEVERTHELESS it is probable enough that Mahomet recommended circumciſion and abſtinence from ſwines fleſh and things ſtrangled merely out of complaiſance to the Jews, whom he had a mind to bring over to his ſect; but ſome doctors of his religion have ſince aſſerted, that the only reaſon of his taking in circumciſion, was in order to enſure a better obſervance of the precept of cleanlieſs, which forbids the letting any urine fall on that part of the skin which for that reaſon they cut off.

As for the uſe of wine, Mahomet, in all probability forbid it only to heighten the perfection of his new law; perhaps too he was willing, that his diſciples ſhould agree in that point with the Rechabites and Nazarenes of the old law, who never drank any intoxicating liquors. Others pretend, that the ſole motive of his prohibiting the uſe of wine, was in order Jerem. c. 35. to prevent thoſe quarrels which frequently ariſe in the midſt of good fellowſhip; not to mention, that in ſo hot a countrey as Arabia, water and cooling liquors were perhaps more agreeable than wine. But I very much queſtion, whether this article of Mahomet's law, would have done him any ſervice, had he begun his miſſion with the people of the north. "Abſtain, ſays this "lawgiver to his diſciples, from wine, from playing at games of chance "and cheſs: Theſe are inventions of the devil, to ſow hatred and diviſion "among men, to eſtrange them from prayer, and hinder them from calling upon the name of God."

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* Do you never conſider that God is one, and has no poſterity? — Bleſſed be God who has no other ſons or daughters than thoſe good ſouls who worſhip him, and keep his commandments. Alc. c. 37. towards the end.

From the Chriſtians Mahomet borrowed the frequent uſe of prayer, which he fix'd at five times every day, the practice of a Lent-faſt, and the payment of the tythe of one's poſſeſſions; this, however, he ordered to be applied for the relief of the poor.

Though he had ſeverely condemn'd all manner of worſhip that was not immediately directed to the one only God, nevertheleſs, that he might not wholly alienate the affections of the people of Mecca, and in order to engage them by motives of ſelf-intereſt, he made a particular precept enjoining all ſuch perſons as had ſubſtance and ſtrength ſufficient for the journey, to go on pilgrimage to the great temple of Mecca, after it ſhould be clear'd of idols: And he made this injunction, becauſe the great reſort of pilgrims brought great ſums of money into a countrey whoſe ſoil was barren. He next allowed, in favour of the Heathens, of a miſtaken kind of predeſtination, not unlike what the ancients called fate, and taught, that if the fatal moment of a man's death was not come, he would be as ſafe in the midſt of a thouſand naked ſwords pointed againſt him, as if he was alone in his own houſe and in bed: A principle, which was afterwards of great advantage to his ſucceſſors in their wars; and in ſpite of the fear, which danger naturally inſpires, we have frequently ſeen Mahometan ſoldiers ruſh chearfully upon the ſwords of their enemies, from a notion that they had nothing to dread on ſuch an occaſion, if they were not predeſtinated to dye in it. “ 'Tis impoſſible, ſays Mahomet in the chapter Amram, for a perſon to dye at any other time than that which is fix'd and determin'd by the immutable decrees of God.”

This artful mixture of various religions, and in which every one fanſied he diſcovered ſome traces of his firſt belief, impoſed upon a great many people; and the inſidious impoſtor, in order to eſtabliſh his errors, borrowed from both Jews and Chriſtians ſome great truths, in ſome inſtances the practice of great virtues.

As our divine Saviour has expreſly recommended to us the doing good to thoſe that perſecute us, Mahomet, to imitate him, at the end of the chapter Aaraf expreſſes himſelf thus, Do good to all; and the author of Keſchef, one of his commentators, relates, that Mahomet, upon receiving this precept from the angel Gabriel, ask'd him the meaning of it, upon which the angel made him this comment: “ Court him who drives you from him; give to him who has taken from you; pardon him who offends you: For God will have you ſow the ſeeds of the greateſt virtues in your ſouls.”

The article wherein he chiefly differed from the purity of the Chriſtian religion, was that of polygamy, and the plurality of wives; but it was already eſtabliſhed among the Jews and idolatrous Arabs; ſo that he allow'd his diſciples to marry four lawful wives at the ſame time; and as the legiſlator did not think himſelf oblig'd to ſubmit to a law of his own making, he married at leaſt fifteen, and, as others ſay, one and twenty wives. 'Twas his favourite paſſion, and he himſelf does not ſcruple to own it; he declares, that he was not affected by any kind of pleaſure, but that which aroſe from grateful odours, and the commerce of beautiful women. Deus poſuit delectationem meam in ſuavibus odoribus & in mulieribus; as is related by the learned Maraccy, confeſſor to pope Innocent II. the laſt and moſt exact tranſlator of the Alcoran.

Alc. c. 4.

p. 31.

However, notwithſtanding all the complaiſance Mahomet had for his own inclinations and for thoſe of his fellow citizens, he yet met with a ſtrong oppoſition from the magiſtrates of Mecca, and the chief men of his tribe. 'Tis plain from the twenty fifth chapter of the Alcoran, that they treated him publickly as an impoſtor, and that the generality of the Koraſhites declar'd aloud, that his book was no more than a texture of fables of his own invention, or forg'd by the help of other impoſtors; and in the ſixteenth chapter he points out particularly the perſon who was ſuſpected to be the author of it: "I know, ſays he, ſpeaking of himſelf, "'twill be ſaid, that a certain perſon has taught me the Alcoran; but he "whom they pretend to be the ſecret author of it, is a Perſian by birth, "and ſpeaks the language of Perſia, whereas the Alcoran is written in Arabick, and is full of inſtruction and eloquence." The cunning impoſtor, that his performance might not be aſcribed to another, employed only two foreigners to aſſiſt him in compiling it, the one a Greek, and the other a Perſian, neither of whom ſcarce underſtood Arabick: moreover, 'tis pretended, that he, in order to get rid of a troubleſome witneſs, afterwards got the firſt, who had had the greateſt hand in it, to be privately diſpatch'd.

Alc. c. 15. 37-81.

WHAT troubled him moſt, was that the moſt ſenſible part of the inhabitants of Mecca required him to ſhew ſome warrant for his new doctrine, and to authorize it by miracles, the moſt authentic credentials a prophet can have. Moſes, ſaid they, Jeſus Chriſt, and other prophets, worked, by your own confeſſion, the moſt glorious miracles, to prove their miſſion, why then do not you, if you are a prophet, and greater than they, work the like?

Theophanes Zonaras. Ricardi confutatio Mahom. c. 13 Cantacuzen. orat. 1. contra Mahomet.

MAHOMET, in order to get clear of ſo home an objection, turned and winded on all ſides. One while he told them, that as miracles came from the almighty hand of God, men could not know the time when he had determined to work them; another while he reproached them, that tho' they ſhould ſee miracles, they yet would not be converted; and at other times he ſaid, that his miſſion extended no farther than to preach to them the word of God ſuch as he had received it from the angel Gabriel, and added, that there could not be a greater miracle than the Alcoran itſelf, which was ſo perfect in all its parts, that it could not poſſibly be the work of the moſt learned men, nor even of the devils themſelves, much leſs could it have been compos'd by an illiterate man like himſelf, who could neither write nor read.

Alc. c. 6.

Pocock. Spec. Hiſt. Arab. p. 191, 192.

Alc. c. 2, 10, and 17.

Alc. c. 7.

BUT the magiſtrates of Mecca would not take up with ſuch idle reaſons, in which the impoſtor was for having the point in queſtion taken for granted, and moreover, ſuſpecting, that he had more ambitious deſigns in view, and that he had a mind to uſurp the government of his countrey, they baniſhed him as a ſeditious perſon, and forced him to leave Mecca.

Elmacin. l. 1. c. 1.

MAHOMET now ſaw plainly, that he ſhould never be able to execute his ambitious projects by perſuaſion only, and therefore reſolv'd to have recourſe to arms; and to authorize this ſtep, he did not fail, as uſual, to call in heaven to his aſſiſtance. Immediately he gave out among his diſciples, that the angel Gabriel had brought him a ſword from almighty God, with orders to ſubdue by the force of arms all ſuch as ſhould refuſe to embrace his doctrine.

Alc. c. 4.

HE began this religious war by plundering the caravans; when booty, ſo grateful to the Arabs, ſoon brought great numbers of them under his ſtandard: Being thus reinforc'd, he ravages the open countrey, ſurprizes caſtles, takes towns, and after having for ſome time practis'd the trade of robbery, he learned inſenſibly the art of conquering.

We need not ſearch for any other reaſon to account for the ſurprizing progreſs this ſect made in ſo little time in Arabia; which if Mahomet could but have foreſeen, he would in all probability have ſpared himſelf the trouble of forging ſo many revelations, and fitting together the various pieces he borrowed from the Jewiſh and Chriſtian religions. 'Tis well known, that he, in leſs than eleven years time, made himſelf maſter of the greateſt part of the three Arabia's: The ſucceſs of his arms exceeded his firſt projects, and fortune carried him to greater lengths than he had even dar'd to hope. But as his wars, his conqueſts, and thoſe of his ſucceſſors, are foreign to my ſubject, I ſhall only obſerve, that he united the prieſthood to the empire; that his diſciples were his firſt ſubjects; that he forc'd the reſt by violence to ſubmit to him; that his arms were the foundation of his new religion, and that he in all probability might have taken them up only in order to eſtabliſh it with greater diſpatch. His ſucceſſors made uſe of the ſame pretext to ſeize on Aſia, Africa, and a part of Europe; and whither would they not have extended their conqueſts, had not God raiſed up the intrepid courage of the knights of S. John of Jeruſalem, to make head againſt them; thoſe knights, I ſay, who for ſeveral ages have ſerved as a bulwark to all Chriſtendom? The Arabians were the firſt people of Aſia that embrac'd the religion of Mahomet; ſome of theſe out of fear of his power, others carried away and infected by example, many ſeduc'd by the lure of pleaſures, nor were there wanting others who were charm'd with his eloquence, and certain pathetical expreſſions which dropp'd from him in his ſermons, or in various places of the Alcoran.

We there meet indeed with fine great common places upon the majeſty, the power, and the goodneſs of God, as well as on the ingratitude of men; but all his diſcourſes on theſe ſubjects are without proofs, without coherence, order or connection; and one may eaſily perceive, that what they call the Alcoran, or the book by way of eminence, to ſpeak after the Arabians, is no more than the work of a mere ſophiſter and declaimer.

One cannot even ſay that this work is one continued diſcourſe, and made at the ſame time; for we there meet with ſeveral variations and alterations, according as its author was actuated by new paſſions, or engag'd by new intereſts. In the fourth chapter, any man is expreſly forbid to marry the wife of another, during the life time of the latter; but unluckily Mahomet caſts his eyes upon Zainab, the wife of Zaib, his freedman; he liked her, and in order to have her to himſelf, he beſtow'd extraordinary favours upon his late ſlave, that ſo he might engage him to divorce her, which being done, he immediately marries her. This ſcandalous compact between the maſter and his ſervant, highly offended the greateſt part of his followers; but to ſilence their complaints, notwithſtanding it contradicts the law, which he himſelf had preach'd, he publiſhes an addition to the thirty third chapter of the Alcoran, wherein God declares, that he had married Zainab to Mahomet; a declaration, which put that woman, who was not a little proud of the revelation, upon inſulting the reſt of the prophets wives, and upon claiming a precedency, by virtue of her having been married by an expreſs order from heaven, whereas none but men had been concern'd in the marriages of her rivals.

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This falſe prophet, beſides all thoſe wives, who compos'd his Seraglio, had likewiſe in his family a young female ſlave of exquiſite beauty, of about fifteen years of age, call'd Mary, an Egyptian by birth, and a Chriſtian. We are told, that the governor of Egypt had made a preſent of her to Mahomet. Immediately our prophet falls in love with her, and is catch'd by two of his wives in a criminal commerce with her: Theſe don't fail to make a great ſtir about it, but as it might prejudice his reputation, heaven comes in immediately to his aſſiſtance, and by a new revelation which we find in the ſixty ſixth chapter, God allows Mahomet, and all Muſſelmen whatever, to cohabit with their ſlaves, in ſpite of their wives. "O prophet, for thus Mahomet makes God ſay, why doſt "thou, for fear of diſobliging thy wives, deny thy ſelf the pleaſure which "God has granted thee?" The impious wretch begins with committing the crime, and then warrants it by a pretended diſpenſation from heaven. The only reaſon of my ſelecting theſe two examples from a great number of others, was to ſhew, that there are in the Alcoran, in that very book, which the Mahometans tell us, came from the throne of God, ſeveral oppoſite and contradictory articles, and which are computed to amount to near one hundred and fifty. The Mahometans endeavour to evade this objection, by ſaying, that God having thought proper to abrogate certain articles, was afterwards pleas'd to ſubſtitute others in their ſtead; but we may obſerve, that both theſe paſſages are not only preſerv'd in the text, but that that article which is ſubſtituted is often plac'd before the other which was to be diſannull'd; which occaſions a ſtrange confuſion, unleſs they, in order to account for this tranſpoſition, ſhould tell us, that that was owing to the Alcoran's having been written upon looſe leaves, which anciently were never ſtitch'd together in order, but rolled upon one another; which for that reaſon, might occaſion the tranſpoſition of ſeveral chapters.

Alc. c. *66.* of Prohibition.

After Mahomet's death, Abu Beker, his father in law and ſucceſſor, collected theſe looſe leaves together, put them into what he thought a proper order; and after conſulting ſuch of Mahomet's diſciples, as had attended with greateſt aſſiduity upon his diſcourſes, he made a collection of them, which he afterwards left in the cuſtody of Haphſa, daughter to Omar, and one of the ſurviving wives of that prophet.

Yet notwithſtanding this precaution, ſeveral copies of this book were ſpread up and down the provinces, very different from one another. The people of Hyerak-Araſy, which is the antient Chaldæa, together with the Syrians, maintain'd, that their copies, though contradictory to one another in ſeveral paſſages, were nevertheleſs the only authentick ones. Theſe diſputes oblig'd the caliph Othman, the third ſucceſſor to Mahomet, to conſult the original of Abu Beker, if we may give that name to a book, which he himſelf had compos'd, and in which he had added, and raz'd whatever he thought proper, and this upon the information of perſons, who boaſted their having retain'd by ſtrength of memory, moſt of the paſſages of the Alcoran from Mahomet's diſcourſes. Othman, however, caus'd ſeveral copies to be made of it, and diſtributed them up and down the Mahometan provinces, and order'd all the other copies which fell into his hands to be burnt as ſpurious.

And yet, notwithſtanding that the Alcoran was revis'd in this manner, and though it has paſs'd through ſo many hands, in order to its being corrected, there were nevertheleſs whole nations who could not be prevail'd with to receive ſome ſurats or chapters in it as canonical, which they ſuſpected were no more than ſo many interpolations of the reviſer. The Perſians, the Indians, the inhabitants of the coaſt of Coromandel, and the other followers of Ali reject ſeveral verſes as apocryphal, which the Turks receive as canonical; for which reaſon they have given them the name of Schittes; whereas the Turks, the inhabitants of Mogul, the Arabians and the Africans, who follow the doctrine or comment of Abu-Beker, and look upon themſelves as the only orthodox, take upon themſelves the name of Sonnites. But abating this, all of theſe have ſo profound a veneration for this book, that it falls very ſhort of idolatry: Some of them ever carry ſeveral verſes, and ſometimes whole chapters of it about them, as an infallible preſervative againſt all the accidents of life; and their princes and great men enrich the cover of their Alcoran with pearls and diamonds.

Tom. 6.

TAVERNIER relates in his voyages, that the great Mogul ſent in his time a copy of it to Mecca, the cover of which was valued at twelve hundred thouſand livres, and that there was in the middle of it a diamond, which alone weigh'd a hundred and three carats. Such is the veneration the infidels have for his book, tho' ſtuffed with fictions: So true is it, that falſehood, when dreſs'd with an air of ſomething marvellous, is very apt to allure the minds of men: at the ſame time that we neglect the reading of our holy books, the ſacred depoſitory of revealed truths, and wherein we meet, and that with much more certainty, than in the Alcoran, an undoubted hiſtory of the firſt ages of the world, wiſe maxims for the conduct of this life, and infallible promiſes and the moſt undoubted aſſurances with regard to eternity.

The End of the Diſcourſe on the ALCORAN.

THE

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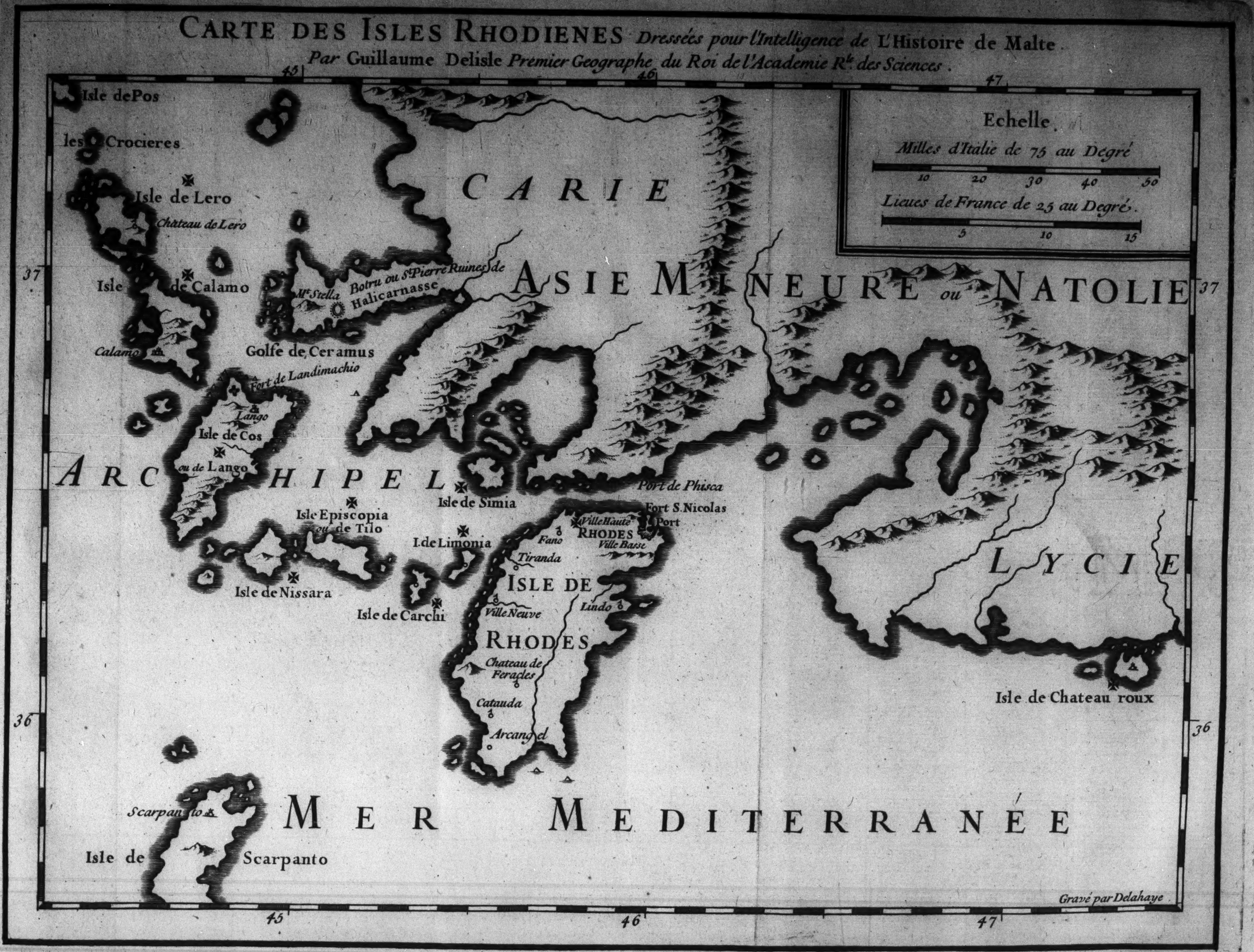
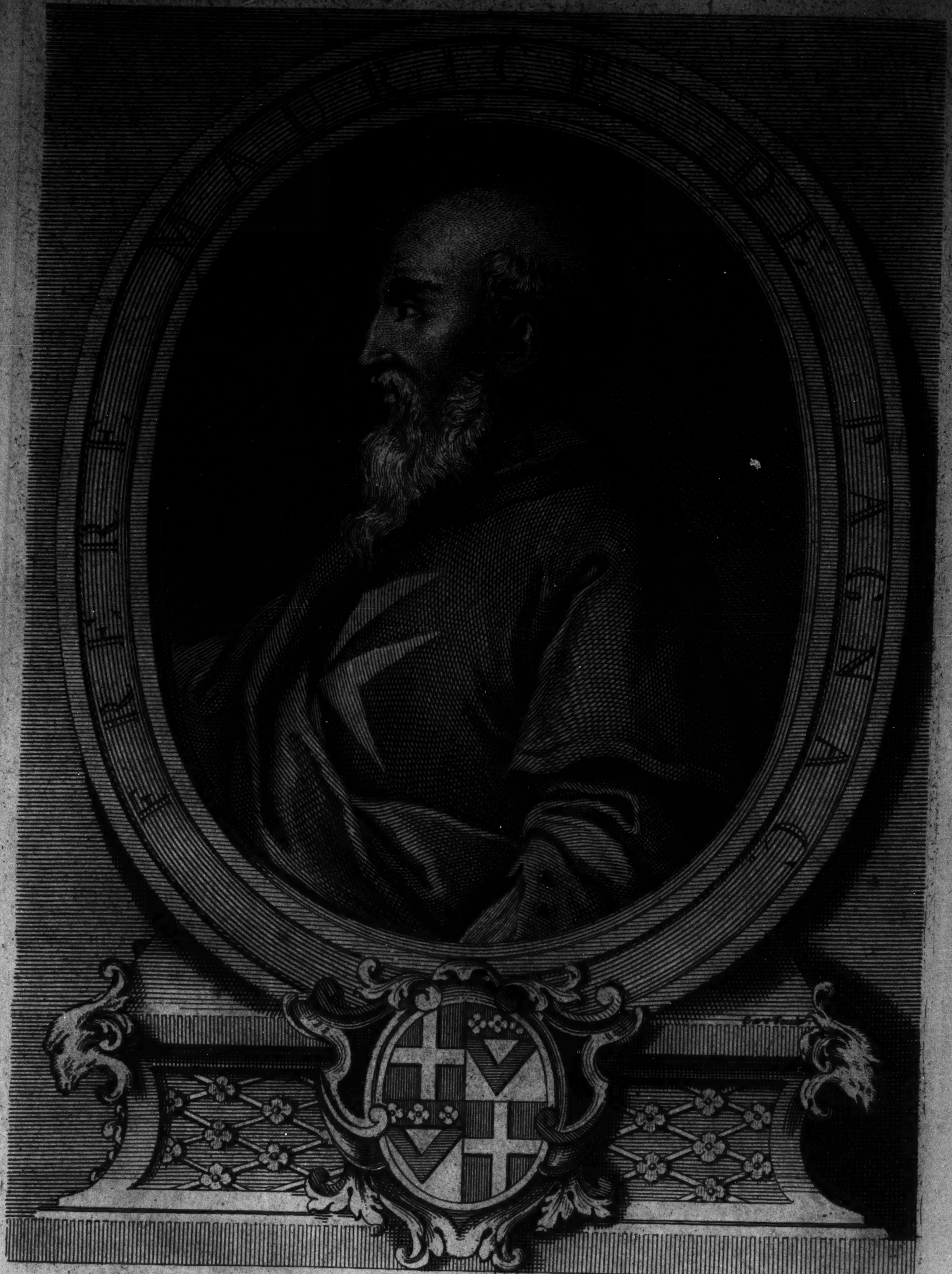


CARTE DES ISLES RHODIENES *Dressées pour l'Intelligence de* L'Histoire de Malte.

Par Guillaume Delisle *Premier Geographe du Roi de l'Academie Rle des Sciences.*

45
46
47
Echelle
Milles d'Italie de 75 au Degré
10 20 30 40 50
Lieues de France de 25 au Degré
5 10 15
Isle de Pos
les Crocieres
Isle de Lero
Chateau de Lero
Isle de Calamo
Calamo
CARIE
Mte Stella
Botru ou St Pierre Ruines de Halicarnasse
Golfe de Ceramus
Fort de Landimachio
ASIE MINEURE ou NATOLIE
37
Lango
Isle de Cos ou de Lango
ARCHIPEL
Isle Episcopia ou de Tilo
Isle de Simia
I. de Limonia
Isle de Nissara
Isle de Carchi
Port de Phisca
Fort S. Nicolas
Port
Ville Haute
RHODES
Ville Basse
Fano
Tiranda
ISLE DE RHODES
Ville Neuve
Lindo
Chateau de Feracles
Catauda
Arcangel
LYCIE
Isle de Chateau roux
36
Scarpanto
Isle de Scarpanto
MER MEDITERRANÉE
Gravé par Delahaye


FRERE MAURICE DE PAGNAC

THE HISTORY OF THE Knights Hoſpitallers OF St. JOHN of JERUSALEM,

Called afterwards

The KNIGHTS of RHODES,

And at preſent,

The KNIGHTS of MALTA.

BOOK V.

FOULQUES DE VILLARET.

THE conqueſt of the iſle of Rhodes, and the confiſcation of the great revenues of the templers, raiſed the military order of St. John to a degree of grandeur equal to that of many ſovereigns in Europe. Among the ſeveral iſlands called Sporades, this of Rhodes was the moſt conſiderable, both in regard of the fertility of its ſoil, and of the ſafety of its ports and roads, which drew commerce and plenty to it from all parts: beſides, after the knights became maſters of it, galleys and ſhips, well equip'd, were ſent out from time to time, to give chace to pirates, and the knights that commanded theſe ſquadrons enriched themſelves with the prizes which they took continually from the infidels.

BUT theſe different ſources of riches, ſo advantagious in a ſtate purely ſecular, weakened inſenſibly a religious order. Its temporal power carried to too great a length, was the occaſion afterwards of its weakneſs, and the great revenues, eſpecially of particular knights, introduced among the youngeſt of the order luxury, effeminacy, and pleaſures.

These military religious upon the return of their caravans, and after their cruizing, ſpent in play, and often in debauchery, what they had acquired in war, and what they ought by their profeſſion to have put into the common treaſury of the order. In vain did the old commanders, educated in ſevere morals, and in an exact practice of the rules of the order, repreſent to them that the templers had been lately ruined by the like conduct: this libertine ſet of youths, proud of the reputation they daily gained in engagements, ſcarce vouchſafed to give any attention to that terrible and recent example. Theſe young untractable gentlemen flattered themſelves that their valour would ſupply all the virtues of their profeſſion; and what was ſtill more deplorable, the grand maſter himſelf ſeemed, by his example, to authorize ſo ſtrange a change in the morals of his order.

Villaret, blinded with the glory he had lately acquired by his conqueſts, was unable to ſupport too proſperous a fortune; he was eager to enjoy the fruit of his labours, and ſurrounded as he always was with a croud of flatterers, he ſpent his days in an inglorious ſloth: delicacy * and profuſeneſs prevail'd at his table; all the perils of the ſea muſt be tempted to provide him the moſt exquiſite dainties, and the moſt delicious wines; and to ſupply his luxury and extravagance, he applied to his own uſe the revenues of the vacant commanderies, or elſe, to the prejudice of the moſt antient knights, he gave them away as a recompence to his favourites, and the miniſters of his pleaſures. With regard to the other knights, he affected to render himſelf difficult of acceſs, and if he vouchſafed them any audience, 'twas always in a rude and haughty manner. The way of remonſtrance was ſhut up to the juſteſt complaints, and ſcarce a knight went from his palace, but with a ſecret indignation.

What heightened the diſcontent of the whole body, was his neglecting to pay the debts of the order; and they complained he let the houſe, the head of the order, want ſubſiſtance and neceſſaries. In vain did the old commanders repreſent to him that the order was never richer, nor the maintenance of the religious more neglected; the imperious grand maſter received theſe remonſtrances as ſo many reproaches. His conduct, his manners, and the form he was for introducing in the government, were thoſe of an abſolute ſovereign; and he ſeem'd to make no diſtinction between the knights themſelves, and the inhabitants of the iſland, and other ſubjects of the order. But he had a great body of gentry to oppoſe him; many even of the knights being deſcended from the beſt families of Chriſtendom, and brought up in republican principles, were ready to ſubmit to an authority founded upon laws, but were incapable of bearing an odious, deſpotick power.

The way of private remonſtrances not ſucceeding with a ſuperior ſo proud and haughty, thoſe knights, who pretended to have been any way injured, had recourſe to a regular proſecution. The grand maſter, upon their petition, was ſummon'd judicially to appear in council, to give an account of his adminiſtration: he rejected the ſummons with diſdain. The malecontents were not at all diſcouraged at it; they aſſembled ſecretly together, to conſider of the meaſures they were to take. Brother Maurice de Pagnac, under colour of delivering the order from a tyrannical ſway, was put at their head. He was an old commander, pious, exact in the obſervance of his rule, but bitter in his zeal, and from his own regularity

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* Deſciverat à priſtina virtute hoſpitalariorum equitum princeps Villaretus, captaque Rhodo, non ad proferendum Chriſti cultum in Syriam extulerat mentem, ſed in delicias abjecerat: præteritiſque inſoleſcens victoriis, intentuſque privatæ rei, publicas curas ſpernebat: quo circa equites, communicato inter ſe conſilio, eum opprimere ex inſidiis adorti ſunt. Rainaldi ad ann. 1317. n. 35.

FOULQUES DE VILLARET.

aſſumed a ſort of right to condemn all the knights that were not as devout as himſelf. This commander, who was naturally rigid and inflexible, and beſides, had probably his own private views in the revolution he was bringing about, repreſented to his brother companions, that after having had in vain recourſe to petitioning, and the authority of the laws for redreſs, they were going infallibly to fall under an open tyranny, if they did not take the bold reſolution of arreſting the grand maſter; that this attempt, daring and extraordinary as it might appear, would, if it ſucceeded, be infallibly approved by the knights, even by ſuch as were moſt indifferent in the caſe; and if they were once maſters of his perſon, they might impeach and try him before the council. This propoſal, tho' violent in its nature, was but the more agreeable to perſons whoſe paſſions were rais'd, and whoſe reſentments ran high; but there were great difficulties in the execution. The principal and wiſeſt commanders, tho' diſcontented with the government, had not yet engaged in theſe diſputes; and the grand maſter, beſides his houſhold, which was numerous, never ſtirred abroad without a train of his creatures, and a herd of flatterers, who without troubling themſelves about what is right or wrong, always devote themſelves to the author and ſource of favours.

THE malecontents, to ſurprize him in a time when he had the feweſt attendants about him, endeavoured to bribe one of his valets de chambre, and offered him a great ſum of money to let them by night into his apartment; but the ſervant, faithful to his maſter, inform'd him of the propoſal that was made him; and to heighten his own zeal and fidelity, exaggerated the number of the conſpirators, and the danger he was in of being ſeized. The grand maſter fearing that he could not be ſafe in the city, went out, under pretence of hunting, and made the beſt of his way to the caſtle of Lindus, of which he took poſſeſſion. This caſtle is ſeated on a hill in the eaſtern part of the iſland, about ſeven miles from the city of Rhodes. Beſides a good port which is at the foot of the caſtle, there is on the north a large bay, with a clean, firm, and ſandy bottom; and a little farther off there is a place called Trianda, or the quarter of Serpents; below which is a very good road, where veſſels may ride covered from the eaſt and ſouth-eaſt winds. Villaret being maſter of this caſtle ſupplied it with troops and proviſions, and at the ſame time had gallies in the port by his orders always equipped and ready to take him on board, if he was too hard preſſed by his enemies; and to ſtop the proceedings begun againſt him, he notified to the council that he appealed to the holy ſee from every thing they ſhould enact in his abſence to the prejudice of his perſon and dignity.

BUT his flight, and eſpecially the manner, in which by his ſingle authority he had ſeized on a ſtrong place, and on the gallies belonging to the order; the troops which he had thrown into the place; thoſe which he was actually levying in the iſland, and the arms and ammunition he was gathering on all ſides; this ſo exaſperated the minds of the knights, that the greateſt part of them, even ſuch as were the moſt moderate, and had not declared themſelves before, joined the malecontents. 'Twas like a general conſpiracy againſt the grand maſter; they all unanimouſly cried out againſt the tyrant, and in ſpight of his appeal to the holy ſee, a majority of the knights aſſembling in a tumultuous manner, depoſed him, elected Maurice de Pagnac in his ſtead; and from this precipitate election there aroſe an unhappy ſchiſm in the order.

THE moſt diſintereſted knights thought themſelves obliged to notify it to Pope John 22. ſucceſſor to Clement. They had already prepoſſeſſed that pontiff about the ill uſe that Villaret made of the revenues of the order, and particularly with regard to his negligence in acquitting the principal and intereſt of the money that he had borrowed for the enterpriſe of Rhodes.

THE commanders were the more concerned in this negligence, in that the intereſt was paid at their expence, and out of their reſponſions, which muſt be conſiderably enhanced thereby. The pope, before he made any determination about ſo ſurprizing an event, ſent Bernard de Moreze, prior of St. Caprais, and Boſolo his chaplain, as his commiſſioners to Rhodes, to receive information of the truth of what had paſſed in this commotion.

THE inſtructions given to theſe commiſſioners were, that as ſoon as they arrived at Rhodes, they ſhould ſuſpend the power of the two grand maſters, and ſhould ſignify to them the expreſs order of the holy ſee, to appear both of them forthwith at the pope's court; that they ſhould notify immediately to all the knights, that in the interim, whilſt this great affair was deciding, the pope, as ſuperior paramount of the order, named brother Gerard de Pins to govern it. He was an old knight of the language of Provence, of the ſame family as the grand maſter Odo de Pins, much eſteemed for his valour and wiſdom, and not caring to declare himſelf for either party, was equally reſpected by both. The pope in the ſame inſtructions ordered the commiſſioners to ſeize the money, jewels, and all the effects of Villaret, to draw up an authentick account, and an exact inventory of them, and have it ſigned by the principal perſons concerned; and that after this previous formality, they ſhould remit the whole into the treaſury of the order, to be employed only in paying the bankers of Florence, and all other perſons who had advanced the money neceſſary for the conqueſt of Rhodes.

THE two commiſſioners arriving in the iſland, executed the orders given them with great exactneſs. They cited the two pretenders to the court of Avignon, and having made the commander de Pins be acknowledged as lieutenant general of the grand maſterſhip, they communicated to him a particular order given them by the pope in relation to the grand commandry of the iſle of Cyprus: that benefice, by the extent of its territory, its juriſdiction and largeneſs of its revenues was rather a principality than a ſimple commandry. The caſtle and town of Coloſſus was the chief place of that ſeignory, which comprehended ſeveral villages, with the caſtle and town of Curias, otherwiſe called Epiſcopia, which had been formerly the reſidence of the antient kings of the iſle. Villaret, by way of acknowledgment, for the pains brother Albert l'Allemand de Chateaunoir had taken for recovering the poſſeſſions of the templers, had gratified him with that rich commandry, a dignity after that of grand maſter, the moſt conſiderable of any the order had in all the eaſt. Complaint was made to the pope, that the grand maſter had, out of favour to the commander l'Allemand, taxed it only at thirty thouſand beſans d'or (a gold coin valued at twenty one ſols three deniers) reſponſion a year, whereas all the commanders before had payed ſixty thouſand; by which we may judge of the revenue of that rich commandry. The pope conſented that the lieutenant de Pins ſhould leave the commander in poſſeſſion of that dignity, upon condition he would pay to the treaſury of the order the ſame reſerved rent of ſixty thouſand beſans: but if he made any difficulty of ſo doing, he ordered, that upon his refuſal, they ſhould diſpoſe of the commandry to one of the oldeſt knights, who would comply with exactly paying the quit rent upon the antient foot.

IN the mean time the two grand maſters, in obedience to the pope's orders, ſet out for Avignon. Villaret was received wherever he paſſed, and particularly by Robert king of Sicily, as a great captain, and with all the good treatment that his reputation deſerved: every one was touched with his diſgrace. Nor was his reception leſs favourable at Rome: Pagnac, his rival and competitor, ſaw plainly that the change of place was no way to his advantage; they ſpake of nothing at the pope's court but of the valour and conqueſts of Villaret, whereas himſelf was looked upon as a rebel, and a ringleader of malecontents.

John XXII.

THE pope gave them both ſeveral audiences, not only in private, but alſo in the publick conſiſtory. The moſt famous lawyers of the court of Avignon were employed in this great affair. Edward Dupont, an eminent lawyer, pleaded in favour of Pagnac's election: he repreſented, that the knights who compoſed what they called at Rhodes the Convent, having, in conſequence of the right they had, and of the opinion they entertained of the virtue of Villaret, raiſed that knight to the dignity of grand maſter, they thought they had good grounds, when they ſaw him abuſe his power, to reſume an authority which that lawyer maintained they had only committed to him in truſt, and during ſuch time as he ſhould uſe it well. He inſiſted particularly on the power of the council, which had concurred in his degradation, and which he would have be regarded as the repreſentative body of the order, and of a general chapter.

VILLARET's lawyer, after a fine harangue on the exploits and conqueſts of his client, ſo much to the glory and advantage of the order, and even of all Chriſtendom, demanded, if the depoſing of him was the recompence he ought to expect for them; and if a company of mutineers and rebels could be ever authorized to depoſe their chief and ſuperior, eſpecially after he had prevented ſo raſh an enterpriſe, by an appeal to the holy ſee. And in anſwer to what Pagnac's lawyer had advanced about the ſovereign authority of the council, as the repreſentative body of the general chapter, he exclaimed aloud that the condition of the grand maſters would be very unhappy, if burthen'd as they were with the toilſome cares of the government, they were to have nothing but the fatigue and inquietudes of it, whilſt the members of the council, like a ſet of Ephori, ſhould ſet up themſelves for rigid judges and cenſors of their conduct. Yet let it be conſider'd, ſays the lawyer, that it is the grand maſters themſelves from whom the knights hold the dignities which give them a ſeat in council; and whether it be fitting that the fate of chiefs ſhould depend upon their creatures, and that they ſhould be obliged to tremble before the work of their own hands.

THO' theſe reaſons in a republican government were more pompous and ſolid, yet the pope, offended at the little regard that Pagnac's party had ſhewn to the appeal of Villaret, inclined ſecretly to his ſide. The cardinals, and particularly the courtiers, who never fail to find out the diſpoſitions of their maſter, blamed openly the precipitation with which they had depoſed the grand maſter. Pagnac ſaw plainly, thro' the diſcourſes ſpread on this ſubject, that he ſhould never obtain a confirmation of his election. The fear of ſeeing it vacated by a ſolemn judiciary ſentence, and the ſad idea of falling thereby again under the power of a mighty and incenſed enemy, threw him into a deep melancholy; he quitted the court and retired to Montpellier, where he fell ſick, and after languiſhing for ſome months, had there a period put to his life and ambition.

HIS death delivered the pope from the trouble of pronouncing a judicial ſentence in ſo delicate an affair. The pontiff, to preſerve always a ſubordination, began with re-eſtabliſhing Villaret in all the functions of his dignity; but as he had obſerved a vaſt deal of reſentment and animoſity in the contrary party, before he took off the ſuſpenſion which his commiſſioners had ſignified to the grand maſter, it was agreed privately with him, that after he had reſumed the government of his order for a certain limited time, he ſhould make a reſignation, as of himſelf, to the holy ſee, and be provided with a great priory, which he ſhould enjoy with an entire independence on his ſucceſſor, and even without being obliged to contribute to the charges and reſponſions of the order; which after ſeveral changes of priories and many difficulties, was at laſt entirely finiſhed about A. D. 1323. Villaret after his abdication retired to the caſtle of Teiran, which belonged to one of his ſiſters: he died there four years afterwards, and in A. D. 1327. his corps was interred in the church of great St. John at Montpellier, in a marble tomb, round which there is an inſcription * mentioning his quality, without taking notice of his abdication.

WHILST the order was infeſted with theſe diviſions, Orchanes or Urcham Gazi, ſon and ſucceſſor to Othoman, thought it a favourable juncture to drive the knights out of the iſle of Rhodes. This young prince in the life of the ſultan his father had a great hand in his conqueſts. He was the ableſt of his generals, and the moſt certain inſtrument of his victories. The ſovereign power to which he arrived upon the death of Othoman, ſerved only to inflame his courage. He was always revolving new conqueſts in his mind: he paſſed all the ſeaſons of the year in the field, living with his ſoldiers in his camp like one of themſelves, and as if they had been his brethren or his children; and in the greateſt dangers he ſhewed them a confidence that was equally honourable to the prince and his troops. His capacity was not at all inferior to his valour: few ſovereigns ever equalled him in the art of ſetting the princes his neighbours at variance: he never failed to declare himſelf for the weaker ſide againſt the ſtronger, the more eaſily to cruſh both at laſt. 'Twas by this policy, rather than the valour of his troops, that he made himſelf maſter of Myſia, Licaonia, Phrygia and Caria, out of which he drove moſt of the petty princes, who had ſhared with his father Othoman the territories of the laſt ſultan of Iconium of the Selgeucidian race, their maſter and ſovereign.

1321. Giovan Villani. 118.

THE nearneſs of the iſle of Rhodes, which is only ſeparated from Caria by a pretty narrow channel, determined him to attempt the conqueſt of it. He thought himſelf ſo ſure of it, upon the advice he had received of the diviſions in the order, that he reſolved to tranſport thither in perſon a colony of Mahometans, Turks, Arabians, or Saracens; and they pretend, that he choſe for this purpoſe moſt of the families, which the knights upon the conqueſt of Rhodes had drove out of the iſland; and who, under the protection of the ſultan, flattered themſelves with re-entring into poſſeſſion, and ſettling again in it. Orchanes left the old men, the women and children in the little iſle of Epiſcopia, which he made himſelf maſter of in his way: he then ſtood away with his fleet toward Rhodes. They relate, that he had no leſs than fourſcore flutes, brigantines, or flat-bottom'd veſſels of different bulk, moſt of them laden with

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* Anno Domini MCCCXXVII. die ſcilicet primâ Septembris obiit nobiliſſimus dominus frater Folquetus de Villareto, magiſter magni hoſpitalis ſacræ domûs ſancti Joannis Baptiſtæ Hyeroſolimitani, cujus anima requieſcat in pace, Amen. Dic pro me Pater noſter, Ave Maria.

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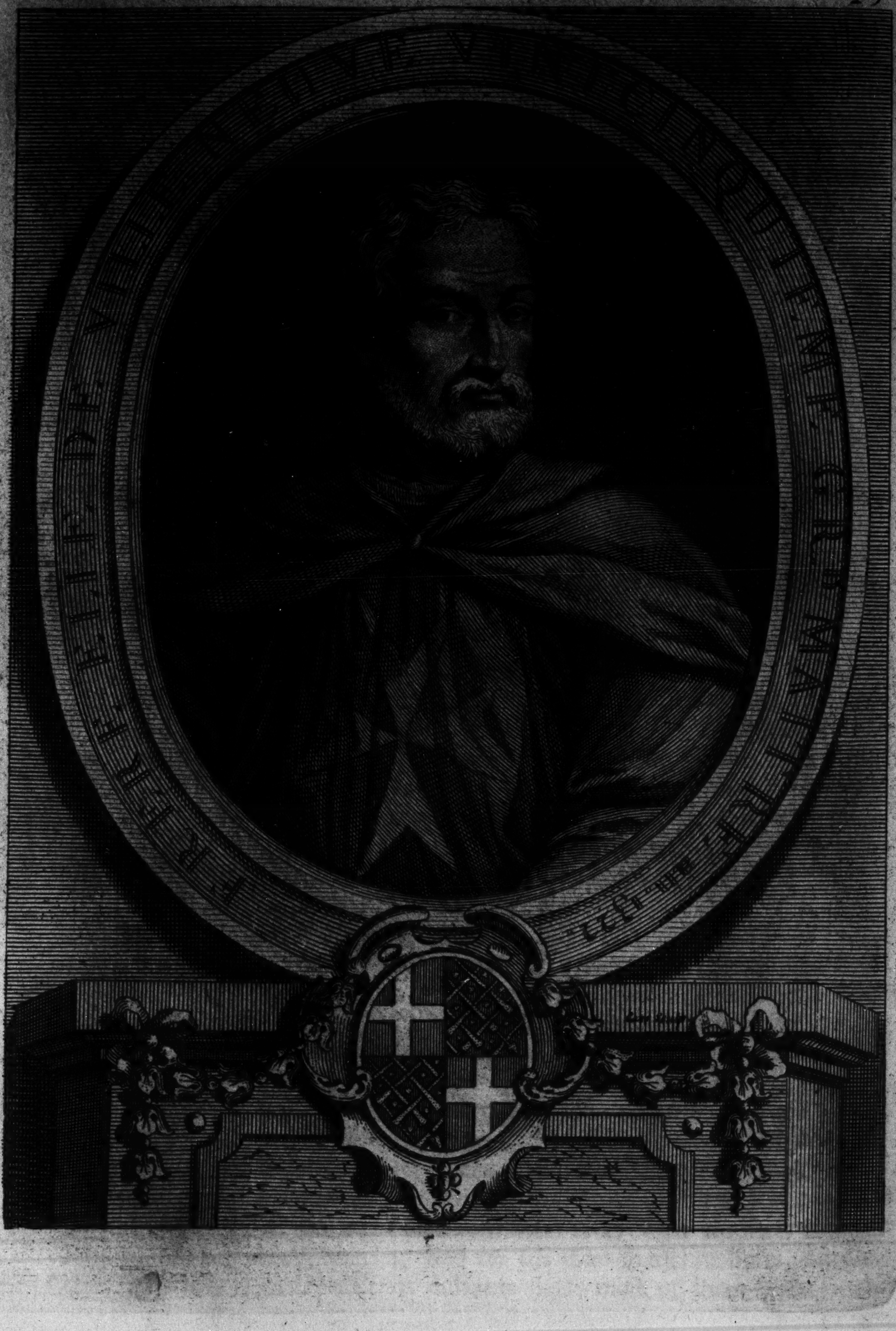
FRERE FILIP DE VILLIERS LISLE ADAM [illegible] INQUIEME GRD MAITRE 1521

land forces, with which he intended to form the ſiege of the city of Rhodes.

Gerard de Pins beforementioned, whom the pope had made lieutenant general of the whole order, having advice of the deſign of this infidel prince, and that his great armament was intended againſt Rhodes, did not think it proper to expect the enemy in the iſland. Unluckily moſt of the gallies and veſſels of the order were out a cruiſing; there were only four gallies left in the port, with ſome frigates, flutes, and merchant ſhips; but they were fortunately joined by ſix Genoeſe gallies, which put into the port of Rhodes, in their return from the coaſts of Cilicia, and the leſſer Armenia, where they traded. All the knights that were in the iſland, the ſoldiers, and even inhabitants, able to bear arms, were put on board this little fleet. The commander de Pins mounted on board the admiral, and as he was an excellent ſeaman, getting the wind of the Turks, he attacked them boldly. The infidels were ſuperior in number of veſſels; they had the like advantage in their land forces which they had on board, but they were all ſoldiers, altogether unfit for ſea engagements. The knights on the contrary, inured to that way of fighting, worked their ſhips with ſo much skill, that they ſunk part of the enemy's frigates and flat-bottom'd veſſels, and took a great number of priſoners. Orchanes was only beaten by fancying himſelf invincible, thro' the number and valour of his troops; but he had only tried them upon land, and he found enemies at ſea, whoſe capacity and skill were ſuperior to all his forces. The general of the order having routed their fleet, made a deſcent in the iſle of Epiſcopia, where, as we ſaid before, Orchanes had landed a great number of Turkiſh families, which he deſigned for peopling the iſle of Rhodes. The chriſtian general, to cut off this root of the war, and take from theſe infidels (the old inhabitants of Rhodes) all hopes of re-eſtabliſhing themſelves there, put to the ſword all that he found in arms, and the old men, women and children were by his order ſold for ſlaves.

As the grand maſterſhip was vacant by the abdication of Villaret, the pope convened in his palace in Avignon the priors and knights that were at his court, or in the provinces near Avignon; and when they were arrived he exhorted them to concord, and to ſacrifice their private reſentments to the general good of the order. All theſe knights ſhut themſelves up afterwards in a ſort of conclave, to proceed to the election of a new grand maſter; and after invocation of the Holy Ghoſt, and a mature deliberation, the choice of the aſſembly fell upon brother Helion de Villeneuve, whom the pope favoured openly; and his recommendation, very little different from an order, had a great influence in the election which he confirmed afterwards by an authentick bull, bearing date A.D. 1323; others pretend that this confirmation was a meer nomination, derived from the ſole authority of the pope.

Helion de Villeneuve.
1323.

1324.

The new grand maſter was not ungrateful; and to ſhew his acknowledgment to the pontiff, he ſold him ſome houſes which the order poſſeſſed in the city of Cahors, and ſome large eſtates in land, in the adjacent parts, which the pope, a native of that city, made a purchaſe of in favour of his family, which he had a mind to raiſe out of the obſcurity it was buried in. His father, whoſe name was Arnaud d'Oſſa or Deuſſe, was but a poor cobler. The merit of his ſon, and his extraordinary knowledge in civil and canon law, raiſed him to the dignity of cardinal. That dignity did not make him forget the meanneſs of his birth; he lived with the other cardinals as with his maſters, ſober, frugal and modeſt; one could hardly even by his dreſs diſtinguiſh any marks of a dignity, which appeared entirely indifferent to him. Such was this cardinal at the death of Clement V. the cardinals were two years before they could agree on the perſon they would chuſe pope. They at firſt aſſembled at Carpentras; but the cardinals of Aquitain, tired out with the length of the conclave, got their ſervants to ſet fire to it, upon which they diſperſed, and could not afterwards be got together again. Philip, count of Poitiers, brother to Louis Hutin, king of France, having by addreſs, and under various pretences, drawn twenty three of them to Lions, engaged them to ſhut themſelves up in a conclave. But as the factions were ſtill as warm as ever, and they could not agree, they reſolved at laſt, if we may believe Villani and St. Antonin, to refer themſelves by way of compromiſe to the ſole nomination which cardinal d'Oſſa would make of a pope; out of a perſuaſion that ſo good a man, ſo diſintereſted, and one who, in the midſt of all the cabals had always remained neuter, could not but make a good choice. But the candidates and heads of parties were ſtrangely ſurprized, when the cardinal, by virtue of the power they had conferred upon him to chuſe a pope, named himſelf, and with a clear, ſtrong, and audible voice, pronounced theſe words, ego ſum papa, 'tis I that am pope. Yet as the compromiſe was made in all the requiſite formalities, they were obliged to acknowledge him, and at the ceremony of his coronation he took the name of John XXII. 'Tis thus that the hiſtorians above cited relate this event, tho' the emperor Louis of Bavaria, his enemy, and the partizans of that prince, in the writings which they publiſhed afterwards, with ſo much virulence againſt this pontiff, never reproached him with this fetch, the reſult of ſo refined an ambition.

The grand maſter was too much devoted to this pope to quit his court in haſt. He ſtaid there, or in the neighbourhood, near four years. During that time, in order to remedy ſome abuſes that had crept into the order, he called a general chapter at Montpellier. It muſt be owned that the grand maſter Villaret had done much leſs injury to the order by his profuſeneſs, than by the looſeneſs he occaſioned in the regular diſcipline. Upon the annexing of the great revenues of the templers to the order of St. John, moſt of the knights were inveſted with commandries. Theſe new commanders, thoſe eſpecially which abode in Europe, applying themſelves to find out the antient poſſeſſions of the templers, or elſe to make the moſt of them, diſpenſed with themſelves, under favour of the diviſions that then reigned in the order, from reſiding at Rhodes, and even from paying that obedience which they owed to the grand maſter and the council. Moſt of them attached themſelves either to the court of Rome or to that of their particular ſovereigns; and theſe looſe religious courted the protection of ſecular princes, to make uſe of it as a ſuccour and protection againſt the orders of their lawful ſuperiors, and particularly to excuſe themſelves from reſiding at Rhodes, in the chief houſe of the order, which appeared to them no better than as a place of baniſhment.

The chapter ſaw with grief that a military order, founded and eſtabliſhed in the holy Land and in the eaſt, was diſperſed and buried as it were in different commandries in Europe; and, to draw the knights from thence, and bring them back to their principal houſe, declared all incapable of any dignity of the order, who had not kept an actual reſidence there for a certain number of years; during which reſidence they muſt likewiſe have ſerved in the wars, and on board the veſſels of the order. As to the grand croſſes and knights who were inveſted with the principal dignities of the order, the chapter named eight conventual bailiffs, who were in that quality to have ſeat in the council, of which the grand maſter was the head and preſident, by a right inſeparably annexed to his dignity. Yet he had but one voice more than any other counſellor or pilier, as they are called even to this day. By this nomination the bailiſs were obliged to reſide at Rhodes.

THEY maintain that this was the chapter in which they divided the body of the order into different languages or nations, and annexed particular dignities to each language, and fixed the commandries of each nation; which commandries were likewiſe diſtributed between the priories whereon they depended. It was reſolved likewiſe that the grand maſter ſhould every ten years have the nomination of two vacant commandries in each priory, preferably to the courſe of each language which was beginning to be ſettled; and that every prior, after the language was filled up, might name once in five years to a vacant commandry in his priory, provided he had made the neceſſary improvements, and owed nothing to the common treaſure of the reſponſions of his diſtrict; as may be ſeen in the treatiſe of the government of the order, which will be publiſhed in the laſt volume of this work. 1329.

THE grand maſter after the concluſion of this chapter prepared to ſet out for Rhodes, and was come as far as Marſeilles, where he was to embark, when he was detained by a long and dangerous illneſs, which held him near two years, as we learn from a letter of the pope in the ſixteenth year of his pontificate. In fine the grand maſter having recovered his ſtrength, embarked with a great number of knights, and arrived happily at Rhodes about A. D. 1332. 1332.

THAT iſland, by the diviſions riſen in it, and by the long ſtay that the grand maſters had made in France, was much declined in its power and ſtrength. Moſt of the commanders had, under different pretences, retired to their reſpective countries and commandries. The want of pay had greatly weakened the garriſon of the city, and there were breaches in ſeveral places of the walls. The grand maſter was no ſooner landed but he made in perſon an exact viſit of all the outworks of the place; he cauſed reparations to be made in all places that wanted them, and the city and whole iſland were indebted to him for a baſtion or bulwark which he built at his own expence before one of the ſuburbs. To this precaution he added that of a numerous garriſon, which he maintained conſtantly at his own expence, beſides a great number of knights, which his preſence, and yet more his benefactions drew to Rhodes.

HE obſerved the ſame conduct in reſpect to the iſles and other places that depended on Rhodes. Commiſſioners well qualified for the office viſited them by his order, and provided for the fortifying of ſuch places as might be inſulted; and the grand maſter ſent knights, eminent for their valour and experience, to command in theſe iſlands, and by ſignals or light barks gave him notice of whatever appeared in thoſe ſeas. The navy of the order under ſo vigilant an head recovered its antient reputation; and beſides the ſquadrons of the order, the principal and richeſt commanders fitted out gallies at their own expence. The Corſairs durſt appear no more; and the iſland of Cyprus and the leſſer Armenia, whoſe coaſts were often infeſted by thoſe pirates, were freed from them by the protection of the flag of St. John.

IF the chriſtian ſtates in the neighbourhood of theſe knights derived ſuch advantages from their neighbourhood, the inhabitants of Rhodes, and eſpecially the poor, felt the more immediate effects of the grand maſter's care. Under ſo wiſe a government there was not an unhappy perſon to be ſeen in all the iſles of the order; the poor did not want a neceſſary ſubſiſtence. The ſick were put in a large and magnificent hoſpital, where all the aſſiſtances neceſſary either for the wants of the body or for thoſe of the ſoul were abundantly provided for them. The grand maſter had re-animated the zeal of his knights by his own example; and it may be ſaid, that as long as he lived, he diſcharged perfectly well the functions, and juſtly merited the title of guardian of the poor, which had been annexed to his dignity, ever ſince the foundation of the order.

TWAS out of the ſame ſpirit of charity, from the like and prudential motives, that he forbad all the knights, on pain of degradation, to offer to fight a ſerpent or crocodile, a ſort of amphibious animal that lives and feeds in marſhes, and on the ſides of great rivers. This crocodile was of a monſtrous ſize, did a vaſt deal of miſchief in the iſland, and had even devoured ſome of the inhabitants. For the underſtanding ſo extraordinary an incident, which ſome authors have treated as fabulous, we ſhall barely relate what hiſtory acquaints us with on that ſubject, and leave the reader to judge of ſo extraordinary an event, according to his underſtanding, and the probability he may find in our narration.

THE haunt of this furious animal we are ſpeaking of, was in a cavern ſeated on the edge of a marſh at the foot of mount St. Stephen, two miles from the city. He went often out to ſeek his prey. He eat ſheep, cows, and ſometimes horſes when they came near the water and edge of the marſh: they complained likewiſe that he had devoured ſome young ſhepherds that were keeping their flocks. Several of the braveſt knights of the convent, at different times, and unknown to each other, went ſingly out of the city to endeavour to kill him, but none of them ever came back. As the uſe of fire arms was not then invented, and the ſkin of this kind of monſter was covered with ſcales that were proof againſt the keeneſt arrows and darts, the arms, if we may ſo ſay, were not equal; and the ſerpent ſoon diſpatched them. This was the motive which engaged the grand maſter to forbid the knights attempting any more an enterpriſe that ſeemed above all human ſtrength.

THEY all obeyed him, except one knight of the language of Provence, named Dieu-donné de Gozon, who, in breach of this prohibition, and without being daunted at the fate of his brother companions, formed ſecretly the deſign of fighting this voracious beaſt, reſolving to periſh in it, or deliver the iſle of Rhodes. This reſolution is generally aſcrib'd to the intrepid courage of the knight; tho' others pretend, that he was likewiſe puſhed on to it by the ſtinging invectives with which his courage had been inſulted at Rhodes; becauſe having gone ſeveral times out of the city to fight the ſerpent, he had contented himſelf with taking a view of it at a diſtance, and had thereby employed his prudence more than his valour.

WHATEVER were the motives that determined the knight to try this adventure, he, to begin the execution of his project, went into France, and retired to the caſtle of Gozon, which is ſtill ſtanding in the province of Languedoc. Having obſerved that the ſerpent he had a mind to attack had no ſcales under the belly, he formed the plan of his enterpriſe upon that obſervation.

HE cauſed a figure of this monſtrous beaſt to be made in wood or paſtboard, according to the idea he had preſerved of it, and took particular care to imitate the colour of it. He afterwards taught two young bull dogs to run when he cried out, and throw themſelves under the belly of that terrible creature, whilſt himſelf mounted on horſeback, clad in armour with his lance in his hand, pretended at the ſame time to ſtrike at it in ſeveral places. The knight ſpent ſeveral months uſing this exerciſe every day, and as ſoon as he found his dogs perfect in this way of fighting, he returned to Rhodes. He was ſcarce arrived in the iſland, when, without communicating his deſign to any body whatſoever, he made his arms be carried privately near a church ſituated on the top of the mountain of St. Stephen, where he came attended only by two ſervants whom he had brought from France. He went into the church, and after recommending himſelf to God, took his arms, mounted on horſeback, and ordered his ſervants, if he periſhed in the combat, to return to France; but to come up to him, if they perceived he had either killed the ſerpent or was wounded himſelf. He then went down the mountain with his two dogs, advanced ſtraight to the marſh, and the haunt of the ſerpent, who, at the noiſe that he made, ran with open mouth and eyes darting fire to devour him. Gozon gave it a ſtroke with his lance, which the thickneſs and hardneſs of its ſcales made of no effect. He was preparing to redouble his ſtroke, but his horſe, frighted with the hiſſing and ſmell of the ſerpent, refuſes to advance, retires back, and leaps aſide, and would have been the occaſion of his maſter's deſtruction, if he, with great preſence of mind, had not thrown himſelf off; and then taking his ſword in hand, and attended by his two faithful dogs, he immediately comes up to the horrible beaſt, and gives him ſeveral ſtrokes in different places, but the hardneſs of the ſcales hindered them from entring. The furious animal with a ſtroke of his tail threw him on the ground, and would infallibly have devoured him, if his two dogs, according as they had been taught, had not ſeized the ſerpent by the belly, which they tore and mangled with their teeth, without his being able, tho' he ſtruggled with all his ſtrength, to force them to quit their hold.

The knight, by help of this ſuccour, gets up, and joining his two dogs, thruſts his ſword up to the hilt, in a place that was not defended by ſcales: he there made a large wound, from whence a deluge of blood flowed out. The monſter wounded to death, falls upon the knight and beats him down a ſecond time, and would have ſtifled him by the prodigious weight and bulk of its body, if the two ſervants who had been ſpectators of the combat had not, ſeeing the ſerpent dead, ran in to the relief of their maſter. They found him in a ſwoon and thought him dead; but when they had with great difficulty drawn him from under the ſerpent to give him room to breathe, in caſe he was alive, they took off his helmet, and after throwing a little water upon his face, he at laſt opened his eyes. The firſt ſpectacle, and the moſt agreeable one that could offer it ſelf to his ſight was that of ſeeing his enemy ſlain, which was attended with the ſatisfaction of having ſucceeded in ſo difficult an enterpriſe, in which many of his brother companions had loſt their lives. 1342.

No ſooner was the fame of his victory and the ſerpent's death proclaim'd in the city, but a crowd of inhabitants thronged out to meet him. The knights conducted him in triumph to the grand maſter's palace; but in the midſt of their acclamations the conqueror was infinitely ſurprized, when the grand maſter looking upon him with indignation, demanded of him, if he did not know the orders he had given againſt attacking that dangerous beaſt, and if he thought they might be violated with impunity. Immediately this ſtrict obſerver of diſcipline, without vouchſafing to hear him, or being moved in the leaſt by the interceſſions of the knights, ſent him directly to priſon. He next convened the council, where he repreſented that the order could by no means diſpenſe with inflicting a rigorous puniſhment on ſo notorious a diſobedience, that was more prejudicial to diſcipline, than the life of ſeveral ſerpents would have been to the cattle and inhabitants of that quarter of the iſland; and like another Manlius, he declared his opinion was, that that victory ſhould be made fatal to the conqueror. But the council prevailed that he ſhould be only deprived of the habit of the order; in ſhort, the unfortunate knight was ignominiouſly degraded, and there was but a ſhort interval between his victory and this kind of puniſhment, which he found more cruel and ſevere than death it ſelf.

But the grand maſter, after having by this chaſtiſement performed the obligations due to the preſervation of diſcipline, returned to his natural temper, which was full of ſweetneſs and good nature: he was pleaſed to be pacified, and managed things in ſuch a manner as to make them intreat him to grant a pardon, which he would have ſolicited himſelf, if he had not been at the head of the order. At the preſſing inſtances made him by the principal commanders, he reſtored him to the habit and his favour, and loaded him with kindneſſes: all this was not to be compared to the unfeigned praiſes of the people, who diſpoſe abſolutely of glory, whilſt princes, how potent ſoever they be, can only have the diſpoſal of the honours and dignities of the ſtate.

Edition de 1637.

They ſet up the head of this ſerpent or crocodile over one of the gates of the city, as a monument of Gozon's victory. Thevenot in the relation of his travels, ſays, that it was there in his time, or at leaſt the effigies of it; that he himſelf had ſeen it there; that it was much bigger and larger than that of an horſe, its mouth reaching from ear to ear, big teeth, large eyes, the holes of the noſtrils round, and the skin of a whitiſh grey, occaſioned perhaps by the duſt, which it gathered in courſe of time.

We ſhall be leſs ſurprized at ſo extraordinary an incident, if we reflect that the iſle of Rhodes was antiently called Ophiuſa, from the Greek word ὄφις, which ſignifies a ſerpent, from the great number of thoſe reptiles which infeſted that iſland. Hyginus a Greek hiſtorian relates upon the teſtimony of Polyzelus a Rhodian, that a Theſſalian, ſon of Triopas, or of Lapithas, according to Diodorus Siculus, having been thrown by a ſtorm upon the coaſt of Rhodes, happily exterminated thoſe miſchievous animals; that Phorbas among the reſt killed one of them of a prodigious bigneſs, which devoured the inhabitants. The learned Bochart pretends, that the Phœnicians called this iſland by the name of Geſirath-Rod, i. e. the iſle of Serpents. Geſirath, according to that author, being a term common to the Phœnicians, Syrians, Arabians and Chaldeans, for ſignifying an iſland, and Rod in the Phœnician tongue ſignifying a ſerpent; ſo that joining theſe two words together, they formed that of Geſirath-Rod, whence the Greeks afterwards made that of Rhodes, which the iſle has preſerved to this day. But without dwelling upon a point of antiquity ſo very remote from us, perhaps ſuch as have criticiſed upon this paſſage of the modern hiſtory of the iſle of Rhodes, have not conſidered a like event that happened in Africa, whilſt Attilius Regulus commanded the Roman army there, and was making war againſt the Carthaginians; and I do not think it foreign to my ſubject, to give an exact relation of what the hiſtorians of that nation tell us of a ſerpent ſtill more monſtrous and terrible than that killed by the knight de Gozon.

The Roman army, ſay theſe writers, was encamped in Africa near the river Bagradas. The ſoldiers going to the water were attacked and devoured by a ſerpent which hindered them from coming near it. He had

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ſwallowed up ſeveral with his dreadful mouth; others were killed with the laſhes of his tail, and ſeveral died meerly by the infection of his breath. In a word, he gave ſo much trouble to Regulus, that that general was obliged to employ his legions againſt the monſter, to try which ſhould be maſter of the river. But as the ſerpent, by reaſon of the hardneſs of his ſcales, was impenetrable to all the javelins of the ſoldiers, they had recourſe to their military engines; they beſieged him as they would have done a fortreſs; they hurl'd ſtones and flints againſt him at a diſtance; at laſt, after abundance of fatigue and ſweat, a ſtone of extraordinary ſize, thrown from the ſtrongeſt machine, ſtruck him by good fortune, broke his back bone and killed the terrible monſter.

Regulus, as great a general as he was, ſay theſe hiſtorians, did not think the skin of this monſtrous animal unworthy of being ſent to Rome: it was a hundred foot long, and they hung it up in a temple, as a monument of his victory, and it remained there till the Numantine war. Thus is it that Florus, Valerius Maximus, Oroſius, Aulus Gellius and Zonaras relate this matter.

I do not maintain that there has been no exaggeration in the length of the African ſerpent, nor aſſert every thing that is told of the monſtrous bulk of the crocodile of Rhodes: but what appears certain from the hiſtorians of that time, from tradition, and even from inſcriptions and authentick monuments, is, that Gozon killed a terrible animal, and by that action acquired a great reputation, eſpecially with the people of Rhodes, who looked upon him as their deliverer.

The grand maſter, to make him ſome amends for the mortification he had given him, conferred rich commandries upon him: he took him afterwards to be near his perſon, and finding a prudence in him equal to his bravery, he made him at laſt his lieutenant general in the government of the iſland; from an opinion he had that ſo valiant and reſolute a knight, who had expoſed his life ſo generouſly for the ſafety of the inhabitants of the iſle, would, in caſe of war or ſurpriſe, defend them better than any body elſe againſt all the attempts of the infidels.

Those Barbarians informed of the forces and vigilance of the grand maſter, and diſcouraged by the ill ſucceſs of their arms, left off their uſual roving and pillaging for a time. Rhodes and the other iſles of the order enjoyed a profound peace for ſeveral years. This ſecurity proved in the end prejudicial to the order: they fitted out fewer veſſels; their ſea affairs were neglected; moſt of the knights finding no employment for their arms returned into their own country; and ſeveral commanders, thoſe eſpecially of the kingdoms of the north, under pretence of this apparent calm, neglected to pay their reſponſions. This diſobedience aroſe from the expence theſe commanders made in their provinces. Moſt of them kept little correſpondence with the chief houſe of the order: they ſeemed to look upon themſelves as proprietors of their commandries, and inſtead of the novices and private knights which every commander was obliged to maintain in his houſe and educate in the ſpirit of the order, nothing was ſeen but a worthleſs crowd of valets and hunting equipages. The relations too of the greateſt part of theſe commanders often conſumed the bread of the poor, and the revenues appointed for the defence of the chriſtian dominions.

The people who uſed to ſee their predeceſſors live like true religious, were ſoon ſcandalized at a life ſo entirely ſecular; ſome good men complained of it to pope Benedict XII. who had lately ſucceeded John XXII. They repreſented to him that the hoſpitallers by inheriting the immenſe revenues of the templers had, like them, fallen into luxury, and been infected with the dangerous and contagious corruptions that ariſe from great riches; that whilſt the templers ſubſiſted, the emulation between theſe two military orders engaged them both to vie with one another in armaments and enterpriſes always uſeful to Chriſtianity; but that ſince the extinction of that order, the commanders of the order of hoſpitallers, whoſe thoughts were taken up with their pleaſures, ſeemed to ſhun danger, and neglected the convoy and defence of the pilgrims that went out of devotion to the holy Land. Some ſecret enemies of the hoſpitallers, or rather ſome greedy courtiers, ſuch as are always graſping at other peoples ſubſtance, and bent upon enriching themſelves, propoſed to the pope to reſume the eſtates of the templers out of the hands of the hoſpitallers; others leſs ſelf-intereſted were of opinion, that they ſhould be employed in the foundation of a new military order. The pope, without entring into theſe different projects, to re-animate the courage of the hoſpitallers, deſigned to bring them into a league he was forming againſt the Turks, who were growing every day more formidable; but his death, which happen'd a little time afterwards, prevented the execution of his project.

Some African corſairs having at the ſame time made deſcents upon the coaſts of the iſles of Cyprus and Candia, and ravaged thoſe of the Archipelago, which were leſs able to make a defence, furniſhed occaſion for new complaints againſt the hoſpitallers. They repreſented to Clement VI. ſucceſſor to Benedict XII. that the Chriſtians of the Levant were abandoned as a prey to the infidels, whilſt moſt of the knights being retired in the weſt, either upon their commandries, or at the courts of chriſtian princes, were taken up with nothing but their pleaſures, or the care of amaſſing wealth; and that the grand maſter and the knights that continued with him at Rhodes, ſecured from the inſults of the Barbarians by the fortifications of the place, lived in an utter indifference of what paſſed at ſea. What gave weight to theſe complaints and murmurs of the publick, was, that ſome chaplains religious of the order, and ſome of its eſquires or ſerving brothers had ſent ſecret memorials to the court of Avignon againſt the grand maſter and the knights, complaining, that in the midſt of the luxury and effeminacy wherein they lived, they were not aſhamed to let them want cloaths, and the neceſſary ſuſtenance of life. The pope teazed with theſe complaints, wrote about them to the grand maſter in ſharp and reproachful terms.

Preuve I.

“ We are informed, ſays the pontiff to him, by perſons of merit and
“ diſtinction, that it is the common ſentiment of the clergy, and indeed
“ of all the chriſtian world, that you and your brother companions ſcarce
“ make any good uſe of the immenſe eſtates you poſſeſs, as well on this
“ ſide as beyond the ſea. Thoſe who have the adminiſtration of them
“ ride, ſay they, fine horſes, make good cheer, are richly dreſſed, are
“ ſerved in gold and ſilver, keep abundance of dogs and hawks for hunting
“ and game, lay up great treaſures, give little alms, and neglect the
“ defence of the Chriſtians, eſpecially of thoſe beyond ſea. For this reaſon
“ it has been under conſideration, whether it would not be proper for
“ the holy ſee to inſtitute a new military order and endow it with part of
“ your revenues, in order to raiſe and keep up a laudable emulation between
“ the two orders, as there was formerly between you and the templers:
“ this however we have not yet thought fit to put in execution,
“ out of the juſt confidence we have that you will immediately reſtore
“ the antient diſcipline, and make a general reformation of manners in your
“ order.

The pope in the ſame letter adds, that he had advice the Turks were making great preparations for the conqueſt of all Romania. 'Tis not clear, whether by that term he meant only the province which bears that name, or whether according to the Turkiſh and Arabian uſe of the expreſſion, he comprehended under that name all the ſtates which compoſed at that time what they called in the eaſt the Roman empire; an enterpriſe, ſays the pontiff, which would draw along with it the utter ruin of the chriſtian religion. The pope added farther, that in order to prevent ſo terrible a calamity, he had formed the plan of a naval armament, compoſed of the gallies of ſeveral princes, that ſhould keep the ſea, and might join and act in concert, either to hinder the deſcent of the Barbarians, or to carry ſuccours to ſuch places as ſhould be attacked; that the king of Cyprus had agreed to furniſh for his quota four gallies, and the republick of Venice five; that he ordered the knights of Rhodes to put ſix to ſea, and the holy ſee would maintain four. "Though, ſays the pontiff, we have had remonſtrances made us by ſeveral of our brethren the cardinals, that your order was rich and powerful enough, not only to ſave the holy ſee the charges of this armament, but alſo to put a whole fleet to ſea at their own expence; and that there was in your treaſury more gold and ſilver than could be found in that of any chriſtian prince whatever, without reckoning the conſiderable ſums which your priors and commanders are ſcraping together for themſelves." The pope concluded this letter with telling the grand maſter that the church was but ſorrily edified with the particular enmities of the knights between one another; adding at laſt, that complaints had been made to the holy ſee that they were negligent in providing for the ſubſiſtence of the chaplains and ſerving brothers.

Tho' the grand maſter ſaw plainly they had impoſed on the pope's zeal for religion, by the exaggeration made of the riches of the order, yet, like a true religious, he reſolved to obey. They fitted out immediately ſix gallies in the port of Rhodes; and for their maintenance and expence, he, by the advice and in concert with the ſovereign council, appropriated a particular fund ariſing from the ſucceſſion of commanders deceaſed, viz. the rights of mortuaries and vacancies. The mortuary, as is practiſed even now, was levied upon the revenues of the commandry, from the day of the commander's deceaſe till May firſt next enſuing, and from that day the vacancy commenced, and held till May the firſt of the following year; before that time the new commander could not enter upon the enjoyment of the revenues of the commandry.

The grand maſter and council made afterwards ſeveral regulations for the reformation of manners, eſpecially in reſpect to the provinces of the weſt. The knights were among other things forbid to wear cloth that coſt more than two florins a canne, a meaſure which in ſeveral provinces of France contains two thirds more than the ell of Paris. And by the ſame regulation they were forbid the uſe of delicious wines, and the having more kind of meats than one on the ſame day: a wiſe and uſeful diſcipline; and happy it were for the order, was it to be revived in our days.

Three * viſitors were appointed to carry theſe regulations to the pope, to deſire him to add or retrench as he ſhould ſee fitting, and inveſt the commiſſioners which they ſent with his apoſtolical authority, that they might be in a condition to inforce a more exact obſervance of them.

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* Odo de Montaigu prior d'Auvergne, Eſnard d'Albarno Prior of Capua, Peter Plantin prior of the church.

THE pope was exceedingly mov'd and affected with the grand maſter's ready obedience; and to ſhew the like generous care of the common cauſe, he fitted out the four gallies that he was to furniſh for his quota, to which thoſe of the king of Cyprus, the order of St. John and republick of Venice joined themſelves, under the general command of a Genoeſe captain, Gingarria by name. This little fleet kept the ſea all the ſummer, but without attempting any thing anſwerable to their ſtrength, and the expence the allies were at for this armament. The Genoeſe general, more mindful of his intereſt than his glory, made uſe of his authority to load the gallies with diverſe ſorts of merchandize, and employed the money confided to him for the charges of the campaign to his own private advantage. Henry, titular patriarch of Conſtantinople, legate of the holy ſee, mounted on board the admiral galley, and in that quality had the ſupreme command, according to the politicks of the popes, who always aſſumed it in thoſe wars that were rais'd for the ſake of religion. This prelate, in imitation of the Genoeſe general, acted more like a merchant, than a delegate of the ſovereign pontiff. The year following the allies, full of indignation againſt the Genoeſe, choſe for their general brother John de Biandra, knight of Rhodes, prior of Lombardy, who had the particular command of the gallies of the order.

THE new general formed a deſign worthy of his valour. The port of Smyrna, a conſiderable city of Anatolia, ſerved often for a retreat to the Turkiſh corſairs who were maſters of the city. Biandra having, beſides the ſoldiers on board his fleet, taken in at Rhodes a great number of troops commanded by valiant knights, formed the ſiege of the place and took it by ſtorm. Some hiſtorians pretend that he took only the caſtle which was ſeated by the ſea ſide, and commanded the entrance of the port. All the ſoldiers in the fort, both Turks and Arabians, were cut to pieces. The grand maſter having advice of it, and knowing the importance of that fortreſs, ſent freſh troops immediately thither, with arms and proviſions to reinforce the garriſon. There are ſtill to be ſeen upon the gates of the caſtle, tho' fallen to ruin, the arms of the church, which were placed there as a monument of this conqueſt, the whole honour of which they aſcrib'd to the pope, as head of the league, tho' the knights of Rhodes had the greateſt ſhare in it. A Turk called Morbaſſan, who commanded in the higher town and over all the country, attempted a year after to drive the Chriſtians out of the place. He laid ſiege to it, but after three months ſpent in ſmart attacks and a gallant defence, he made a feint of abandoning his enterprize, or at leaſt of turning the ſiege into a blockade. The greateſt part of his troops drew off, and only a ſmall number was left in his camp. The Chriſtians having notice of his retreat, made a furious ſally, eaſily forced the intrenchments, which were ill defended, broke into the camp, and put to the ſword or took priſoners all that made reſiſtance, or did not ſave themſelves by a ſpeedy flight. They celebrated this victory upon the ſame ſpot on which they had obtain'd it, with the ſound of military inſtruments, with feaſtings, and a joy which was ſo much the more dangerous as the enemy was not far off.

MORBASSAN, whom they fancied a great way up in the country, but who only lay concealed with his troops behind the neighbouring mountains, having notice of it by certain ſignals marched down, and finding the Chriſtians in diſorder, made a cruel ſlaughter of them in his turn. The greateſt loſs fell upon the knights of Rhodes: the pope's legate who was come into the camp to partake in the publick joy loſt there his life, as well as moſt of the officers and eccleſiaſticks of his houſhold. The knights who eſcaped the fury of the Barbarians got back to the fort, and held it out, by help of a new reinforcement, againſt all the efforts of the Turks and other infidels.

THE diſmal news of this diſgrace paſſing into Europe, the pope to repair it publiſhed a cruſade with all the indulgences annexed to the firſt. Humbert II. dauphin of Viennois, preſſed with great earneſtneſs to be declared the chief and general of it. He was a prince of mean parts, naturally vain, inconſtant in his projects, and leſs affected with their ſolidity, than the luſtre and diſtinctions with which they were attended. He came in perſon to the court of pope Clement VI. to ſolicit this employ. In the petition which he preſented on that account to the ſovereign pontiff, he intreated him to grant him the “ poſt of captain of this holy expedition againſt the Turks, and all that were not loyal to the church of Rome, which all people, as well hoſpitallers as others, were obliged and bound to obey by ſea and land.

PREUVE II.

To engage the pope to grant him the generalſhip, he offered to maintain at his own expence in this war three hundred men of arms, a thouſand croſs-bow men, to furniſh five ſhips of war well equipped, and to bring with him twelve bannerets and a hundred knights: glaring promiſes! but as much beyond his ability, as the poſt of general of an army was above his experience and capacity.

SOME † cardinals of the pope's council, who were not prepoſſeſſed in favour of this prince's courage, were againſt his demand; but the ſovereign pontiff's inclination prevailed and carried with it all the voices. * Humbert was choſe general of the chriſtian army; the pope gave him the oath, and he obliged himſelf at the ſame time by a ſolemn vow to ſpend three whole years in that holy expedition. But as for the mighty armament that he was to furniſh by ſea and land, it was all reduced to an hundred men of arms; and there was no difficulty in judging of the ſucceſs of the expedition by the choice of the general. The next day, being the feaſt of Corpus Chriſti, he received from the pope's hands the croſs and ſtandard of the church, which he had carried before him in the ſtreets of Avignon with his own particular ſtandard abreaſt, and followed by a numerous retinue, he returned in great pomp to his houſe; a ceremonial, which in default of a ſolid glory gratified the vanity of the man. The great buſineſs was to find out funds to ſupply the expence of ſo long an expedition. The dauphin had recourſe to an extraordinary impoſt which he laid upon all his ſubjects; and then prepared for his departure with the princeſs Mary des Baux his wife, who, during the time the dauphin was at ſea, retired to the city of Rhodes and there died.

PREUVE III.

NOTWITHSTANDING all the diſgraces that had happened to the Chriſtians in the holy Land, expeditions beyond ſea were ſtill as frequent as ever; and what rendered the enterprize more eaſy, was that for a ſum of money agreed on with the maſters of ſhips, they never wanted veſſels in moſt of the ports of the Mediterranean ready to put to ſea, and provided with all neceſſaries either for navigation or for fighting.

THE dauphin having bargained for four of theſe ſhips at ſix hundred fifty florins each per month, embarked at Marſeilles the ſecond of September on board this little hackney ſquadron, which carried him firſt to Venice, the place of rendezvous for all perſons engaged in the cruſade. He went from thence to the iſle of Negropont, where four veſſels of the pope's, one of Rhodes and another of Venice joined him. The prior of Lombardy at his arrival retired on board the gallies of the order, taking on himſelf the particular command of that ſquadron: 'tis believ'd the dauphin paſſed the winter in that iſland. The year following he was at ſea with the whole fleet of the cruſades, and contributed to make the Turks raiſe the ſiege of Caffa, a town at that time belonging to the Genoeſe. The chriſtian fleet had in thoſe ſeas ſome advantage over that of the infidels, which the dauphin was not a little proud of. The pope foreſeeing that the war could not be carried on with ſucceſs, without providing for the cruſade the funds neceſſary to defray the expence of it, had recourſe to an extraordinary tax which he laid upon all eccleſiaſtical revenues in the kingdoms of France, Spain, and England. But the bloody war made by the Engliſh at that time in France, and the loſs of the battle of Crecy *, where ſeventeen hundred and ſixteen French knights were ſlain, not allowing the raiſing of this money, the pope fearing that the charges of the cruſade would fall entirely upon himſelf, very gladly embraced the project of a truce with the infidels which the dauphin propoſed to him.

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† Matt. Villani Hiſt. l. 1. c. 26. pag. 19. Edit. de Flor.

* Et quia inter cæteros principes habui (providere de aliquo duce & capitaneo exercitui agminis Domini Dei Iſrael) reperi inſtantem ſæpius, ſupplicantem humilius, optantem ardentius, offerentem liberalius, dilectum filium Imbertum Dalphinum Viennenſem, hic præſentem: idcirco ipſum de fratrum noſtrorum conſilio ducem & capitaneum contra Turcos exercitus duximus deputandum. Baluz. in Not. ad vit. Paparum Avenion, pag. 890.

THAT prince wrote to him from Rhodes, where he was retired for the winter, that the Turks appeared inclined to peace, and that they might eaſily enter into a treaty with them. The pope was heartily aſhamed of demanding peace of an enemy whom they were come ſo far in ſearch of to make war upon; but the fear of being obliged to bear all the expence of it out of his own purſe, made him wiſh to ſee it ended. He wrote to the dauphin to find out expedients that, in this negotiation, might ſave the honour of the league and the intereſt of religion. He even went ſo far as to preſcribe him the forms and decorums to be obſerved in treating with the infidels; but it does not appear that the treaty was concluded. **Preuve IV.** The dauphin, after receiving the pope's diſpenſation of the vow he had made to ſpend three whole years in that expedition, returned to his own dominions. Upon the death of Mary des Baux his wife, he had **Preuve V.** thoughts of marrying again with Blanch, ſiſter to Amadeus, count of Savoy, and the contract for it was ſigned; but the dauphin having ſlighted the good offices which the count of Savoy employed to engage him to reſtore the caſtle of Mirabel to the ſeignior of Beaujeu, the little regard ſhew'd to his requeſt cauſed a rupture of the marriage. The dauphin afterwards turned his thoughts towards Jane, eldeſt daughter of Peter de Bourbon, and engaged in it by a ſolemn treaty, which may be ſeen in the **Preuve VI.** appendix. But notwithſtanding the honour he would have received from ſuch an alliance, being conſtantly toſſed and hurried about with his uſual irreſolutions, he could not reſolve to bring the affair to a concluſion †. This prince not finding in war, and in the path that others take to find it, the diſtinction and glory that he ſought after, fancied he might ſucceed better in a way that was entirely oppoſite. He quitted the profeſſion of arms and the government of his dominions, and enter'd himſelf among the Dominicans. He reſigned Dauphine to the king of France, who reunited it to his crown from which it had been ſevered formerly; and to fix the inconſtancy of the dauphin, the pope at the king's requeſt ordained him prieſt. He afterwards undertook the adminiſtration of the archbiſhoprick of Rheims, but without quitting his religious habit which he wore all the reſt of his life: a ſovereign without ſubjects, a general without troops or experience, a husband without a wife, a monk without a convent, a prieſt without a title and without juriſdiction; and in all theſe different conditions without ever having done any good to his province, but in reſigning it into the hands of our kings. They likewiſe reproach his memory, and that pretty juſtly too, for having taken from the prior Biandra the command of the chriſtian fleet, which under that general, had made it ſelf terrible to the infidels, and afterwards made freſh acquiſitions of glory under the ſame command.

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* Memoires de Pilati, Hiſt. de Dauphiné act. 284.

† Regiſtre Palati, ad annum 1348 & 1349.

ABOUT that time the order loſt the grand maſter de Villeneuve, a prince 1346. highly to be praiſed for his œconomy, who during his maſterſhip paid all the debts of the order, repaired and enlarged the fortifications neceſſary for the defence of the iſland and city of Rhodes; and beſides built at his own expence, as a monument of his piety, a church in honour of the holy virgin, and dedicated to her; and left a ſufficient fund for the maintenance of two chaplains to ſay maſs there every day for the repoſe of his ſoul.

A GREAT number of pretenders offered themſelves for his dignity. The oldeſt knights, who profeſſed a regular life, were for ſuch as appeared moſt likely to keep up the diſcipline of the order. But the younger, without examining too nicely into the regularity of their manners, wiſhed only to have a great captain, that might head them in war, and be the means of acquiring them glory and riches: ſuch a choice was not without difficulty. The commander de Gozon beforementioned was one of the electors. When it was his turn to give his voice. "When I enter'd, ſays he, into this conclave, I made a ſolemn oath, that I would not propoſe any one but ſuch a knight as I ſhould judge moſt deſerving of this great dignity, and to have the beſt intentions for the general good of the whole order; and after having ſeriouſly conſidered the preſent ſtate of Chriſtendom, the wars which we are obliged to maintain continually againſt the infidels, the reſolution and vigour neceſſary to prevent a relaxation in diſcipline, I declare that I find no body better qualified for the government of our order than my ſelf." He then made a fine harangue upon his own virtues. The fight againſt the ſerpent was not forgot, but he inſiſted chiefly on his conduct from the time that the grand maſter de Villeneuve had made him his lieutenant. "You have already, ſays he to the other electors, had ſome experience of my government; you know what you are to expect from it, and I do not think you can refuſe me your votes without doing me injuſtice.

How deſerving ſoever this knight was, his collegues were ſtrangely ſurprized to hear an elector name himſelf: ſuch a ſtep made them ſuſpect he was too ambitious; yet when they came to compare him with the other candidates, they found him far ſuperior to them all, not only in point of courage, of which he had given ſuch illuſtrious proofs, but alſo in reſpect of his wiſdom and moderation in commanding. Some of the electors, who were not his friends, could not help ſaying that it were to be wiſhed, that what he had advanced to ſet forth his own merit had come out of any body's mouth but his own. However, this generous aſſurance did not diſpleaſe the greateſt part of them; and ſeveral maintained, that after ſuch diſtinguiſhed actions as his, great men were allowed to ſpeak of themſelves with that noble confidence which truth inſpires. So all the

Dieu Donne de Gozon.

1346.

voices, or at leaſt a majority of them united in favour of Dieu Donne de Gozon: and he was ſolemnly acknowledged as great maſter to the ſatisfaction of the convent, and eſpecially of the citizens of the town of Rhodes, and the inhabitants of the iſland, who ſince his victory over the ſerpent, looked upon him as the hero of the order.

His conduct in the grand maſterſhip anſwer'd the great expectations they had of his valour and capacity for government. His firſt care was to revive the chriſtian league: the allies joined their ſquadrons. The grand maſter prevailed by his credit to have the command given to the prior of Lombardy; who going immediately in queſt of the infidel fleet, met with it in the Archipelago near Embro, or the Embro, a little iſle twenty four miles in compaſs, with a town of the ſame name, and a port on the eaſtern coaſt: this iſland is twelve miles from the mouth of the Dardanelles in the way towards the iſle of Lemnos.

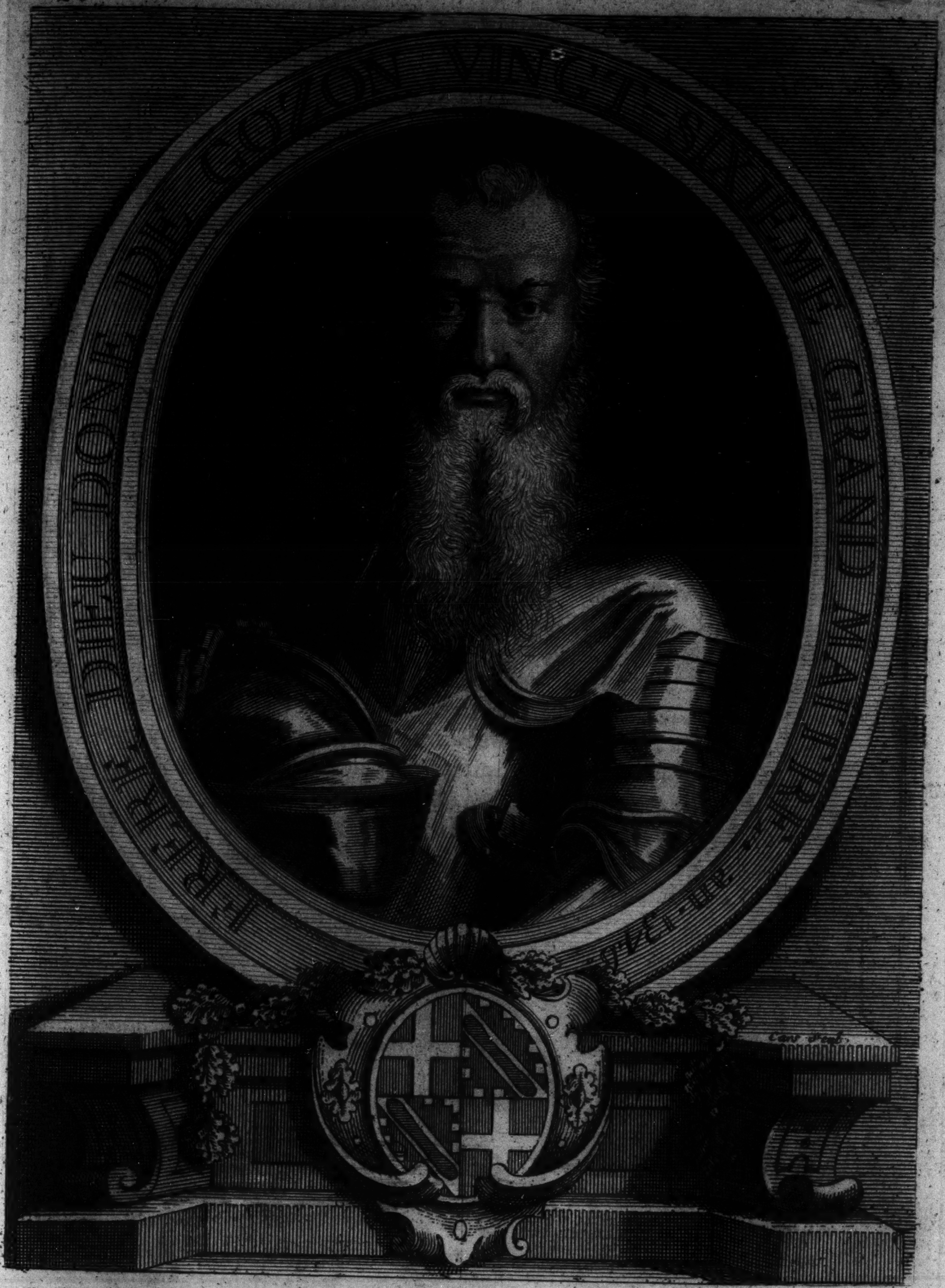
Most of the Turks who imagin'd the Chriſtians to be ſtill in their ports were landed and diſperſed up and down the iſland. The commodore of the fleet ſurprized them in this diſorder, fell upon them, and took or ſunk a great part of their ſhips.

This was leſs an engagement than a general rout: the ſoldiers that were on board the fleet, abandoned it to ſeek for refuge in the iſland, and ſuch as were landed before, ran to re-imbark. They only confounded one another; and in this diſorder and confuſion the general of Rhodes took from them a hundred and eighteen ſmall veſſels, light frigates, brigantines, felucca's or armed barks; but thirty two gallies, by help of their crew, put off to ſea, and eſcaped the engagement. The Chriſtians afterwards landed, ravaged the iſland and made near five thouſand ſlaves.

So compleat a victory gave a great reputation to the arms of the knights; tho' pope Clement VI. like his predeceſſors, aſcribed all the honour of it to the archbiſhop of Candia his vice legate. Conſtans, others call him Livon, king of the leſſer Armenia, informed of the forces of the order, ſent ambaſſadors to the grand maſter to intreat his aſſiſtance againſt an invaſion of the Saracens of Egypt, who had ſeized on part of his dominions. Tho' this prince followed the Greek rites and was a ſchiſmatick, yet Gozon full of zeal, and animated with the ſpirit of his inſtitution, thought it his duty not to abandon any Chriſtians to the fury of thoſe Barbarians. He prevail'd upon the council of the order to ſend troops into Armenia; they fitted out a ſtrong fleet; and the braveſt knights embarked on board with a conſiderable body of infantry. All theſe troops coming off the coaſts of Armenia joined the army of Conſtans, who had made a motion that way to favour their landing. Being thus join'd in a body, they advanced directly forward againſt the Saracens; they eaſily found an enemy that ſought them and ſoon came to an engagement; the battle was long and obſtinate; but the uſual valour of the knights decided its ſucceſs. The Saracens who expected to have only to deal with the Armenians whom they had beaten ſeveral times before, ſurprized to ſee the ſtandards of St. John, which they diſtinguiſhed ſtill more plainly by the great blows that the knights dealt about, turned their backs and fled. The beſt part of them periſhed in the heat of the engagement; the Chriſtians took all their baggage, and a great number of priſoners.

1347. The king of Armenia, ſuſtained by this powerful ſuccour, beſieged afterwards and recovered all the places which the infidels had ſeized on; and the knights of Rhodes did not leave Armenia till they had entirely cleared the country of the Saracens, who fled back into Egypt, tho' with great difficulty.

26.


FRERE DIEU DONE DE GOZON VINGT-SIXIEME GRAND MAITRE, an 1346.
Cars sculp.

'Tis plain, that as ſuch conſiderable enterprizes, and ſo many different wars could not be carried on without great expences, the treaſury of the order muſt be ſoon exhauſted: beſides the pope, out of thriftineſs, had quitted the league, as we have juſt now ſaid, and contributed nothing to it afterwards but indulgencies. He even propoſed to the grand maſter to accept of a truce which the Turks offered, on condition they might have an equal ſhare with the order in the cuſtoms of Smyrna, and the port duties paid by foreign ſhipping. In fine, the war that broke out between the Genoeſe and the Venetians, on account of their commerce into the Black Sea, the league entirely diſſolv'd.

The order nevertheleſs did not fail remonſtrating to the pope, that tho' they were abandoned by their allies, yet they were not allowed by their inſtitution to enter into any publick treaty with the infidels; and therefore till God ſhould raiſe them up new allies, they would at leaſt keep themſelves on the defenſive. The grand maſter wrote at the ſame time to all the commanders who had not furniſhed their reſponſions, requiring them to pay them in immediately; and hiſtory hath tranſmitted down to us a * letter that he wrote to the commanders of Sweden, Denmark and Norway, which deſerves to be inſerted in this work.

PREUVE VII.

We ſee by this letter that he reproaches them for having paid no contribution to the order ſince the loſs of the holy Land; and tho' they dwelt in the remoteſt countries of Europe, yet he thinks it would be very ſurprizing, if they had not heard of the conqueſt which the order had made of the iſle of Rhodes, whither they had transferred the ſeat of their ſociety; and that the order, purſuant to its inſtitution, had devoted it ſelf to ſo religious a war; that all its knights were continually in arms, either on board the gallies of the order, or elſe at Rhodes, and in the neighbouring iſles that depended on it, the defence whereof they had undertaken; and that it was ſtrangely ſurprizing that the northern knights only ſhould forget their duty, and continue in a ſtate of indolence and inactivity that diſhonoured them; that as their ſuperior he charged them, upon their holy obedience, to ſend immediately a detachment of the youngeſt of their brother companions, and remit their reſponſions to Rhodes; and that he knew very well how to puniſh ſuch as ſhould prove refractory to his orders; whereas thoſe who ſhewed themſelves children of obedience, ſhould find in him an head and ſuperior full of tenderneſs and goodneſs, who had nothing in his view but the glory of God and the honour of their profeſſion. Another effect of this his zeal for the good of the order was his obtaining of Clement VI. that no commandry ſhould be diſpoſed of by way of proviſion to any cardinal; nor ſhould the cardinals be allowed, under pretence of Legatine rights and authority, to exact any contribution from the knights. The pope granted this exemption, probably as a retaliation for the complaiſance which the grand maſter and council had diſcover'd in favour of the vicomte de Turenne, the pontiff's nephew, to whom they made a grant of la Baſtie de Detrats, a ſeignory belonging to the order, and adjoining to his eſtate, in exchange for other lands ſituated near the Rhone, which they annexed to the priory of St. Gilles. The pope wrote about it to the grand maſter to return him thanks on this occaſion, but gave him to underſtand at the ſame time, that the doge and ſenate of Venice complained, that in the war in which they were engaged againſt the Genoeſe, there were a great many knights in the troops of their enemies, and it looked as if the order of St. John was fighting againſt

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* Boſio t. 2. p. 18.

them in favour of the Genoeſe, tho' their profeſſion obliged them to employ their arms againſt the infidels only.

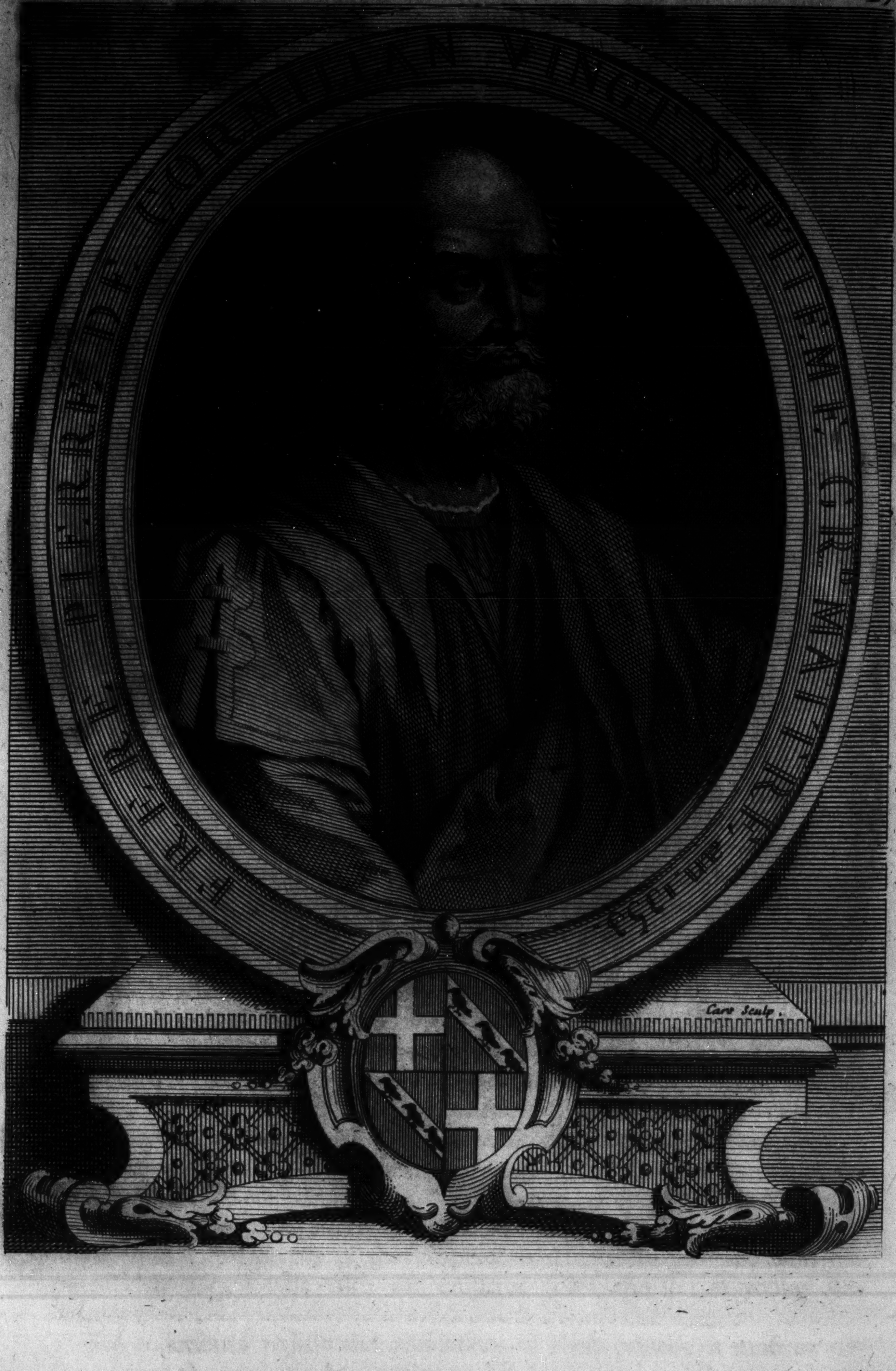
The grand maſter's anſwer was, that in a military order compoſed of religious of ſo many different nations, it was no way ſurprizing that the affection of ſome particular knights ſhould incline towards the intereſts of their reſpective countries: that there were likewiſe Venetian knights who ſhewed as much attachment to their own nation as the Genoeſe; but that the order was far from approving the conduct of theſe religious, who were ſeduced by an irregular love of their country, which at the ſame time was natural enough, to intermeddle in thoſe wars; and neither himſelf nor the main body of the order were found engaged on either ſide in the quarrel between thoſe two mighty republicks, he having always inviolably maintained the neutrality which he profeſſed to obſerve between chriſtian princes.

However reaſonable this anſwer might appear in reſpect to the complaints of the Venetians, I do not know after all, whether thoſe religious, who from a ſpirit of penance had taken the three ſolemn vows of the order at the altar, could, without very juſt ſcruples, imbrue their arms in the blood of Chriſtians. 'Tis evident at leaſt, that in the firſt ages of the church, they made a doubt whether it was lawful for Chriſtians to bear arms at all. The quitting the military profeſſion was one branch of penance; and even laymen who had killed a Chriſtian, tho' in a juſt war, were obliged to make ſome ſatisfaction by way of atonement for it. This practice continued to be obſerved in France in the middle of the ninth century; and we ſee that after the famous battle of Fontenai, which was fought about A. D. 840. the French biſhops required all ſuch as found their conſciences troubled for having acted in that engagement out of heat of paſſion, malice, vanity, or in a word out of any other human motive, to confeſs their offence and expiate their guilt by a rigorous penance.

What is ſtill more deciſive in the point we are treating of, is, that the church had never given its ſanction to the hoſpitallers in taking up of arms, but only for the defence of the holy places and of the Chriſtians who either dwelt there or came from the weſt to pay their veneration to a land ſanctified by the birth of the Son of God, who had taken our nature upon him: and to preſerve the memory of this pious motive it is, that in the form obſerved at the profeſſion of the knights, the perſon who officiates preſenting the novice with the ſword, ſays to him, "Take this "ſword and make uſe of it for your own defence, and for that of the "holy church of God, and for the confuſion of the enemies of the croſs "of Jeſus Chriſt." From whence we may well enough infer, that it was not allowable for theſe knights to uſe their arms offenſively againſt any but infidels, and ſuch as were the declared enemies of Jeſus Chriſt. This juſt motive of not drawing their ſwords againſt chriſtian princes was the reaſon why the grand maſter refuſed to engage in the civil wars which at that time infeſted the empire of Conſtantinople. Pope Clement VI. being dead, Innocent VI. his ſucceſſor wrote to the grand maſter, recommending to him the intereſts of the emperor Matthew Palæologus, who diſputed that auguſt title with the emperor John, the ſon of young Andronicus.

To underſtand rightly the pretenſions of theſe princes, it muſt be obſerved that the emperor Andronicus at his death leaving John Palæologus tutor to his ſon and regent of his territories, that ambitious miniſter, who had the ſovereign authority given him only in truſt, made himſelf abſolute and independent maſter of it. He got himſelf proclaimed joint emperor

27.


FRERE PIERRE DE CORNEILLAN VINGT SEPTIEME GR. MAITRE
an 1353
Caro Sculp.

with his pupil; and to dazzle the young prince, who was ſcarce paſſed the ſtate of infancy, married him to his daughter. But as the tyrant's deſign was to advance his own ſon, he ſoon took him in for a partner in the empire. So that now there was a third emperor, and the father and ſon afterwards drove the ſon of Andronicus out of Conſtantinople. The injured prince was not left without revenge; ſome of his father's faithful ſubjects brought him back as it were in triumph to the imperial city, and the Palæologi were obliged to quit it in their turn. The father to ſecure his life threw himſelf into a monaſtery, and took the habit of a monk: his ſon applied himſelf to the pope for ſuccours, promiſing to unite the Greek church to the Latin as ſoon as he ſhould be reſtor'd to the throne. This was the ordinary lure made uſe of by the Greeks, in order to obtain aſſiſtance from the Latins. The pope wrote in very preſſing terms to the grand maſter in favour of Matthew, and that prince was himſelf the bearer of the letter: but the grand maſter did not think fit to engage his order in a civil war between chriſtian princes; beſides, the intractableneſs of a great many of the commanders of Europe in making good their reſponſions, had diſabled the order from furniſhing the neceſſary expences for ſo great an enterpriſe. The advanced age of the grand maſter, and his almoſt continual infirmities induced him to ask the pope's conſent to abdicate a dignity which he then found as burthenſome to him as he had formerly ſhewn eagerneſs to obtain it. The pope who was truly ſenſible of the merit of that great man and how uſeful he was to his order, would not at firſt conſent to it. He exhorted him on the contrary to ſupport couragiouſly the toils of government.

The grand maſter not being able to obtain this conſent, which he then looked upon as a favour, employed the remainder of his life in fortifying the city of Rhodes. He walled in all the ſuburbs on the ſide of the ſea, and at the ſame time built the mole where the ſhips and gallies afterwards put in. Theſe uſeful cares were the methods he took to conſole himſelf for the pope's refuſing to allow his reſignation. The looſeneſs, which, notwithſtanding all his endeavours, had crept into the diſcipline of the order, obliged him to renew his inſtances. 'Twas not without great anxiety that he found moſt of the commanders who reſided in Europe were making uſe of the protection of the pope himſelf, as well as of the kings of France, Arragon and Caſtile, only to elude his orders; a protection which made thoſe knights as much arbiters of their duty as they were negligent of it. Gozon finding no remedy for ſo enormous a grievance, diſpatched new deputies to the pope, who complied at laſt in admitting his reſignation. That pontiff's conſent for their proceeding to a new election was brought to Rhodes; but that licenſe proved of no uſe, by reaſon of the grand maſter's ſudden death, if that term ſudden may be allowed with regard to ſo good a man, who had always been more watchful over his own conduct, than over that of the knights under his care. His funeral was celebrated with the juſt elogiums of his brother knights, and the tears of all the inhabitants of the iſle, and of the poor eſpecially, to whom he was indeed a father. All the inſcription put on his tomb was this: HERE LIES THE VANQUISHER OF THE DRAGON. Decemb. 1353.

The convent and chapter of Rhodes, after Gozon's death, choſe for his ſucceſſor brother PETER DE CORNILLAN OR CORMELIAN, a knight of the language of Provence. He certainly juſtly merited that eminent dignity on account of the regularity of his life, and even of the ſeverity of his morals; the order indeed was at that time in need of ſuch a ſuperior. As ſoon as he had taken poſſeſſion of his dignity, he called a general chapter

Peter de Cornillan. 1353.

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chapter at Rhodes. Various abuſes had crept into the government, which in time had become cuſtoms: ſuch as made their advantage of them would willingly have made them paſs for laws. The firſt and indeed one of the moſt dangerous was the abuſe made of the grand maſter's ſeal in putting it without his knowledge or conſent to orders and receipts which were afterwards lodged in the treaſury. Another abuſe, not leſs prejudicial to the whole body of the knights, was the prior's aſſuming a nomination to the commandries vacant within their priories, and exerciſing this uſurped power in ſuch a manner, that they often filled up places with their own friends and relations, without any regard to merit, age, or the rights of ſeniority. The grand maſter prevailed with the chapter to make a regulation, ordaining, that for the future they ſhould not make uſe of the grand maſter's ſeal in any matter relating to the revenue; but that all ordinances ſhould be ſealed with the ſeal of the convent and in a full chapter.

By the ſecond regulation, the nomination to all commandries was veſted in the grand maſter and council of the order, who were to fill them up, due regard being firſt had to the rank, the ſeniority, and the ſervices of the knights. Theſe were not the only abuſes which the grand maſter had a mind to correct; but as his prudence was not inferior to his zeal, which burnt with the brighteſt flame, he brought on the ſchemes he had drawn up for reformation at different times, deferring the execution of them according as he found his own authority to grow ſtronger in the government.

Whilst the grand maſter was thus entirely taken up with the reſtoring of diſcipline, ſome ſecret enemies of the order, at the court of Rome, reſumed the deſign of getting all the revenues of the templers out of the hands of the knights of Rhodes, expecting no doubt to get the beſt part of them to themſelves. However to avoid ſuſpicion as much as poſſible, they carried on this attack againſt the order with a great deal of art. Some went no farther than to tell the pope, that they found every day that the riches and confiſcated revenues of the templers greatly exceeded whatever had been ſaid of them; others inſinuated farther, that the hoſpitallers were not numerous enough to find leiſure to make proper enquiries into thoſe great poſſeſſions; that the greateſt part of the knights were gone over into Europe; that it looked as if they had abandoned the iſle of Rhodes; and tho' ſome ſtill continued about the grand maſter, ſhutting themſelves up in the moſt retired part of their palaces, yet they were entirely taken up with their pleaſures, and the care of amaſſing wealth. Theſe diſcourſes were ſpread about with great ſecrecy and artifice, and the pope was prejudiced with them by inſenſible degrees. In ſhort their enemies went ſo far as to propoſe to the pontiff a ſequeſtration of all the revenues of the templers into his own hands, to be employed afterwards in pious uſes as his holineſs ſhould think fit; or, if he thought proper, to be diſpoſed of in founding a new military order, which might by its zeal incite the emulation of the knights of Rhodes, and cure them of a profuſeneſs ſo contrary to their rule and inſtitution.

The pope took another, and indeed a very extraordinary ſtep with regard to the conqueſts made by the Turks. Orchanes whom we have lately mentioned, and who is looked upon as the ſecond prince of the Oſman or Othoman race, after having ſubdued the greateſt part of Anatolia, beaten the emperor John Palæologus on ſeveral occaſions, and taken Pruſa, Nicomedia and Nice, croſſed the Helleſpont, and ſeemed inclined to fix the ſeat of his empire in the Morea. 'Tis ſaid that a great earth-

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quake having rendered the taking of Gallipolis more eaſy to him, he ſaid to his officers, "Let us ſtay in Europe ſince God opens us the way to it." Pope Innocent VI. abovementioned, alarmed with the rapidity of his conqueſts, out of an apprehenſion that he might fall upon Italy it ſelf, did, in order to oblige him to return into Aſia, order the knights of Rhodes to abandon that iſle, and tranſport the convent, and their place of reſidence into ſome part of the continent bordering upon the Turks or Saracens, and ſituated on the ſide either of Paleſtine or Anatolia, in expectation that the knights by an advantagious diverſion might draw the infidels arms upon themſelves, and thus kindling a war in the heart of the Turkiſh dominions might ſerve for a bulwark to Chriſtendom; a project which had been ſome time before ſuggeſted to the pontiff's predeceſſors, tho' the author of it muſt certainly have been ſome ſecret enemy of the order, and as wretched a politician as he was ill vers'd in the art of war. 'Tis amazing how the pope could propoſe to the order to abandon an iſle ſtrongly fortified, and to renounce all the advantages which the Chriſtians derived from the ſea and from their fleets, which covered equally the iſle of Cyprus and kingdom of Armenia, only to ſend them, as we may ſay, to the ſlaughter, and oblige them like new adventurers to ſeek a ſettlement in the heart of the dominions of infidels, who were too powerful to ſuffer them there for a moment.

YET notwithſtanding theſe juſt conſiderations, which muſt naturally offer themſelves to the pope's thoughts, the pontiff, ſtill prejudiced in favour of his project, diſpatched to Rhodes brother Ferdinand de Heredia, Caſtellan of Emposta, and grand prior of Caſtile, who was conſidered at the court of Rome as Innocent's confident and favourite, ſending alſo with him brother Raimond Berenger, preceptor or commander of Caſtel-Saraſin, and brother Peter de Cornillan, commander of Val-Pujet, and in all probability a relation of the grand maſter; all three being of the number of the moſt diſtinguiſhed knights of the order, the two firſt of which came afterwards to be grand maſters.

THE pope directed them to lay before the grand maſter and council the complaints which he continually received of the indolence and lethargy wherein the whole order ſeemed to have been buried for ſome time; and to repreſent that whilſt the Turks were ravaging Greece and threatning Italy, the knights finding themſelves ſecure in Rhodes, by the ſtrong fortifications with which it was defended, and growing effeminate with luxury and eaſe, ſeemed no ways affected with it, but ſquandered away the great income which they enjoyed only from the confiſcated revenues of the templers, and derived from the piety of the faithful, in criminal pleaſures, that decency and modeſty do not allow us to mention; that he knew very well pope John XXII. Benedict XII. and Clement VI. his immediate predeceſſors, had, in order to get them out of thoſe delightful places, where they ran ſuch an hazard of their ſalvation, often preſſed them to remove their abode into the holy Land, tho' as yet in the hands of the infidels; but that the holy ſee was ſenſible of the little regard they had hitherto ſhewn to ſuch counſels, which ought rather to have been conſidered as expreſs orders, and received by them as laws; that he enjoined them to ſet immediately about this tranſmigration to ſome place, from whence they might, with the aſſiſtance of heaven, force their way thro' into the holy Land, that otherwiſe he ſhould be obliged to employ the moſt proper methods to force them to it, and ſhould particularly deprive them of the eſtates of the templers, which he would employ in the founding of a new

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military order, whoſe zeal might perhaps excite their emulation, or at leaſt ſerve for an eternal reproach to them.

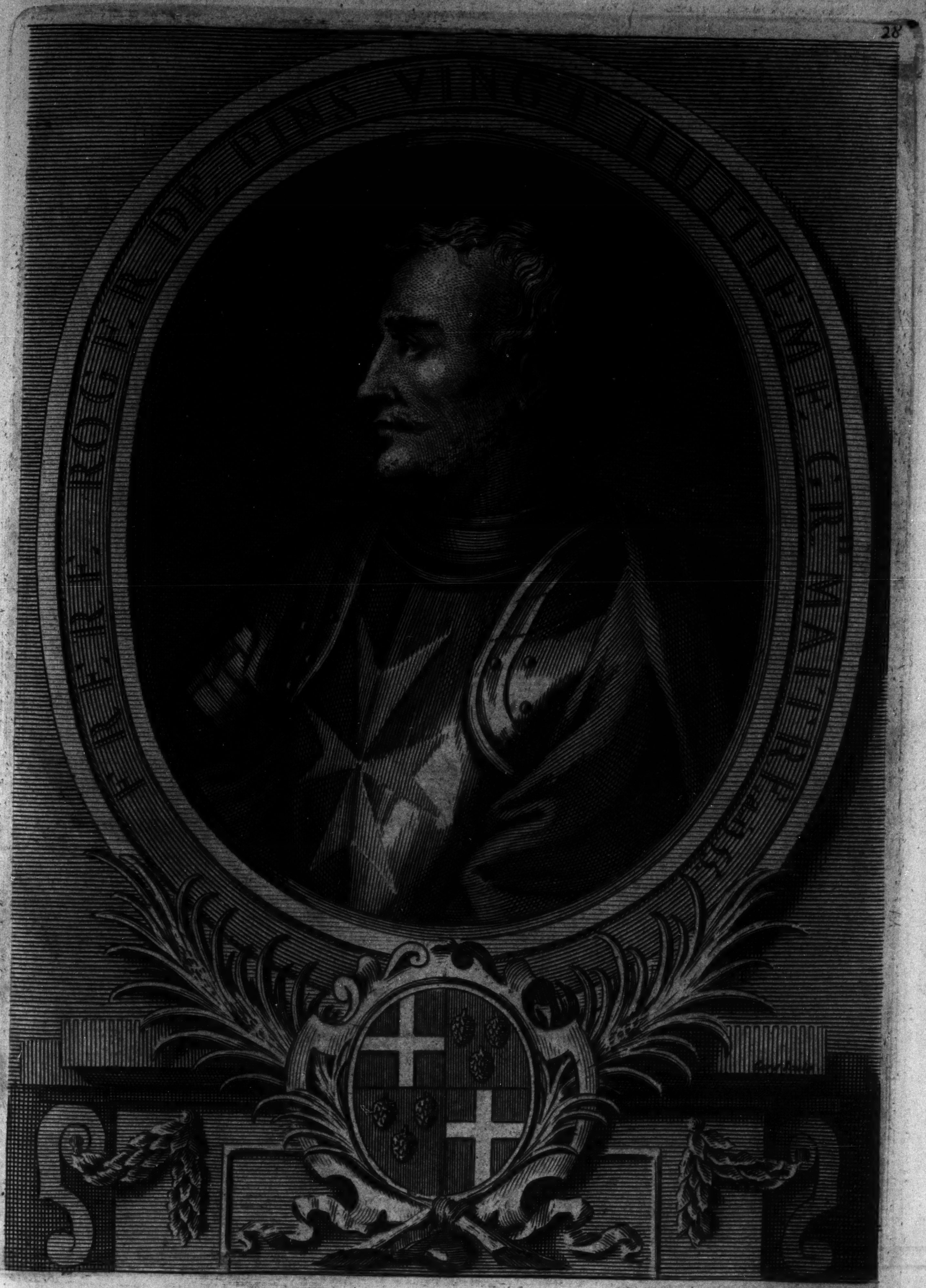
THE grand maſter anſwered the pope, that he had received his orders with great reſpect, but could not, without conſulting and obtaining the conſent of the general chapter of the order, ſo haſtily abandon a conqueſt of ſo great importance, and for which ſo many knights had ſhed their deareſt blood; that he was going immediately to ſummon a chapter in Rhodes it ſelf, and would notify his holineſs's intention to his brethren of the order. The pope apprehending that if the chapter was held at Rhodes, the riches of that iſland, its fortifications, haven, fleets, and even ſoft and luxurious life which they led there, might determine the knights to continue in it, iſſued out a ſolemn bull, declaring it to be his pleaſure that the chapter ſhould be held either at Niſmes or Montpellier; places not far from Avignon, from whence he certainly flattered himſelf that his authority would have the more effectual influence over the aſſembly. The pontiff obſerved in his bull, that ſince the return of his envoys, he had learned with ſurpriſe, that ſome knights about his court had wrote to Rhodes, to this effect, viz. that they had no occaſion to be in any pain about what the caſtellan had ſaid to them, of which he himſelf was author; that that dextrous courtier had magnified his reproaches and threats, only to make himſelf neceſſary to his order, but that the pope had expreſſed himſelf very differently on that ſubject before them, and that they might be very eaſy about the affair of their removal. The pope added, that he addreſſed this bull to them as an irrefragable proof as well of his own will and pleaſure, as of the truth of what their Caſtellan had told them from him, and to prevent ſuch practices from occaſioning any delay in their ſettling upon the frontiers of the infidels.

'TWOULD be impoſſible to deſcribe the uneaſineſs which the grand maſter felt, both in ſeeing the pope perſiſt in ſo deſtructive a project, as well as the fear he had of his order's inſiſting on its ſovereignty, and ſetting up to oppoſe it; he was divided between the obedience which he owed to the pontiff, and that which he thought due to his order and the companions of it; two duties which to him appeared almoſt equally indiſpenſable. In this terrible conflict death came in as it were to his aſſiſtance, and put an end to his life in the eighteenth month of his maſterſhip. The knights choſe in his ſtead ROGER DE PINS, a knight of the language of Provence, of an illuſtrious houſe of Languedoc, a relation of Odo de Pins, the twenty third grand maſter of the order, and of Gerard de Pins, who, in the vacancy of the maſterſhip, had won a ſignal victory over Orchanes, the ſon of Othoman.

ROGER DE PINS.

1353.

THE pope, who would not allow the chapter to be held at Rhodes, and had by his own authority ſummoned it to meet at Niſmes or Montpellier, being ſtill apprehenſive that it might come to reſolutions contrary to the ſchemes he had projected with relation to Rhodes; and in order to be better acquainted with their debates, would needs have it held in Avignon it ſelf, as it were under his own eyes. But the impatience he was in of getting the knights out of the iſle of Rhodes, and a conſiderable time being neceſſary for their coming out of the various provinces of Chriſtendom to Avignon, was the reaſon of his allowing them to hold an aſſembly at his court, in which brother William de Mailly grand prior of France, and brother William Chalûs grand prior of Auvergne preſided in the grand maſter's name, and in quality of his lieutenants on this ſide the ſea.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FRERE ROGER DE PINS VINGT HUITIEME GR.D MAITRE 1355

HAPPILY for the order, ſome time before the opening of this aſſembly, it had been ſuggeſted to the pope, that in the deſign he had of drawing the knights out of the iſle of Rhodes, it would be of much greater ſervice to Chriſtendom, and particularly to Italy, to ſettle them in the Morea than in Paleſtine, where they could never reſiſt the formidable power of the Turks and Saracens; the pope liked the propoſal well enough. Robert, titular emperor of Conſtantinople, was then prince of Tarento, and ſovereign of Achaia or the Morea, by John duke of Duras his uncle's grant of it to him. But James of Savoy eldeſt ſon to Philip prince of Piedmont laid claim to the Morea as belonging to him in right of Iſabel de Ville-hardouin his mother; and in the midſt of theſe different pretenſions, the Turk, who had the ſtrongeſt right on his ſide, daily ſeiz'd upon ſome place or other in its province. The pope, to prevent the loſs of it to Chriſtendom, propoſed to the prince of Savoy to treat with the knights of Rhodes about his claim. This great affair was debated in the aſſembly at Avignon: the knights, who did not care openly to claſh with the pope's ſentiments, named their commiſſioners; but as they expected ſome change from time, they ſpun out the negotiation to a great length under various pretences, and made ſo ſlow a progreſs in it that death ſurprized the prince of Savoy, before any thing was concluded in it; and the deſign was not reſumed of a long time afterwards, as will be obſerved in the ſequel of this work.

VARIOUS regulations however were made in this aſſembly, relating to diſcipline, and which point out the abuſes which had crept into the order with reſpect to the diſtribution of their alms. Ever ſince the eſtates of the templers had been annexed to the * manſe of the hoſpitallers, they had, to the great offence of the people and prejudice of the poor, neglected all the duties of charity in the houſes of that order, under pretence that they officiated in the commandries of the knights of Rhodes. The aſſembly made an order, that, independent from thoſe alms, they ſhould immediately reſume thoſe charitable diſtributions which were uſed to be made in the houſes that had belonged to the templers.

THO' the pope was far from being favourable to the order, as we have ſeen, yet no body had a greater aſcendant over him than a knight of Rhodes, brother John Ferdinand d'Heredia by name, of the language of Arragon and caſtellan of Empoſta. He was the only counſellor and miniſter of the pontiff, who employed him even in foreign negotiations. To give him the greater authority at his court, he had made him governor of Avignon, and all the comtat Venaiſſin. So diſtinguiſhing a favour might perhaps make one ſuſpect that the pope's extraordinary projects were ſuggeſted to him by the Arragonian, who, if the order had been obliged to abandon the iſle of Rhodes, would have been well enough pleaſed to have got himſelf under the title of bailiff, named ſovereign prince of it by the pope. At leaſt all his conduct ſhews, that he made uſe of the pope's authority only to aggrandize himſelf, without any regard to the ſtatutes and regulations of the general chapters. Thus he obtained ſucceſſively the grand priory of Caſtile, and alſo that of St. Giles, to which the greedy Spaniard got himſelf named by the pope, who conferred it upon him by his own abſolute authority, and without the knowledge or conſent of the grand maſter. The order was perfectly confounded at ſo ſurpriſing an innovation; the popes indeed, beſides the power of the keys, had likewiſe a particular authority over the order of St. John, as being the firſt ſuperiors of it; but they had hitherto made uſe of this authority only for its

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* Manſe, an income appointed for the maintenance of the table of any prelate or ſociety.

protection, or for the correcting of abuſes which are inevitable in this life, and which are apt to creep even into the moſt auſtere ſocieties.

THE knights complained that this laſt pope employed his authority only in deſtroying the form of their government, and that they could no longer depend upon their years of ſervice and ſeniority, if one of their brother knights, by the inſinuations of a court intrigue, and in contempt of the wiſeſt regulations, had it in his power to engroſs the beſt commandries in every language. The grand maſter and council ſent embaſſadors to the pope, to declare to him the juſt remonſtrances of the whole order; and the grand maſter, in order to engage Heredia to deſiſt from the pope's nomination, ſent him ample proviſions, by which he conſtituted him his lieutenant on this ſide the ſea. But all theſe ſteps were alike fruitleſs; the pope was inflexible, either out of affection to his favourite, or that he might not ſeem to derogate from that ſupreme authority, which he claimed to exerciſe in the government of the order, as a right with which he was inveſted: and Heredia abuſing the new favour done him by the grand maſter, not only neglected paying into the common treaſury the reſponſions of the many commandries he had engroſſed, but alſo, under pretence of his poſt of lieutenant, kept the reſponſions of other commandries in his hands. If they came to be vacant, he got new proviſions from the pope, and by this violent conduct bore a deſpotic ſway in his order.

THIS occaſioned a new embaſſy; the grand maſter ſent brother Roger de Montaut a great commander, and brother Stephen Montaigu to Avignon, to deſire the pope's leave to proſecute Heredia, as an uſurper of the eſtate and revenues of the order. The pope, who did not care to protect his injuſtice openly, pretended to conſent to the grand maſter's requeſt, and named two cardinals to take cognizance of the affair. But theſe, under the ſpecious name of judges, acted only as mediators; and in order to make their own private advantage of Heredia's credit, they prevailed with the ambaſſadors to take up with a ſlight ſatisfaction and give over the proſecution. The pope ſent a gentleman of his houſhold to Rhodes, on purpoſe to tell the grand maſter from him, that they would oblige him in not giving Heredia any diſturbance in his enjoyment of the dignities he had conferred on him, the revenues of which, he ſaid, that knight employed only for the intereſt of the church and the ſervice of the holy ſee.

THE grand maſter was forced to connive at an abuſe which ſo powerful a protector hindered him from correcting. But for fear ſuch a pernicious example ſhould draw as bad conſequences after it, and to prevent other priors from appropriating to themſelves, in imitation of Heredia, the commandries, or at leaſt the reſponſions belonging to the order within the bounds of their reſpective priories, this wiſe grand maſter convened a general chapter at Rhodes, and deſignedly choſe for that purpoſe a place that was immediately under the government of the order, that the debates might be carried on with the greater freedom, and in order that they might take a reſolution not to be baffled by other potentates. In this chapter, particular receivers of the dues of the order were appointed in every priory, and who were accountable only to the common treaſury. They made alſo at the ſame time a decree, incapacitating the priors from being provided with any other commandries but ſuch as compoſed their priorial court. Some ſerving brothers having by their intrigues got the croſs of knighthood, a regulation was made in the ſame chapter, forbidding the advancement of any ſerving brother to that dignity: a regulation agree-

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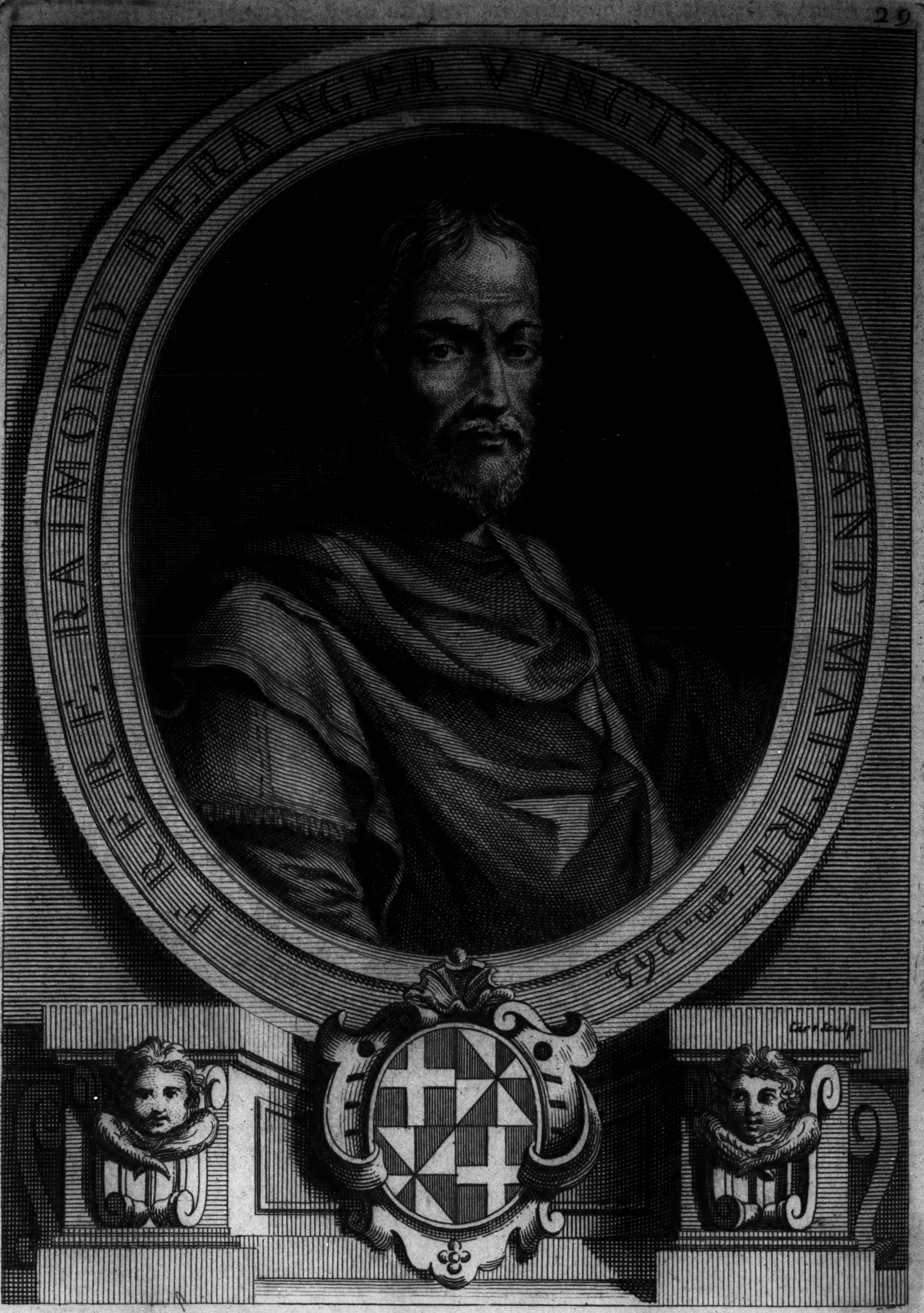
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FRERE RAIMOND BERANGER VINGT-NEUF GRAND MAITRE, en 1365
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able to that of a great pope, who had very wiſely eſtabliſhed the diſtinction of thoſe two ranks, by a diſtinction of their habits; a decree, which, it were to be wiſhed, might be ſtrictly obſerved for the ſake of the nobility and gentry. ROGER DE PINS.

THE grand maſter did not long ſurvive the concluſion of this chapter. The order loſt in him a chief who was very zealous for the maintaining of diſcipline, as the poor of the iſland did a very charitable father. 'Twas obſervable, that during the time that the plague infeſted that iſland, as well as all the eaſt, and which was followed by a dreadful famine, he immediately employ'd all his income, and ſold afterwards his plate and furniture to ſupply the neceſſities of the poor; which juſtly procured the title of almſgiver, with which the order and all mankind had diſtinguiſh'd him; and in heaven a juſt recompence, and the hundred-fold ſo expreſly promiſed by him whoſe promiſes are infallible.

1365. RAIMOND BERENGER.

THE order elected for his ſucceſſor brother RAIMOND BERENGER, a native of Dauphine, of the language of Provence, commander of Caſtel-Saraſion, whoſe deſcent hiſtorians derive from the Berengers that were ſovereigns of Italy, as others do from thoſe that reigned at Barcelona, and in the county of Catalonia. But whatever his family was, 'tis certain that he reflected a new luſtre upon it by his valour and the boldneſs of his enterpriſes. Some Egyptian corſairs us'd frequently to infeſt the coaſts of Cyprus, and made prizes of all ſhips that ſailed in thoſe ſeas under the ſtandard of the croſs. The grand maſter not only fitted out ſeveral gallies which gave them chace, but reſolved alſo in concert with the king of Cyprus to go and burn them even in the port of Alexandria. That prince and the grand maſter made up a fleet of near a hundred veſſels of different bulk; they put land forces on board, moſt of them drawn from the coaſts of France, but without being let into the ſecret of the enterpriſe they were to be employed in, which was communicated to no body but Urban V. who then ſate in the pontifical chair.

THE fleet being ready to ſail, the king and grand maſter went on board, followed by a great number of knights, and in leſs than five days, landed under the walls of Alexandria. They clapped ladders to the walls, and attempted to ſcale them. The Alexandrians were ſtruck with ſurpriſe; but beſides a ſtrong garriſon, there was ſuch an infinite number of people in that great city, the richeſt in Egypt, that the walls were in a moment lined with ſoldiers and inhabitants, that poured down ſhowers of arrows upon the Chriſtians. The beſieged ſtanding firm on the parapet, with their pikes and halbards dealing great blows about, throw down the beſiegers, puſh them into the ditch, and overwhelm them with ſtones of a large ſize. New aſſailants ſupply the place of the ſlain and wounded, and without being daunted at the death of their companions, endeavour to get on the top of the walls; ſome are pierced thro' with arrows, others precipitated or overturned with their ladders. The beſieged throw boiling oil and fire-works on all ſides; theſe burn the machines of the Chriſtians, ſtick to their cloaths, penetrate even to their bodies, forcing the ſoldiers all in a flame to give over the attack, and throw themſelves into the water for relief. Never was a more furious and bloody attack known; but in ſpite of the horrible image of death which preſented it ſelf on all ſides, the knights of Rhodes, animated by their own bravery and the grand maſter's intrepid air, renew the attack, clap their ladders again to the walls, and mounting over the dead bodies of their companions, get up to the top, leap upon the parapet, throw themſelves into the place, and kill all before them. From thence the victorious troops ſpread themſelves over the city, ſorce into the houſes that are next the ramparts, maſſacre huſbands in the arms of their wives, plunder the richeſt furniture, and make ſlaves of all that eſcape the firſt fury of the ſoldiery.

Tho' the king and grand maſter had loſt abundance of men in the ſeveral attacks they made, they yet would have been glad to have kept their poſt and maintained their conqueſt. But having advice that the ſultan was advancing with all the forces of Egypt to drive them thence, and ſeeing themſelves in a place that was ſtill crouded with an infinite number of inhabitants who had intrenched themſelves in the lower town, they reſolved to retire; and putting an ineſtimable booty on board their own fleet, they ſet fire to all the veſſels of the infidels that were in the port, and re-embarked with their priſoners. The king ſtood away for Cyprus, and the grand maſter for Rhodes, where both of them arrived happily.

The grand maſter having delivered Peter de St. George, a nephew or near relation of Urban, out of captivity among the infidels, would have the merit of conducting him himſelf to Avignon, but before he ſet out, advice came of that pope's death. Hiſtorians ſay, that juſt before he expired, and after having received the ſacraments of the church, he ſaid, in the preſence of his chamberlain, his confeſſor, and ſeveral cardinals, directing his ſpeech to them, "I firmly believe all that the holy catholick "church believes and teaches; and if I have ever advanced any thing in "any manner whatſoever different from it, I retract it, and ſubmit my ſelf "to the determination and cenſure of the church *.

Peter Roger, called cardinal de Beaufort, nephew to pope Clement VI. ſucceeded Urban V. and took on him the name of Gregory XI. The grand maſter was then thinking to abdicate his dignity. The intractableneſs of moſt of the European commanders had obliged him to take this extraordinary ſtep. Upon his return from the expedition of Alexandria, he was informed by the council, that the order could get nothing from the reſponſions of the weſt. This inflexibility equally ſurpriſed and afflicted him: in vain did he ſend the moſt preſſing orders; no anſwer was given to them, but by an obſtinate ſilence, which ſerved as a ſcreen to a direct diſobedience. Many of theſe commanders were in poſſeſſion of ſeveral commandries, and employed their reſponſions and the eſtate of the order, either in purchaſing the favour and protection of princes, or in enriching their own families; and ſuch as were the leaſt irregular among them, whenever they remitted money to Rhodes, conſidered it as their own free gift, looking upon their reſponſions as arbitrary alms and acts of meer liberality. Conſiderable diſputes aroſe alſo between the languages of Provence and Italy; and the principal knights of thoſe two languages refuſed to ſubmit to the judgment of the grand maſter. So much diſobedience from all parts gave him great uneaſineſs; but as he truly loved his order, he believed, that another grand maſter, of more capacity and reſolution than himſelf, would make himſelf be more exactly obeyed, and might reſtore an happy correſpondence between the head and members of the order. This was the chief motive that made him deſirous to abdicate his dignity: but the pope, who knew his merit,

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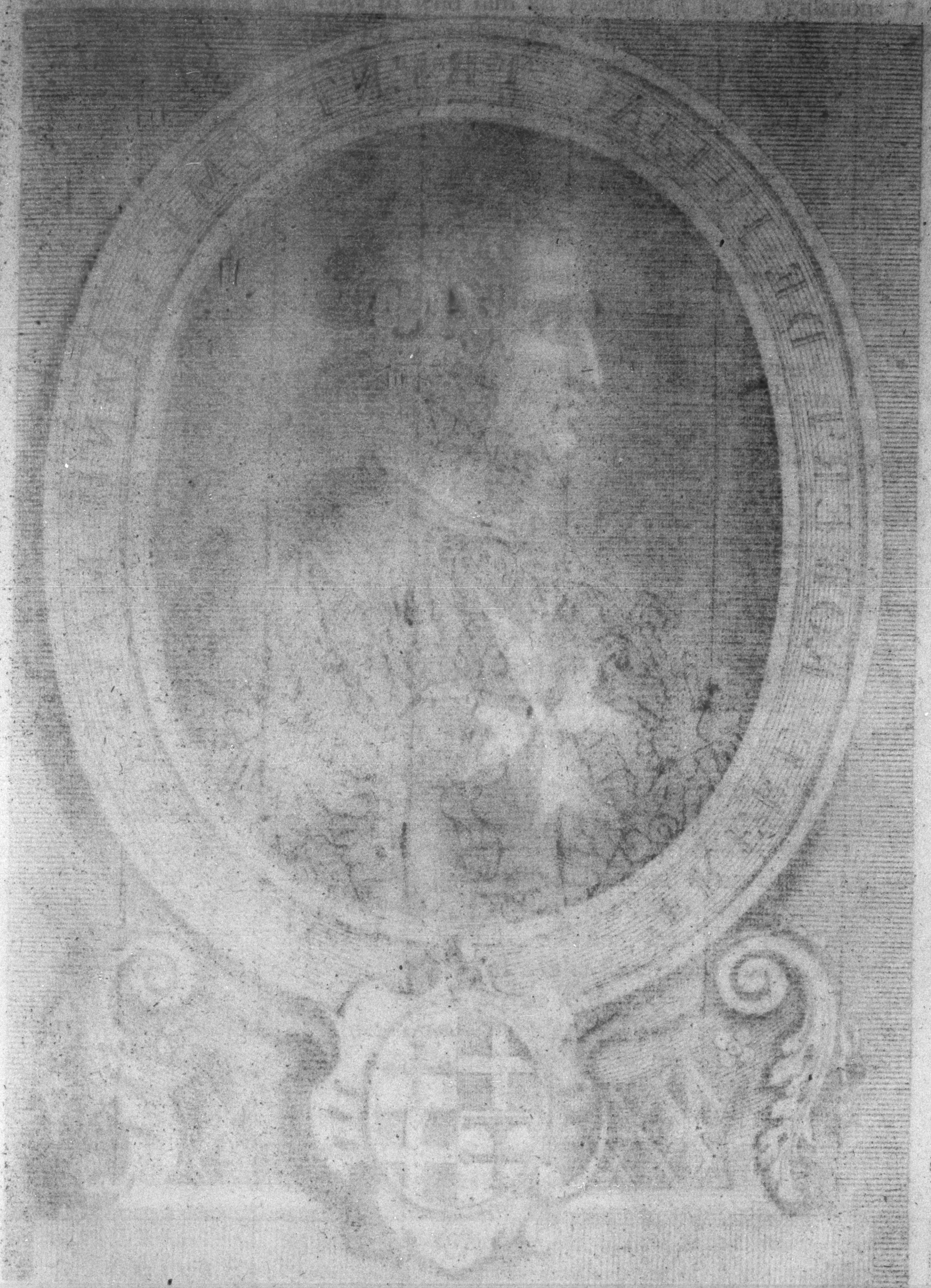
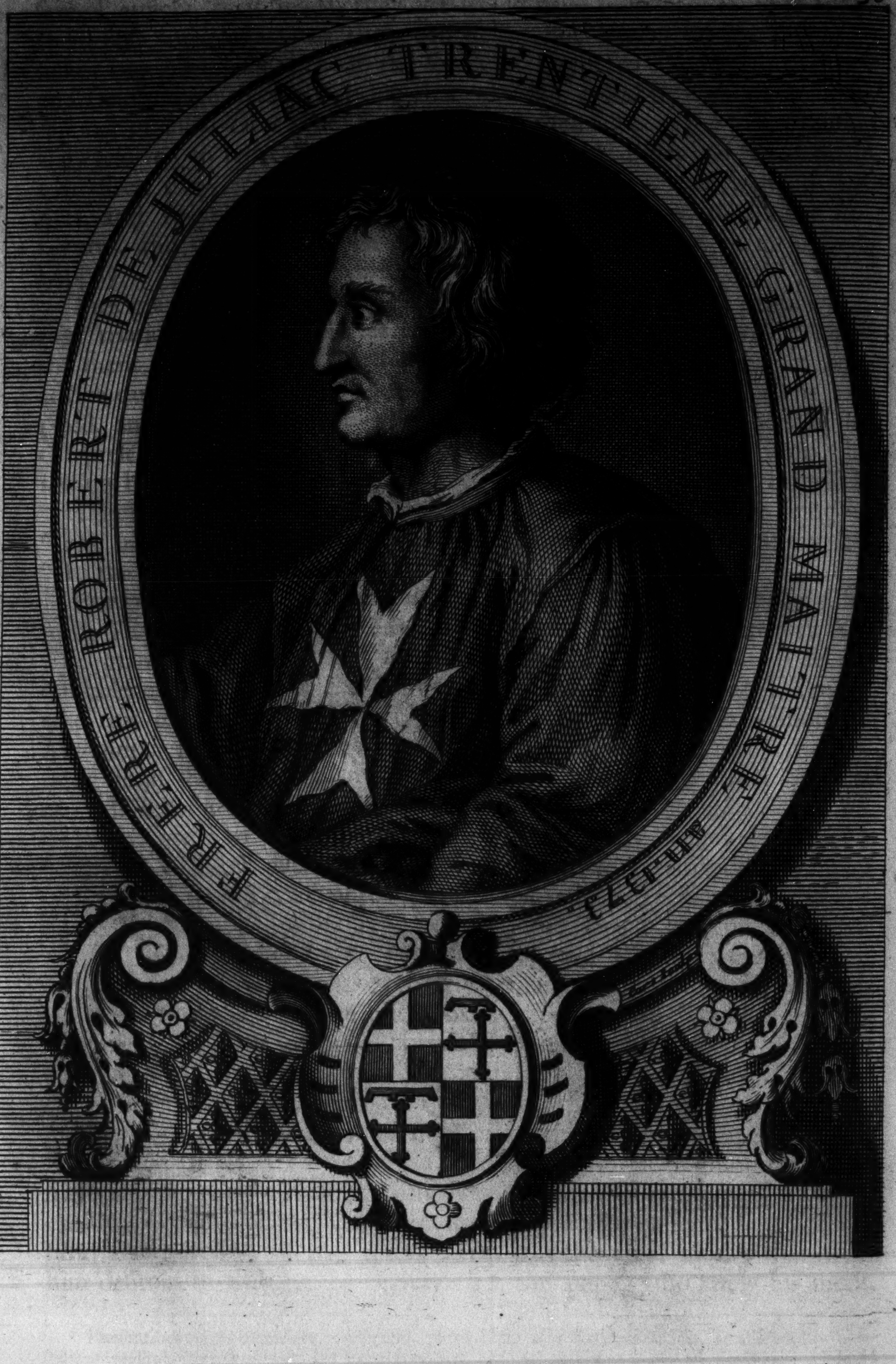
* Præſentibus etiam camerario, confeſſore, pluribuſque aliis familiaribus ſuis, ac aliis multis notabilibus perſonis dixit & aſſeruit ſe tenere & credere firmiter, ſicque confeſſus eſt ſimpliciter quidquid ſancta, catholica & apoſtolica tenet, docet & prædicat eccleſia: & ſi per priùs docendo, legendo, prædicando, aut diſputando, vel aliàs aliud quovis modo prædicaverat, vel dixerat, totum id revocavit, voluitque haberi pro non dicto, ſubmittens ſe & dicta ſua hujuſmodi correctioni & determinationi dictæ ſanctæ matris eccleſiæ, à qua aſſeruit ſe nunquam deviaſſe ſcienter. Geſta Urb. 5. apud Boſq. Rainal. t. 16. ad ann. 1370. ſect. 25.




FRERE ROBERT DE JULIAC TRENTIEME GRAND MAITRE. an 1374

would not give his conſent; and that pontiff, who to take off ſome of the burthen from his ſhoulders, was for taking cognizance of the affairs of the order, ſummoned a general aſſembly of the principal commanders at Avignon, diſpenſing with the grand maſter's attendance on account of his very great age, deſiring him only to ſend him an account of ſuch regulations as he judged moſt neceſſary for the reſtoring of diſcipline.

PROOF IX.
1373.

THEY began this aſſembly with examining into the diſputes between the languages of Provence and Italy. The occaſion of this diſpute aroſe from the language of Provence's enjoying, as being the moſt antient and firſt of the order, the priory of the kingdom of Hungary, and thoſe of Capua and Barletta in Italy, with the commandries of St. Stephen, Monopoli, Venice, and St. Euphemia, which the language of Italy demanded back; inſiſting likewiſe, that the priory of Hungary ſhould be annexed to it by way of equivalent, and to ſerve as a balance in the chapter to the power of the language of Provence, which alone had more voices than two other languages.

As the language of Provence pleaded in its defence, by virtue of the title of poſſeſſion, the pope referred the determination of the diſpute to the cardinals of Spain and Florence, and by their mediation rather than a rigorous deciſion, it was agreed, that upon the firſt vacancy of the priory of Hungary, the grand maſter and council ſhould collate to it, chuſing indifferently out of the two languages the perſon they thought moſt deſerving, and that afterwards the two languages ſhould nominate to it alternately; that the priories of Capua and Berletta, and the commandries of Naples and St. Euphemia ſhould be annexed to the language of Italy; but that St. Stephen, Eſtonibbia, Aliſe, Venutia, Monopoli, and their dependencies, ſhould continue as they were in poſſeſſion of the language of Provence.

IT was enacted in the ſame aſſembly, purſuant to the grand maſter's intentions, and the memorial which he had ſent to the pope, that no knight ſhould enjoy more than one grand commandry, or two ſmall ones, i. e. ſuch as their reſponſions did not amount to more than two hundred florins, and that all the reſponſions ſhould be paid exactly every year on pain of deprivation of the commandry. To theſe they added another regulation, that in the vacancy of the grand maſterſhip, when they were proceeding to the election of one, they ſhould not chuſe the electors out of all the languages, as had been practiſed till then, but that every language ſhould nominate two electors. As to the ſovereign council of the order, a ſtatute was made to determine that it ſhould not be deemed a full one, unleſs there were preſent in it the eight conventual bailiffs, three grand priors, the overſeer of the infirmary, two of the moſt antient knights of every language, over whom the grand maſter ſhould preſide; who, on account of his eminent dignity, was to have two votes in all aſſemblies, as had been conſtantly practiſed till that time; and that this council, when full, ſhould diſpoſe of all vacant priories and commandries.

THESE wiſe regulations, authorized by the pope's approbation, were ſent to Rhodes, and notified to the whole order. The grand maſter received them with a ſenſible ſatisfaction, but death prevented his reaping the fruit of them, that being reſerved to brother ROBERT DE JULLIAC, grand prior of France, whom the chapter of Rhodes elected in his abſence to be their grand maſter.

ROBERT DE JULLIAC.
1373.

HE was in France reſident on his priory, when he received the news of his promotion; upon which he immediately ſet out for Avignon, where he paid his duty to the pope. He afterwards changed all the receivers on this ſide the ſea, whom he found negligent in the diſcharge of their office: this was the firſt uſe he made of his authority. His next act was an inſtance of obedience to the holy ſee, taking upon himſelf and his order the property and defence of the caſtle and lower town of Smyrna, which the confederate army had taken from the Turks, as we have ſhewn a little before. The archbiſhop and inhabitants having complained to the pope, that Ottobon Cataſleo their governor, who was rather a merchant than a ſoldier, abandoned them frequently, for the ſake of his traffick, to make voyages into Italy, ſo that the place was left without either garriſon or proviſions, the pope ſignified his intentions to the knights, viz. that they ſhould unite Smyrna to the other poſſeſſions of the order. In vain did the grand maſter repreſent to him, that the fortreſs was ſeated in the midſt of the Turkiſh territories, and at ſuch a diſtance from Italy, that in caſe of a ſiege there was no hopes of a ſpeedy relief; and that likewiſe conſiderable ſums were neceſſary for maintaining the garriſon, which his order was in no condition to furniſh. The pope aſſign'd only a thouſand pounds a year for the defraying of this expence, which the treaſurer of the order was to levy upon the tithes of Cyprus. Moreover, as what the grand maſter had repreſented to him about the ſituation of the town of Smyrna, viz. that it was ſurrounded by the territories of the infidels, was the very reaſon which had determined him to put the defence of it into the hands of the knights, in expectation that the Turks might have a ſtop put to the progreſs of their arms when they ſhould have ſuch formidable neighbours; the pontiff ordered the grand maſter and council, under pain of excommunicatien, to throw immediately into Smyrna a ſufficient garriſon that ſhould conſiſt of a good number of knights and troops in the ſervice and pay of the order. The grand maſter was preparing to ſet out for Rhodes with theſe orders, when he received the unwelcome news that diviſions were broke out between the knights of the convent and the council. The knights complained that the council, as well in the nomination to the commandries as in diſputes ariſing between the knights, paid little regard either to the rights of ſeniority or to juſtice, but regulated their nominations and deciſions by the credit which the parties had in the ſociety. The council on their ſide ſent the grand maſter word, that the knights had found out a way of eluding all their orders, by continually appealing to the holy ſee, which entirely ruined the diſcipline and authority of the government. The grand maſter acquainted the pope with theſe reciprocal complaints; and the pontiff, in order to favour ſome particular knights, iſſued out a bull, expreſly annulling all the nominations made by the council in the vacancy of the maſterſhip and abſence of the grand maſter; but withall, he, by the ſame bull (after having ſeverely reprimanded the knights that made uſe, as he ſaid, of appeals, for no other end but to withdraw themſelves from the obedience which they owed their ſuperiors) ordered the council not to mind ſuch appeals for the future, requiring all of them to diſpoſe themſelves equally for receiving their grand maſter, as their lawful ſuperior, and one whom he had inveſted with the apoſtolical authority over them.

THE grand maſter ſet out with theſe orders and arrived happily at Rhodes. His preſence, his affability, and the exact juſtice which he diſtributed with impartiality to all his religious without the leaſt diſtinction, ſoon reſtored peace and concord among them. He then acquainted them with the pope's intentions with reſpect to the defence of Smyrna; and tho' the principal perſons in the council ſaw plainly that it was ſacrificing all thoſe knights whom they put on that ſervice, and that it would be the ſending them to the ſlaughter, they nevertheleſs reſolved to obey; nay, a conſiderable number of knights generouſly offered to take upon themſelves an employ in which the danger and glory were equally certain. In fact, there was no likelihood that the Turkiſh emperors, whoſe power was daily encreaſing, would ſuffer the knights to continue peaceable poſſeſſors of a place, and that too in the heart of their dominions, which they had taken from them.

SOLIMAN I. the eldeſt ſon of Orchanes, following his father's ſteps, had in leſs than two years annexed the beſt part of Thrace to his empire, and made himſelf maſter of Adrianople and Philippopoli. As Amurath I. his brother and ſucceſſor lived longer, ſo he extended his conqueſts much farther. The kingdoms of Bulgaria, Servia, Boſna and Theſſaly, and the principalities of Epirus, Achaia and Caramania, which had been formed out of the ruins of the Greek empire, became the object of his ambition; and he looked upon the conqueſt thereof, as a means of opening a way to that of Conſtantinople. He defeated in battle Cracovilch's king of Bulgaria, and had the ſame advantage over the Deſpot of Servia; he had lately reduced the town of Pheres, which was at that time the capital of Macedonia. Myſia fell before him; and the emperor John, or Calojohn Paleologus, advancing into Romania to ſtop his progreſs, was entirely routed; and 'tis even ſaid, that this ſultan was victorious in thirty ſix engagements or battles.

YET, as if in all this he had yet undertaken nothing for his glory, he made extraordinary levies of troops in all his territories. So conſiderable an armament, the marches and countermarches of ſuch a number of troops alarmed all his neighbours, every body ſtood upon his guard, without being able to gueſs on what ſide he would turn his arms.

THE grand maſter acquainted the pope with all theſe motions, and with the reaſons which made him apprehend that Smyrna and even Rhodes might be the ſecret object of this mighty armament. He repreſented to him at the ſame time, that, in the expedition of Alexandria, the order had loſt above a hundred knights, whoſe places had not been filled up with others; that the iſle and city of Rhodes wanted a ſpeedy ſuccour, and that he beſought his holineſs to make immediate proviſion for it, for fear of any ſurpriſe from the infidels.

1375. PROOF X.

THE pope on this occaſion convened an aſſembly of the chief commanders at Avignon, where it was reſolved to ſend five hundred knights, and as many eſquires or ſerving brothers to Rhodes in the month of March following. The priors, purſuant to a particular order of the pope, were to name the knights of their priory whom they thought in a condition to march; and each knight had the right of chuſing himſelf the ſerving brother that he would have to attend him, and thought fitteſt for his ſervice: which, by the way, is a proof that theſe ſerving brothers were a ſort of eſquires to the knights, and that every knight at that time had a ſerving brother appointed to attend his perſon, and perform military ſervice under his orders. Theſe knights and their attendants arrived ſafe at Rhodes, and the grand maſter and convent were highly pleaſed with ſo conſiderable a recruit. But they had no diſpute this year with the Turks, all whoſe forces fell again upon the Bulgarians and Servians.

THE order however ſuffered more this year from its own members than from the infidels. Domeſtick enemies, and the ſeeds as it were of rebellion ſtarted up in it, which broke out chiefly in England, Caſtile and Portugal.

BROTHER Robert d'Alri prior of England, Sancho de Sumaſſa prior of Caſtile, and Alvarez Gonſalvo prior of Portugal, being cantoned in their

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priories, and being ſupported by the monarchs of their reſpective countries, refuſed openly to pay their reſponſions. The prior of England founded his diſobedience upon an injuſtice which he pretended the grand maſter had done him, in beſtowing a commandry of Scotland upon a Scotch knight; whereas he maintained that it depended on the prior of England. His ſovereign, who conſidered Scotland as an antient fief of his crown, not only ſupported the prior in his diſobedience, but confiſcated likewiſe the revenues of all the commandries which the order had within his dominions. The grand maſter complained of theſe violent proceedings to the pope, who being informed of the juſtice of his nomination, cauſed the proofs of it to be tranſmitted to the court of England, and at the ſame time threatened to excommunicate the prior of that nation, if he did not immediately pay his reſponſions, and get the ſequeſtration taken off the goods of the order which he had procured to be ſeized. The fear of excommunication brought him back to his duty, as well as the prior of Caſtile, to whom the like menaces had been intimated from the holy ſee. Theſe fulminations, however terrible they might be, made no impreſſion on the prior of Portugal; upon which the pope, to touch a man to the quick, who was to be wrought upon by nothing but what concerned his intereſt, conferred his priory upon brother John Fernand, commander of Thoulouſe, and cited him to appear at Rome, in order to be degraded of the dignity of knighthood, and ſtripped of the habit of the order. The miſchief was, that theſe decrees of the court of Rome had ſcarce any effect with regard to temporalities, any farther than the prince had a mind to ſupport them with his authority; and ſeveral years paſſed away before this rebellious prior returned to his duty.

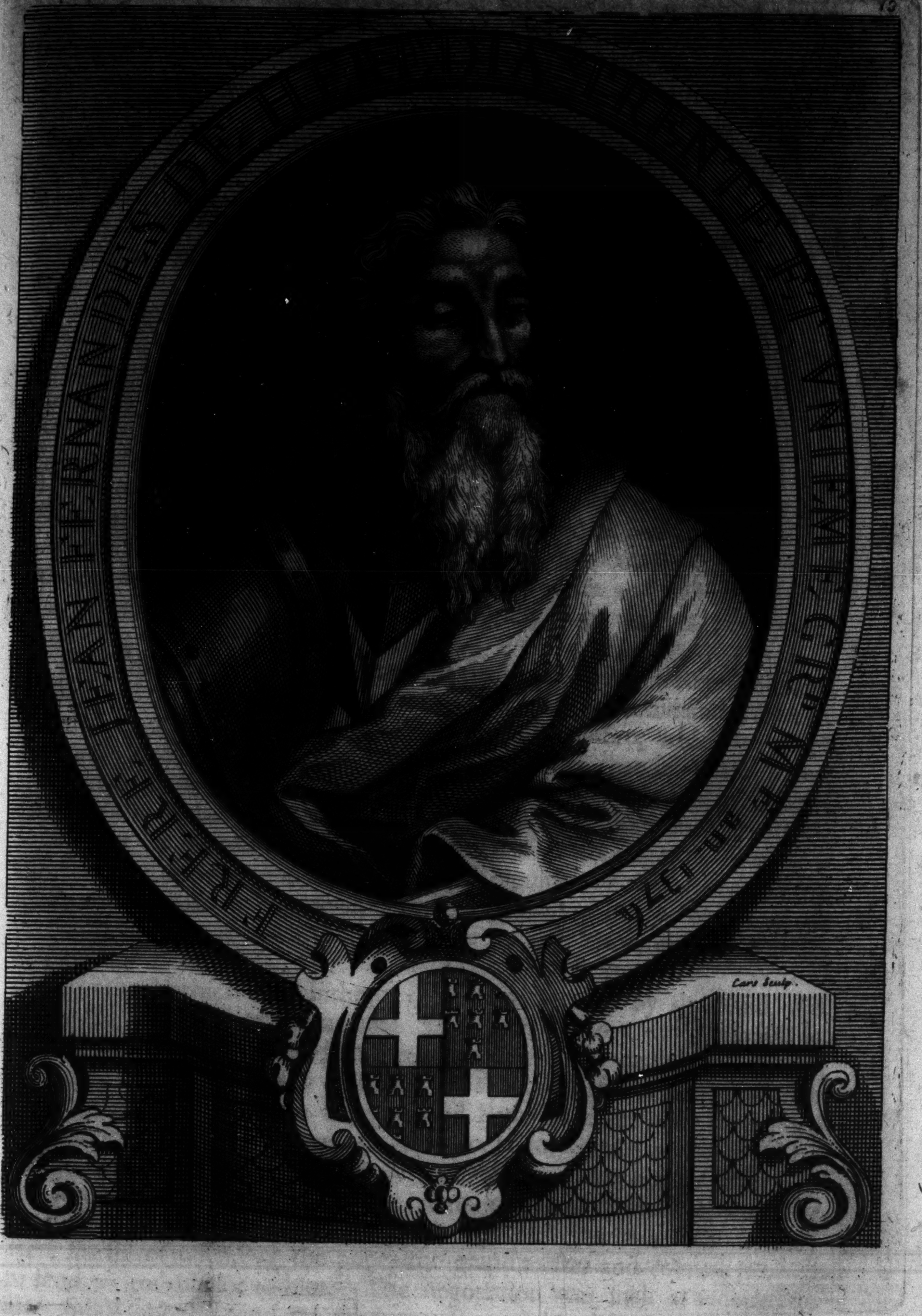
THIS year is aſſigned for the death of the grand maſter de Julliac, who enjoyed that dignity little more than two years. He was generally regretted on account of his wiſdom, prudence, and particularly the mildneſs of his government. The chapter and convent of Rhodes choſe for his ſucceſſor brother JOHN FERDINAND D'HEREDIA, caſtellan of Empoſta, or grand prior of Arragon, grand prior alſo of St. Giles and Caſtile, who was abſent at that time, he being always near the perſon of the popes, in quality of governor of Avignon, and the Comtat Venaiſſin.

JOHN FERDINAND D'HEREDIA.

1376.

'TWILL perhaps appear ſtrange, after all that hath been ſaid of the conduct of this knight, that the order, the principal dignities whereof he had uſurped contrary to all their rules, ſhould make ſuch a choice. But in all probability the electors conſidered that this knight was ſtill in great credit at the court of Avignon, and that he had the like credit with moſt of the princes of Chriſtendom, who were careful to diſtinguiſh a man of capacity in a peculiar manner, whoſe advice had a great influence in the various reſolutions and conduct of the pope's court. Beſides a miſchievous ſpirit of rebellion, ariſing from a ſordid avarice, having for ſome time paſt infected ſeveral of the commanders, 'twas no ill policy in the order to put a man of Heredia's power and authority at their head, in a dignity where the intereſts of the order were no longer to be diſtinguiſhed from his own.

WHATEVER the motives were that determined the electors to chuſe him their grand maſter, the reader perhaps will not be diſpleaſed to have a little more particular account of a knight, who after having played the tyrant over his order, became afterwards a tender father, and one of the principal ornaments of it. John Ferdinand d'Heredia was deſcended from one of the nobleſt houſes in Arragon. Blaſco Heredia, his elder brother, was inveſted with the dignity of d'el juſtitia, or great juſticiary, a dignity

13
FRERE IEAN FERNANDES DE [illegible] ET VNIEME GRD. MTE. en 1376
Caro Sculp.

eſtabliſhed in the kingdom to curb the regal authority, and hinder the ſovereign from abuſing it, contrary to the privileges of the nation. He diſcharged ſingly that function which the Ephori of Sparta were formerly entruſted with againſt their kings. This lord, having for ſeveral years had no children by his wife, to prevent the extinction of his family, obliged young Heredia his brother, whom we are now ſpeaking of, to marry. He had only two daughters by that marriage, and his wife dying in childbed, his brother, who was ſtill fond of ſeeing heirs of his own name, engaged him in a ſecond alliance, and married him to Dona Thereſa Contellia, niece and heireſs to his own wife; ſo that all the eſtate of thoſe two great houſes was like to center in young Heredia and his children. He had a ſon and a daughter by this ſecond marriage, and was ſoon after left a widower by the death of his ſecond wife: but his elder brother's, after many years of barrenneſs, having been brought to bed of two ſons one after another, he ſaw himſelf at once left without any eſtate, and all his hopes blaſted.

In this melancholy ſituation, after recommending his children to his elder brother, and without communicating his deſign to any body, he embarked and ſailed for Rhodes, where he deſired to be admitted into the order, and was received by the grand maſter de Villeneuve as a knight of the language of Arragon. His noble air, his polite behaviour, and the courage and bravery whereby he diſtinguiſhed himſelf in various engagements againſt the infidels, ſoon gained him the eſteem and affection of the principal knights. He recommended himſelf particularly to the grand maſter by the regularity of his life, and by an adroit and inſinuating temper, which enabled him with eaſe to aſſume any ſhape that might any way contribute to his advancement.

'Twas to theſe rare qualities, and the particular eſteem which the grand maſter had for him, that he was indebted for a faculty commandry (one in the diſpoſal of which favour was allowed) called Alambro, which he either exchanged afterwards, or was promoted from it to that of Villet. And as a great number of the knights, eſpecially of the old ones, had been killed in the Scalado of Alexandria, he roſe gradually from one preferment to another till he came in his turn to be bailiff of Capſa, and afterwards caſtellan of Emposta, one of the principal dignities of the order, and the moſt conſiderable in Europe after that of grand maſter, as well from its immenſe revenues as from the largeneſs of its juriſdiction, and the number and quality of its vaſſals.

Fortune, which had hitherto led him as it were by the hand, did not deſert him in that conjuncture. The grand priory of Catalonia becoming vacant, two candidates preſented themſelves for it; the one in prejudice of the rights and privileges of the order got a proviſion to it from the pope; the other a knight called Peter Berenger Nicoſſa, claimed the priory by right of ſeniority. Nor could any doubt be made of his right; and it was moreover the intereſt of the order not to ſuffer the knights to turn their views to the court of Rome, inſtead of applying themſelves to merit preferments by their ſervices. But as at Rhodes they were fearful of offending the pope, the grand maſter and council reſolved to ſend an embaſſador to him. The negotiation was ſuch as required an able, ſubtle miniſter, and one who was of a tractable diſpoſition, and could find out a way to preſerve the rights and privileges of the order, without violating the papal authority. The grand maſter fancied, that among ſo great a number of knights, he had diſtinguiſhed in Heredia all the qualities of an able negociator. He nominated him embaſſador to the pope,

and

and got his choice approved of by the council. The inſtructions given to the caſtellan were, that after having complimented the pontiff in the name of the grand maſter and the whole body of knights, he ſhould repreſent to him the injury that the order was like to ſuffer from his nomination; that the greateſt part of the knights would find it a much ſhorter way to arrive at commandries in obtaining them by favour and intrigue, than to wait a tedious number of years, and expect them from length of time and a ſeries of ſervices; that ſuch proviſions would ruin their diſcipline entirely; that the convent would ſoon be a deſert; and the knights neglecting their reſidence at Rhodes, and the other duties they were obliged to, would apply themſelves entirely either to the court of Rome, or to thoſe of the princes of Europe.

THE embaſſador had orders to inſiſt ſtrenuouſly on the revocation of the apoſtolick brief; but as they were apprehenſive the pope would ſtand by his nomination, be the conſequence what it would, they gave the embaſſador leave to terminate the affair by an accommodation, if he found the leaſt overture towards one.

HEREDIA ſet out with theſe inſtructions, and arriving at Avignon, in the firſt audience that he had of the pope, he repreſented to him, with great art and eloquence, that tho' the order paid an abſolute ſubmiſſion and all due reſpect to his nomination, yet it could not help complaining of a proviſion which violated its privileges, and was going to deſtroy all that had been done in its favour by the pontiffs his predeceſſors; that he was commiſſioned to lay at his holineſs's feet, who was the common father of the faithful, the juſt remonſtrances of a body that was conſecrated to the defence of Chriſtianity, but whoſe zeal would infallibly cool, if the ſeveral members that compoſed it, found that they were to be bereaved of the recompence which had till then been always annexed to their ſervices. The pope made an anſwer, in general terms, importing, that he had heard a very good character of the perſon he had named to the priory of Catalonia, but ſhould not be ſorry if the matter was accommodated in an amicable manner, to the ſatisfaction of the parties concerned, provided it could be done without infringing the authority of the holy ſee. The embaſſador ſaw plainly from hence that there was no bringing the pope to repeal the proviſion which he had granted: he therefore applied himſelf entirely to make up the diſpute, not forgetting at the ſame time his own private intereſt in the accommodation. The two claimants ſaw him often, and he played his cards ſo dextrouſly, that he brought them to agree on dividing the great revenues of the priory, which he prevailed with the pope to approve. He had hitherto carried on his negotiation agreeably to his inſtructions and the grand maſter's intentions; but he deviated afterwards from both, when he found that he might by devoting himſelf to the court of Rome get the profits of the priory to himſelf. The two pretenders to it being incapacitated by their age and infirmities to go in perſon and reſide upon the priory, he got the ſtewardſhip of it from the pope. This was the firſt ſtep he took; his next was to abandon openly the intereſts of his order, and without any ſenſe of ſhame, to get himſelf named by the pontiff for their ſucceſſor; ſo that the two knights living but a little while after this proviſion, he was the only perſon that reaped any advantage from their rivalſhip. All Rhodes was prodigiouſly ſurpriſed, when they heard after, that their embaſſador, inſtead of following his inſtructions, and oppoſing thoſe nominations of the popes, had been himſelf a ſolicitor, when he found an opportunity of obtaining them for himſelf.

THERE was no poſſibility after this of returning to the grand maſter; Heredia was forced to ſtay at Avignon, and adher'd entirely to the court of Rome. He ſoon formed himſelf a ſecret plan of all the intrigues and politicks of that court, and conducted himſelf with ſuch dexterity, that he had afterwards a great hand in the elections, and the confidence of the popes.

NEWS being brought to Clement VI. that Philip de Valois king of France, and Edward III. king of England were on the point of entring into war againſt one another, made choice of Heredia as a fit perſon to be ſent to thoſe two princes to perform in his name the office of a mediator between them. This knight, whoſe courage equalled his capacity, foreſeeing that a bloody battle would infallibly be fought between them, got a permiſſion from the pope to declare himſelf againſt either of the princes that ſhould decline the mediation of the holy ſee. As Edward had been the aggreſſor, he went firſt to his camp and gave him an account of his commiſſion. He would fain have engaged him to a ſuſpenſion of arms; but he found the Engliſh prince ſo elated with ſome advantages that he had already obtained, that he could not prevail with him. When he ſaw that he rejected all propoſals of peace with diſdain, and even ſlighted his offices of mediation, the haughty Spaniard, provoked with the little deference ſhewn to his character, declared to him, that as his commiſſion was at an end, by reaſon of his obſtinacy in rejecting it, he would go and fight under the banners of the king of France. He acquainted him at the ſame time with the permiſſion he had from the pope, and thereupon took leave of that prince, and threw himſelf into the French army, which was not long before it came to an engagement with the Engliſh.

THE unfortunate ſucceſs of that day is but too well known; the battle was fought near Crecy in Ponthieu. The French loſt it by the treachery 1346. of ſome of their commanders and by the precipitation of others. Philip ſhewed more valour than conduct in the action; he was one of the laſt that ſtaid in the field, and he ſtill fought it out, tho' he had but ſixty horſemen cavaliers left about him: but his own horſe being killed under him, he would infallibly have been taken by the enemy, had not Heredia leapt immediately off his own and preſented him to that prince, who retired out of the field along with him.

THE caſtellan ſeeing a body of foot that ſtill kept on fighting, put himſelf at their head, and diſputed the victory for ſome time with the Engliſh. But thoſe battalions being at laſt overpowered by the victorious army, he was forced to take his fate in the general rout; and as he was grievouſly wounded, it was with great difficulty that he got off, and came up with the ſcattered remains of the French army.

WHILST he lay under cure for four great wounds he had received in the battle, he was informed that they threw reflections on his conduct in the Engliſh camp; and that ſome officers of that nation ſaid, that he being inveſted with the character of an embaſſador, could not fight on the French ſide without violating the law of nations. The knight, as ſoon as he was cured, ſent an herald into their camp to challenge any one who ſhould blemiſh his conduct; and in all probability a private duel would have enſued, had not the king of England, whoſe leave was aſked for that purpoſe, done him juſtice, by declaring that he had notified to him before the battle, the permiſſion which the pope had given him at the bottom of his inſtructions, of fighting againſt either of the princes who ſhould reject the conditions of peace which he was commiſſioned to propoſe.

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propoſe. He afterwards ſet a negotiation on foot again, as they pretend; and it is to him that hiſtorians aſcribe a truce which the two kings agreed to for a year.

But be that matter as it will, he had the ſatisfaction at his return to Avignon of ſeeing the pope pleaſed with his conduct; and Innocent VI. ſucceeding to Clement VI. Heredia's fortune became ſtill more illuſtrious under the pontificate of a pope, to whom, as he had ever been a particular friend, he then became his miniſter and confident.

Innocent, as the firſt marks of his favour, declared him governor of Avignon and the Comté Venaiſſin; and as if his favourite's fortune engroſs'd all his thoughts, he ſeemed entirely taken up with providing for his advancement. He was daily heaping new benefits upon him; he was the channel thro' which all his favours was conveyed; the greateſt princes eagerly ſtrove to gain his friendſhip, and he ſhared the power of the keys with his maſter; or rather, the pope had the bare title, whilſt his miniſter enjoyed all the authority of them.

By means of this boundleſs credit he amaſſed immenſe riches, part of which he employed in the ſettlement of his children whom he had left in Arragon. And to prevent the imputation of being ungrateful to his benefactor, and provide at the ſame time for the ſecurity of the pope and all his court, he was at the expence of building ſtrong walls about the town of Avignon, fortifying them at proper diſtances with towers, which ſecured the place againſt a ſurpriſe, and put it in a condition of defence. The pope, delighted with theſe great and diſtinguiſhing expreſſions of his acknowledgments, plundered, as we may ſay, the order of the two great priories of Caſtile and St. Giles to confer them upon his favourite, contrary to all the rules and privileges of that religious ſociety, and in contempt of the important ſervices which the order was doing continually to the chriſtian world, by the brave reſiſtance they made againſt the infidels *.

The death of this pope, who was ſucceeded immediately by Urban V. and afterwards by Gregory XI. was the occaſion of his loſing part of his credit, tho' his ambition continued as violent as ever; and the grand maſter Juliac being grown very old, he conſidered that dignity as an honourable aſylum againſt the inſults of fortune and the diſgraces of the court. He took his meaſures for it in good time; his friends at the court of Avignon exerted themſelves ſtrenuouſly in his favour; moſt of the European princes engaged in his intereſt, and recommended him to the knights who were born their ſubjects: ſo that upon Juliac's deceaſe, the convent, however diſpleaſed at his conduct, was under a ſort of neceſſity to chuſe him for their grand maſter.

Heredia, as ſoon as he received the news of his election, prepared to ſet out for Rhodes; but as he had a mind to make his appearance there with forces that might keep up his reputation, and juſtify the choice of the order, he fitted out at his own expence nine gallies, beſides other veſſels of different bulk, on board of which he embarked a great number of volunteers, whom he took into his pay. He was ready to ſet ſail, when he found himſelf obliged to delay his departure at the requeſt of pope Gregory XI. who had juſt before been choſe ſucceſſor to Urban, and

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* Retulere etiam nobilem victoriam hoſpitalarii equites de Turcis in Græcia, quamvis longè numero impares: invecti enim quatuor tantùm triremibus atque onerariâ, viginti novem barbarorum naves, dum in eas vicinorum agrorum prædas inferebant, intercepêre, ut narrat Matthæus Villanus. Rain. ad ann. 1359. num. 15.

was for making uſe of him and his fleet on a great deſign which he had for ſome time revolved in his thoughts, and then thought fit to put in execution.

NEAR ſeventy years had paſſed, as we have ſeen, ſince the holy ſee had been tranſlated to Avignon by pope Clement V. During this long abſence, tho' the popes pretended to be ſovereigns of Rome, that capital of the world was then governed by a magiſtrate, who took the title of ſenator, and by twelve other citizens who were called bannerets, from the different banners which they ſet up to diſtinguiſh themſelves in their ſeveral quarters. Their deſign, as they endeavoured to perſuade the Romans, was to ſet up the old commonwealth again in Rome; but what they then called Romans, were very different from thoſe illuſtrious republicans, ſo renowned for the greatneſs of their ſentiments, as well as for their ſingular valour, which had made them maſters of a great part of the univerſe. Theſe laſt Romans were only a confuſed medley, and a miſerable remnant of the Heruli, Goths, Lombards and other Barbarians, who in the precedent ages had over-ran Italy. From the time that Rome was become the capital of the popes, the greatneſs of ſoul of the old Romans, their awful love of liberty, their valour and intrepidity, were degenerated into the narrow ambition of attaining the firſt dignities of the church.

Gloſſaire de Ducange. t. 3. p. 796.

THE ſtudy of the laws was the only way to ſuch preferments. Rome peopled, as it were, with eccleſiaſticks, was ſcarce ever free from cabals: theſe diviſions occaſioned their weakneſs; and the inhabitants of new Rome had ſcarce any thing of the Romans but the bare name. Beſides, that great city, ſince the popes had quitted it, was little more than a country place, and that golden ſtream which before us'd to flow in from all the ſtates of Chriſtendom, had been turned into another channel, and ran directly into the pope's court. Moſt of the other places of St. Peter's patrimony were either ſeized on by petty tyrants, or elſe, under the ſpecious pretences of liberty, had entered into an alliance with the Florentines, who were then making war upon the pope himſelf, and ravaging the Campagna di Roma.

GREGORY XI. had employed the arms of the church againſt them; they had been publickly excommunicated by a ſolemn bull; and as they did not ſeem much affected with it, the pope had ſent an army into Italy under the command of cardinal Robert of Geneva, as legate of the holy ſee. But the pontiff not meeting with all the ſucceſs he expected, had again recourſe to ſpiritual arms; and to make them cut the deeper, he had ſharpened them as it were after a new and extraordinary manner. He not only aggravated the former excommunication thundered out againſt the Florentines, but he involved in it all the faithful that ſhould hold any commerce with them, or ſupply them with gold, ſilver, corn, wine, proviſions, wool, cloth, and even with wood to burn: and moreover, ſays the pope, "we confiſcate all the effects of the Florentines, and enjoin every "body to attack them, to ſeize their perſons, to make them ſlaves, and "reduce them to a ſtate of ſervitude.

PROOF XI.

THIS bull had all the effect that the avarice of men, animated by the pious credulity of thoſe times, could expect from it. Every body made it a merit to perſecute thoſe poor excommunicated people, and to ſeize their effects wherever they could diſcover them. The commerce of the Florentines, in which their main ſtrength lay, was utterly ruined; their debtors refuſed even to pay them; and in foreign countries, particularly in England, ſeveral of their merchants were arreſted by the king's orders and made ſlaves.

THE Florentines laid down their arms, and ſent embaſſadors to the pope to bring him to temper: but not being able to obtain a repeal of this terrible bull, they had recourſe to S. Catherine of Sienna, a nun of the order of St. Dominick, famous over all Italy for her piety, and eſpecially for ſome revelations and intimate communications with heaven, which ſhe took care to publiſh, tho' it muſt be owned they are a little extraordinary.

THE ſhe ſaint, at the requeſt of the Florentines her neighbours, embarked for Provence, and arrived ſafe at Avignon. She ſaw the pope, and in an audience ſhe had of him, made him ſuch warm inſtances in behalf of the Florentines, that ſhe obtained the repealing of his bull, tho' the pontiff had told her, that ſhe would find her ſelf deluded by thoſe merchants. This was not the only important commiſſion ſhe had taken. The Romans, deprived of the profit they uſed to reap from the reſidence of the popes and cardinals, and the continual concourſe of ſo many ſtrangers as had buſineſs at the pope's court, had ſecretly ſent deputies to Avignon, conjuring the pope to return to the capital of the chriſtian world. To determine him to do ſo, they made proteſtations of acknowledging him for their ſovereign, and preſerving an inviolable fidelity to him and his ſucceſſors. S. Catherine employed all her credit to ſecond their requeſt: ſhe repreſented to the pope that his preſence would quiet all the troubles of Italy, and that by fixing the holy ſee again at Rome, he would likewiſe fix again its authority in all the places that had been ſeized upon by uſurpers.

PETER, infant of Arragon, a Franciſcan friar, and St. Bridget, preſſed him likewiſe to return to his church; but what abſolutely determined the pope to quit Provence and return to Rome, was the advice he received by an expreſs from the cardinal of St. Peter, who was then reſident at Rome as his vicegerent, that the Romans, if he did not return ſpeedily, had reſolved to elect another pope, and had even made ſure of the abbot of Mont Caſſin, a monk not over ſcrupulous, who, without being ſtartled at the guilt that is inſeparable from ſchiſm, had agreed with them to act the infamous part of an anti-pope.

GREGORY, terrified at a project which was going to raiſe a competitor for his dignity, reſolved to prevent ſuch a misfortune by a ſpeedy return into Italy. His own father and mother, William count of Beaufort and his wife, who were ſtill living, and who indeed ſurvived him, uſed the moſt tender intreaties, but all in vain, to keep him in Provence. King Charles V. likewiſe foreſeeing the fatal conſequences that this precipitate journey would occaſion to the church, wrote to him in the moſt preſſing terms in order to divert him from it. "You are going holy father, ſays "that prince to him, into a country where you are but very little beloved; "if you die there, as is probable enough you will, the Romans will get "all the cardinals into their power; and to prevent the court of Rome's "returning to Avignon, will force them by dint of arms to elect an Ita"lian pope.

Queſta vita Gregorii XI. p. 481.

BUT notwithſtanding all the preſſing inſtances of that prince, and of moſt of the cardinals who plied him with repreſentations of the ſeditious and mutinous temper of the people of Rome, the pope was inflexible, being prepoſſeſſed with the remonſtrances and advice of St. Catherine, and the other devout perſons abovementioned. He left Avignon, and went to embark at Marſeilles on board the gallies of the order, which were commanded by the new grand maſter Heredia in perſon, who had with him the priors of St. Giles, England and Rome, and a conſiderable number of the knights and commanders of the order.

JOHN FERDINAND D'HEREDIA.

Peter Amelio, biſhop of Senigallia, who was in this voyage, has given us an exact relation and journal of it, which Abraham Bzovius has taken care to preſerve. That prelate repreſents the grand maſter with a large white beard, holding the rudder of the pope's galley, and ſurrounded with all his knights. The ſame hiſtorian too acquaints us, that this little fleet being diſperſed by a ſtorm off of the coaſt of Provence, the grand maſter by his reſolution and skill in the art of navigation, baffled the violence of the winds and brought the pope ſafe into the port of Oſtia.

The pontiff, before he made his entry into Rome, got from them for his own ſecurity, and purſuant to the promiſes made by the magiſtrates, a declaration, wherein they, in the name of the people of Rome, acknowledged him for ſovereign of the city, and all the territory belonging to it. He was afterwards received there in great ſolemnity with all his court; the grand maſter going immediately before his holineſs, carrying the ſtandard of the church. The magiſtrates, with a croud of people at their heels, proclaimed the general joy with loud acclamations; but it was ſoon found that there was more ſhew and pomp in theſe outward ſubmiſſions than fidelity and real obedience; and that the ſenator and bannerets would not eaſily give up the authority they had uſurped.

The grand maſter having acquitted himſelf with ſo much honour in convoying the pope, took his leave, went with all his knights on board the fleet, and ſet ſail for Rhodes, where all the convent expected him with great impatience. As he was purſuing his courſe, he met off of the coaſt of Morea a fleet of Venetians, who were then in war againſt the Turks: thoſe Barbarians had a little before taken the town of Patras, ſo famous for its ſilk trade, from that republick. The Venetian general coming on board the grand maſter's galley to pay him his compliments, as he knew his valour and capacity in the art of war, he conjured him in the name of his republick, and for the common good of Chriſtendom, to conſent to join their forces for recovering a place of that importance out of the hands of the infidels. Tho' affairs of great conſequence required the grand maſter's preſence at Rhodes, whither he was going to take poſſeſſion of his dignity; yet his courage prevailed over his intereſt, and he embraced with joy an occaſion of ſignalizing his warlike talents againſt the eternal enemies of his order. The two fleets joined, and landing their troops, they marched ſtraight to Patras, a town ſituated on an eminence, about a quarter of a league's diſtance from the ſea.

As the place had but few fortifications and took up a great compaſs of ground, the grand maſter tried to take it by ſcalado; ladders were laid againſt thoſe places in the walls that were almoſt ruined, and he took it without any great reſiſtance. The governor had reſerved his garriſon for defence of the caſtle, into which he retired along with it. The caſtle was ſeated in the higheſt part of the town, and wanted none of the fortifications which art had at that time invented to render it impregnable.

It was neceſſary to beſiege it in a regular manner; the attacks were ſmart and vigorous, and the defence was as brave. The order loſt ſeveral knights of diſtinction; but at laſt the machines made uſe of in thoſe times having made a breach, the grand maſter, impatient of ſo long a reſiſtance, takes a ladder, claps it to the breach, mounts up firſt ſword in hand, and without minding whether he was followed or no, throws himſelf into the place. The governor on his ſide oppoſes his progreſs with great courage; a ſort of duel enſues between them, till the Chriſtian, more expert or elſe ſtronger than the infidel, runs him thro', kills him, cuts off

John Ferdinand d'Heredia.

his head, whilſt his knights, uncertain of his fate, mount up the breach in crouds to his ſuccour, bear down all before them, and breaking into the place, put the garriſon to the ſword.

The grand maſter fluſhed with this good ſucceſs, and invigorated by the intereſted praiſes of the Venetian general, took up a reſolution to extend his conqueſts over all the Morea. Corinth was the firſt place to be attacked; 'twas reſolved in a council of war to take it from the infidels, and the chriſtian army advanced into the territory about it to beſiege it. The grand maſter however, before he ſate down before the place, had a mind to view the ſituation and condition of it himſelf. But as the convoy he took with him was weak, he fell unhappily into an ambuſcade; the Turks cut his ſmall corps in pieces and took him priſoner. The infidels thought they had only taken a private knight; but ſome deſerters diſcovering his quality to them, they ſent him to the caſtle of Corinth where they kept him under a ſtrict guard.

The grand priors of St. Giles, England and Rome, who had followed him in this expedition, offered, with the Venetian general's conſent, to give Patras for his ranſom; but the Turks rejecting the propoſal returned a proud anſwer, that being maſters of the Morea they knew how to recover that place in leſs time than the Chriſtians had employed in reducing it. The knights inconſolable for the reproach they might lie under of having left their grand maſter behind them in the hands of the infidels, offered, beſides Patras, a very conſiderable ſum, and the three grand priors in hoſtage to be kept till the whole was paid.

The Turks ſeemed to come into this laſt propoſal; but when they acquainted the grand maſter with it, he generouſly oppoſed it, and would never conſent that the three grand priors ſhould be put into the infidels hands as hoſtages on his account, ſaying, "Let me alone, my dear brethren, "ſuffer an uſeleſs old man, that cannot live much longer, to die in pri-"ſon; and do you that are younger, reſerve your ſelves to be ſerviceable "to the order." In vain did his knights, who had got leave to ſee him, labour by their prayers and tears to gain his conſent for this exchange; nothing could ſhake his reſolution. He would not even allow his ranſom to be paid out of the treaſury of the order: "if it muſt be paid, ſaid he, "my family hath received eſtate enough from me to give me this proof "of their gratitude." The Turks, regardleſs of ſo noble a generoſity, ſent him into the mountains of Albania, to oblige him to be the more expeditious in paying his ranſom. He was there ſhut up in a cloſe priſon, and inſtead of enjoying his new dignity at Rhodes, he was kept above three years in a rigorous ſlavery, where he had time enough to make ſerious reflections on the little ſolidity of human grandeur.

During his captivity a furious ſchiſm broke out, which diſtracted the church for above fifty years afterwards; the order of St. John having the misfortune to be involved in it, as well as all the ſtates and other orders of Chriſtendom. We have ſeen how pope Gregory XI. prevailed upon, by the promiſes and pretended ſubmiſſions of the Romans, and ſeduced, if I may be allowed the expreſſion, by the confidence he had in St. Catherine's predictions, had quitted Provence, and fixed his reſidence at Rome, the natural ſeat of all the ſovereign pontiffs.

But he had not continued long there, before he had the mortification to find that the ſpirit of rebellion was ſtill reigning in that city; and the magiſtrates, in contempt of the moſt ſolemn oaths, far from paying the obedience which they owed him, had reſumed their firſt authority and perpetuated themſelves in the government. The juſt reaſon he had to fear, leſt after his death theſe mutineers ſhould tyrannize over the conclave and force it to elect whom they pleaſed for his ſucceſſor, made him take the reſolution of returning to Avignon. But being ſeized with a ſudden illneſs which carried him off, a little before he died, holding the holy ſacrament in his hands, he conjured all the cardinals, who aſſiſted him in thoſe his laſt moments, to chuſe that perſon for his ſucceſſor whom they ſhould find moſt worthy of that great dignity. He cautioned them againſt giving credit to certain perſons of both ſexes, who under colour of pretended revelations, propoſed their own viſions as a rule of conduct to be obſerved in the government of the church; which by the too great confidence he had therein, joined with the ſeditious temper of the Romans, was going to expoſe the church to the danger of a terrible ſchiſm, if the Saviour of the world did not of his infinite goodneſs interpoſe to preſerve his ſpouſe from it *.

'TIS plain whom the holy pontiff meant in this diſcourſe: and his apprehenſions were unhappily juſtified by the event, and proved truer than the predictions and prophecies which had impoſed on him. For as ſoon as his eyes were cloſed, the bannerets and magiſtrates of the city, for fear a new pope ſhould tranſlate the holy ſee to Avignon, reſolved to oppoſe the election of a French cardinal, and to force the members of the conclave to chuſe a Roman, or at leaſt an Italian for pope.

1378.
March 27.

WITH this view they ſeized and put guards at the gates of the city, as in a garriſon and time of war, for fear the cardinals ſhould get out unknown to them and retire to ſome city of Italy, where they might proceed with freedom to the election of a pope.

Theod. de Niem.

THIS ſeditious gang drove afterwards out of Rome all well deſigning perſons, and ſuch as could oppoſe the violence they were offering to the cardinals; and then let in a company of banditti and peaſants of the neighbouring mountains, a ſavage ſet of men whom they ſupplied with arms, and who running over all quarters of the city, threatned a general maſſacre, if they did not chuſe a Roman, or at leaſt an Italian, for pope. “Romano lo volemo, ò al manco Italiano” was the cry of theſe furious wretches, to whom the dregs of the people joined themſelves, and to which they were ſecretly inſtigated by the magiſtrates.

PROOF XII.

THE diſorder did not end with this tumult; for when the cardinals, after the ten firſt days employed about the funeral of the deceaſed pope were paſſed, prepared to go into the conclave; the ſeditious ſeized on the doors, and declared, that if they reſolved to chuſe a foreign cardinal for pope, “they would make their heads redder than their hats;” and to haſten the election of an Italian, the moſt furious among them piled up faggots of vine twigs and ſtraw under the place where the cardinals were aſſembled, as if they were ready to ſet it on fire. Others ſtruck againſt the floor with pikes and halberts; and in order to force them to comply, they preſented death before them in ſeveral ſhapes; all of them equally frightful and terrible.

Froiſſart t. 2. ch. 12.

THE cardinals, ſays an hiſtorian of that time, chuſing rather to be rank'd in the number of the confeſſors than that of the martyrs, did, to ſave their own lives and pacify theſe furious wretches, agree to name an Italian for pope. But before they proceeded to an election ſo viſibly extorted from them by violence, the foreign cardinals, and even ſome of the Italians, made a proteſt before publick notaries, that the election was extorted

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* Quia per tales ipſe ſeductus, dimiſſo ſuorum rationabili conſilio ſe traxerat, & eccleſiam in diſcrimen ſchiſmatis imminentis, niſi miſericorditer provideret ſponſus Jeſus. Gerſon exam. doct. part. 2. Wading. ann. minor. t. 4.

from them, and that they did it only to avoid an immediate death; and that when they ſhould be free and in a place of ſafety, they would proceed to a new and more canonical election. They afterwards named for pope Bartholomew Prignano, a Neapolitan, archbiſhop of Bari. They made ſo unexpected a choice, in hopes that this prelate, who was looked upon as the moſt learned man in all Italy in canon law, and was likewiſe an eye-witneſs of the violence offered them, would not make uſe of it to maintain himſelf in a dignity to which he had not been raiſed according to the rules of the church. Some hiſtorians go ſo far as to ſay, that when he ſaw the violence uſed againſt the cardinals, not imagining that he ſhould reap the benefit of it himſelf, he ſaid to one of his friends, who was then with him in St. Peter's church, "that he would never acknow-" "ledge any one for pope, whom the cardinals ſhould be forced to chuſe" "with daggers at their throats."

BUT when thoſe princes of the church had ſent to fetch him, in order to notify his election to him, he received the news at firſt with great ſurpriſe: but theſe firſt ſentiments ſoon made way for thoſe of joy; and ambition made him readily give his conſent. In vain did the cardinals, after this forced election, ſolicite him to leave Rome, under pretence, as they ſaid, of ratifying his nomination in a free place; the ambitious Neapolitan, far from giving into the ſnare, declared that he looked upon his election as lawful and regular, and to hinder the cardinals from repeating it, had recourſe to ſedition; and made uſe of it to keep them in Rome, notwithſtanding all their endeavours to leave it. They were forced by a new violence to aſſiſt in perſon at his taking poſſeſſion of the pontifical chair, and the ceremony of his coronation, when he took the name of Urban VI.

Theod. de Niem.

THIS was not all that he exacted of the cardinals, he obliged them to write letters to the principal potentates of Chriſtendom, to certify that his election was free and canonical. The cardinals who ſaw themſelves every day, as it were, in a ſtate between life and death, to ſatisfy a man whom they conſidered as their tyrant, ſigned whatever he required of them, but gave private notice at the ſame time to ſeveral princes, particularly to Charles V. king of France, that they ſhould not mind what they wrote ſo long as they were in Rome. Their deſign was to get out of town, and they got leave at laſt on pretence of the great heat. But inſtead of retiring to their reſpective country houſes, moſt of the foreign cardinals that were in Italy went by concert to Anagni, from whence they wrote to the king of France and all the princes of Chriſtendom to inform them of the violent manner in which they had been forced to put the archbiſhop of Bari in the chair of St. Peter, tranſmitting at the ſame time an exact account of all that had paſſed at Rome ſince the death of Gregory XI. with authentick copies of their proteſts. They wrote likewiſe to the new pope, repreſenting to him that no body was better acquainted than himſelf with the defects of his election; that being an eye-witneſs of the violences offered them, he could not but be ſenſible that he was no true pope; and they conjured him, in the moſt preſſing terms, generouſly to quit a dignity which he could not keep any longer without expoſing the church by his ambition to the terrible calamities of ſchiſm, for which he would be accountable to the divine juſtice.

URBAN rejected their exhortation and entreaties with diſdain, and treated them as rebels and ſchiſmaticks. He ſeemed afterwards to be a little mollified, and to bring them back to his court, offered them a general pardon, which the event ſhewed would have been ill obſerved, had they ſuffered themſelves to be impoſed on by his promiſes. The cardinals, from a

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principle of conſcience, as we may ſuppoſe, retired to Fondi, a ſtrong place in the kingdom of Naples; and for their ſecurity got a guard of foreign troops, Gaſcoons and Bretons, which Gregory XI. had taken into his ſervice for the defence of St. Peter's patrimony. 'Twas in this town that they proceeded anew to the electing of a pope, and after ſhutting themſelves up in a conclave, cardinal Robert of Geneva, brother to Amé count of Geneva was at the firſt ſcrutiny elected by the unanimous voices of a majority of the college of cardinals, and was afterwards crowned by the name of Clement VII.

THE two popes ſoon made the ſchiſm notorious by the anathema's which they thundered out reciprocally againſt one another, and againſt all that followed the oppoſite party. All the princes of Chriſtendom were divided on one ſide or other in this famous diſpute, ſome adhering to Urban, and others owning the authority of Clement. Nor were there wanting on either ſide famous univerſities, eminent divines, learned canoniſts, and even perſons of great ſanctity, famous, as is pretended, for their gift of miracles, to declare in favour of the oppoſite parties, as if God almighty were not willing it ſhould be known which of the two was the lawful pope.

THIS ſpirit of diviſion ſpread it ſelf into the order of St. John and infected the knights: the grand maſter Heredia being ranſomed by his own family out of the hands of the infidels, and all the convent of Rhodes declared in favour of Clement *, and the languages of Italy and England with ſeveral commanders of Germany acknowledged Urban. This pope, to have his revenge againſt the grand maſter, declared that he had forfeited his dignity, and not being able to prevail with the convent to elect another in his ſtead, he named brother Richard Coracciolo prior of Capua for grand maſter by his own authority. Thus were there at the ſame time two grand maſters in the order, as there were two popes in the church. But excepting Italy and England, and ſome commanders in Germany, as we ſaid before, all the reſt of the order adhered inviolably to the authority of Clement, and continued ſubject to the government of Heredia.

THIS grand maſter, who was formerly graſping ſo much at riches and honours, had, whilſt he was in captivity among the infidels, time enough to reflect on the vanity of all human grandeur. Adverſity, a ſevere but uſeful miſtreſs, returned him back to his order, a diſintereſted and modeſt man, full of zeal, over actuated by the ſpirit of his profeſſion, ſtrict as to his own conduct, and without any view but the good of his order, the maintenance of diſcipline and his own ſatisfaction.

DURING his captivity, and a year before he was ranſomed, brother Bertrand de Flotte, a grand commander, and the grand maſter's lieutenant, had held a general chapter at Rhodes, in which ſeveral regulations were made, which would have been uſeful, if there had been authority enough in the government to enforce the obſervance of them. It was there enacted, that the collations which the grand maſter and council ſhould make of the commandries of Europe, ſhould be received with ſubmiſſion, notwithſtanding the pretenſions of ſome priors who had aſſumed to themſelves a right of naming to thoſe commandries that fell vacant within their priories; that the great eſtate which compoſed the commandry of Cyprus ſhould be divided into ſeven portions and ſeven commandries, and that the 1380.

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* Rhodiorum pariter equitum magiſter ſchiſmatis laqueis ſe irretiit, ut queritur Urbanus, qui ob eam rem vectigalia quæ in Germania Rhodio magiſtro pendebantur, pontificio fiſco inferri juſſit. Rain. ad annum 1387. num. 10.

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firſt of the ſeven parts ſhould go by the name of great commandry, with the right and title of grand croſs; and that the other ſix ſhould devolve upon the knights according to their ſeniority, and be ſubject to the juriſdiction of the grand commander; that the commander of the iſle of Coos or Langos ſhould be obliged to maintain twenty five knights, and every knight of the order ſhould be bound to keep an horſe and his equipage; exerciſe himſelf in ſhooting with a croſs-bow, and be always in a readineſs to march upon the orders of his ſuperiors; and if he failed, ſhould be deprived of the allowance and penſion that he received from the treaſury.

To theſe regulations ſeveral articles were added, relating to the conduct of the grand maſters, to oblige them to a ſtrict reſidence at Rhodes. It had been enacted that they ſhould not confer any dignity, nor give away any commandry out of the convent: and to prevent an abuſe which was introduced inſenſibly by the grand maſters, who ſolicited at the court of Rome to be eaſed of the burthen of their dignity, a ſtatute was made, that when a grand maſter was worn out with years, or on account of his infirmities had a mind to abdicate the grand maſterſhip, he ſhould not be allowed to reſign it, unleſs he did it to the general chapter or the convent at the head of the order, who had the ſole right of providing him a ſucceſſor.

1381. THE grand maſter, having in the mean time paid his ranſom, came to Rhodes, where he took poſſeſſion of his dignity and government. He thereupon cauſed an eſtimate to be laid before him of the revenues of the order and the ſtate of the treaſury: Two things very neceſſary for the preſervation and defence of the iſles and places belonging to the order in the Mediterranean ſea, and on the coaſts adjoining: and he was very ſenſibly afflicted, when he found that in the time of his captivity a deſtructive anarchy had, by the favour of the ſchiſm, crept into the order, and that moſt of the knights, eſpecially the priors and commanders, had made themſelves independent, and acted as they ſaw fit, without any regard to their obligations. Some of them paid no deference to the orders of the council, any farther than they found their own preſent intereſt promoted by them. Thoſe of the North ſcarce kept up any correſpondence at all with the convent, they did not make good their reſponſions, or elſe paid but a very ſmall part of them; and as the order was obliged to furniſh ſubſiſtence and pay to the ſoldiers that were in garriſon in the fortreſſes belonging to the knights, they had been forced to borrow conſiderable ſums, the bare intereſt of which ſwallowed up all the revenues they could draw from Rhodes.

THE grand maſter conferring with the council about the diſtreſſed condition of the order, and the difficulties of providing a ſuitable remedy, the council was of opinion, that nothing but a ſuperior authority, ſuch as that of the pope, could correct ſuch great diſorders. They entreated the grand maſter to go to Avignon, where pope Clement reſided; but as they were apprehenſive he might ſtay too long in a court where he had ſpent part of his life, and ſtill remembred, that whilſt he was in favour with ſeveral popes, he had diverted moſt of the reſponſions of France and Spain to his own profit, the council, before he embarked, required him to take a ſolemn oath, that he would pay all the money that he received from the reſponſions of the order into the publick treaſury; and in order to bring him back the ſooner, that he ſhould not, during his abſence, nominate to any dignity of the order, as had been reſolved in the laſt chapter held at Rhodes during the time of his captivity.

JOHN FERDINAND D'HEREDIA.

THE council carried their precautions ſtill farther, and under pretence of providing him an honourable attendance, they ſent with him Bertrand de Flotte grand commander, Buiſſon prior of the church of Rhodes, Eſton de Slegleolts commander of Friburg, and William de Fontenai commander of Eſpaillons, all of them knights truly zealous for the obſervance of the ſtatutes, and who reſolved to maintain them inviolably. But the event ſhewed how needleſs theſe precautions were, and that the grand maſter, after his advancement to that dignity, had no other view in all his actions but the good of his order. 'Twas this motive that engaged him before he ſet out to appoint brother Peter de Culant marſhal of the order to be his lieutenant at Rhodes, a gentleman as much diſtinguiſhed by his illuſtrious birth as by his ſingular valour. The grand maſter, upon his arrival at Avignon, having paid his duty to the pope, and taken the oath of obedience, repreſented to him the deplorable condition the order was reduced to by means of the unhappy ſchiſm that had infected it, and deprived the publick treaſury of the reſponſions of the ſchiſmatical commanders; that even the commanders who continued ſubject to his authority were ſcarce more exact in their duty to the order, and were ſtill making uſe of one excuſe or other to keep from paying that juſt and neceſſary tribute, and that they were afraid of preſſing them on this article for fear leſt the ſpirit of avarice, that poſſeſſed them, ſhould make them fancy it no diſhonour, whilſt the ſchiſm ſtill kept up its head, to change ſides under pretence of chuſing the right one. Clement entered into his views, and agreed, that in ſuch a juncture there was no dealing with them, nor means of reclaiming them but by gentle methods: for which purpoſe, the pontiff, by his authority, called ſeveral chapters one after another at Valence and Avignon, and in the caſtellany of Empoſta for Spain.

THE grand maſter preſided in all theſe aſſemblies, and laboured ſtill more effectually by his example than he could by his diſcourſes, to revive a ſpirit of union and charity in his knights. Several ſeemed really concerned; ſome engaged to go away immediately for Rhodes; others offered to pay the arrears of their reſponſions. But as theſe ſupplies were neither preſent nor conſiderable enough, by reaſon of the ſchiſm in the order, and that Rhodes and Smyrna were equally threatned with a ſiege by Bajazet I. ſultan of the Turks, the grand maſter generouſly ſacrificed part of his great eſtate to the ſuccour of the order, and ſent at different times ſhips loaden with arms and proviſions to Rhodes and Smyrna, taking care in the ſame manner to remit conſiderable ſums thither for paying the ſoldiers in their ſervice.

'TWAS from the ſame ſpirit of piety, and perhaps from a motive of penance and reſtitution, that he employed the great fortune he had acquired before his being raiſed to the grand maſterſhip, in founding at Capſa and Rubulo in Arragon a commandry for his knights, and a collegiate church of twelve prieſts for the chaplains of the order, annexing thereto for ever for their ſubſiſtence the manor of Exariel, and a moiety of the revenues of the caſtle of St. Peter.

BROTHER Richard Caracciolo prior of Capua, whom pope Urban VI. by virtue of his own authority, had nominated grand maſter in Heredia's ſtead, deſirous of imitating this liberality of his, founded at his own expence a famous monaſtery of religious ladies of the order in the city of Florence, by the title of the nuns of St. John.

DAME Perrere Viviani was the firſt commandreſs of this convent; and no young lady could be admitted into it till ſhe had firſt produced proofs of her noble deſcent, which were to be examined by the prior of Piſa, under the direction of the grand maſter. Caracciolo enjoyed that title with reſpect to Italy and England during his life; but upon his death Boniface IX. who during the ſchiſm had ſucceeded to Urban VI. foreſeeing that if he ſhould provide him a ſucceſſor, he would never be owned by the ſoundeſt part of the order for their grand maſter to Heredia's prejudice, contented himſelf, as if the grand maſterſhip had been vacant, with diſpoſing only of the title of lieutenant to brother Boniface of Caramandre, his own relation. But excepting Italy and England, as was before obſerved, the whole order adhered inviolably to the grand maſter, whoſe great qualities commanded their reſpect and reverence. This prince died that very year at Avignon, in a very old age, after having governed his order nineteen years and eight months. His body was carried to the church of Capſa, which he himſelf had founded, and became afterwards the head of a bailiwick.

March 1396.

IN his private life he diſtinguiſhed himſelf as much in the quality of a great captain, as in that of a ſkilful courtier; was graſping at wealth and honours, and ſacrificing every thing in order to raiſe his family; and purchaſed in his ſon John Ferdinand d'Heredia's name, the caſtles and lands of Mora and Valbonne, ſeveral other manors, and among the reſt the county of Fuente, which his deſcendants enjoy at this day. But after he arrived at the grand maſterſhip, he became diſintereſted, liberal and magnificent, zealous for the ſupport of diſcipline, and eſpecially for the defence of the rights and privileges of the order, which he had formerly ſo openly violated, in order to aggrandize himſelf. We have ſome excellent laws, or rather wiſe ordinances, inſtituted by him, ſtill preſerved in the book of ſtatutes, which ſhew his zeal and great capacity in government. He had learned from his own faults, of which ambition was the ſource, how to prevent thoſe of his ſucceſſors. From the time that he became grand maſter, he was, as we may ſay, another man; and it were to be wiſhed, either that he had never entred into the order, or that the condition of human nature would have allowed him to have always continued in the government of it.

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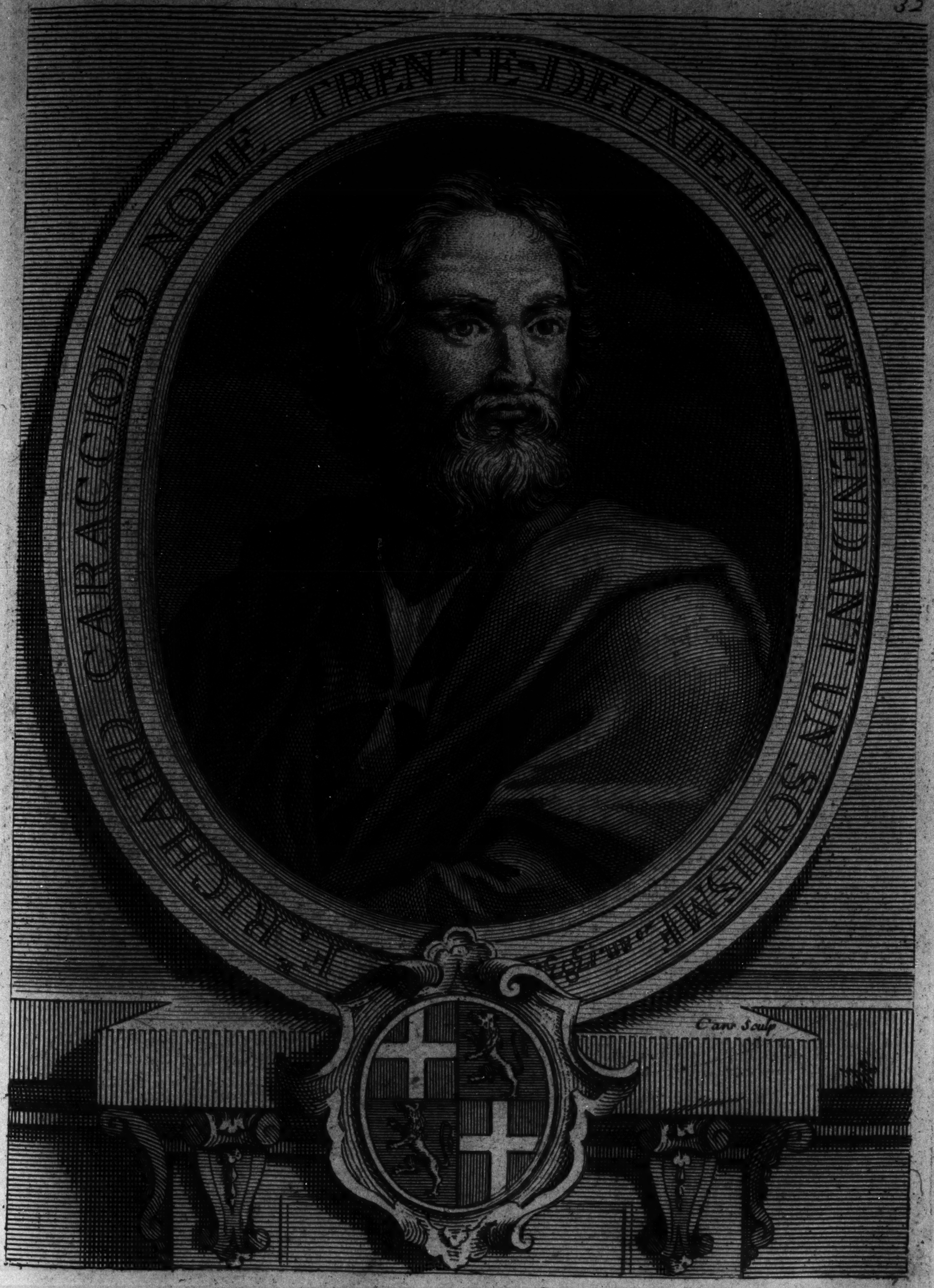
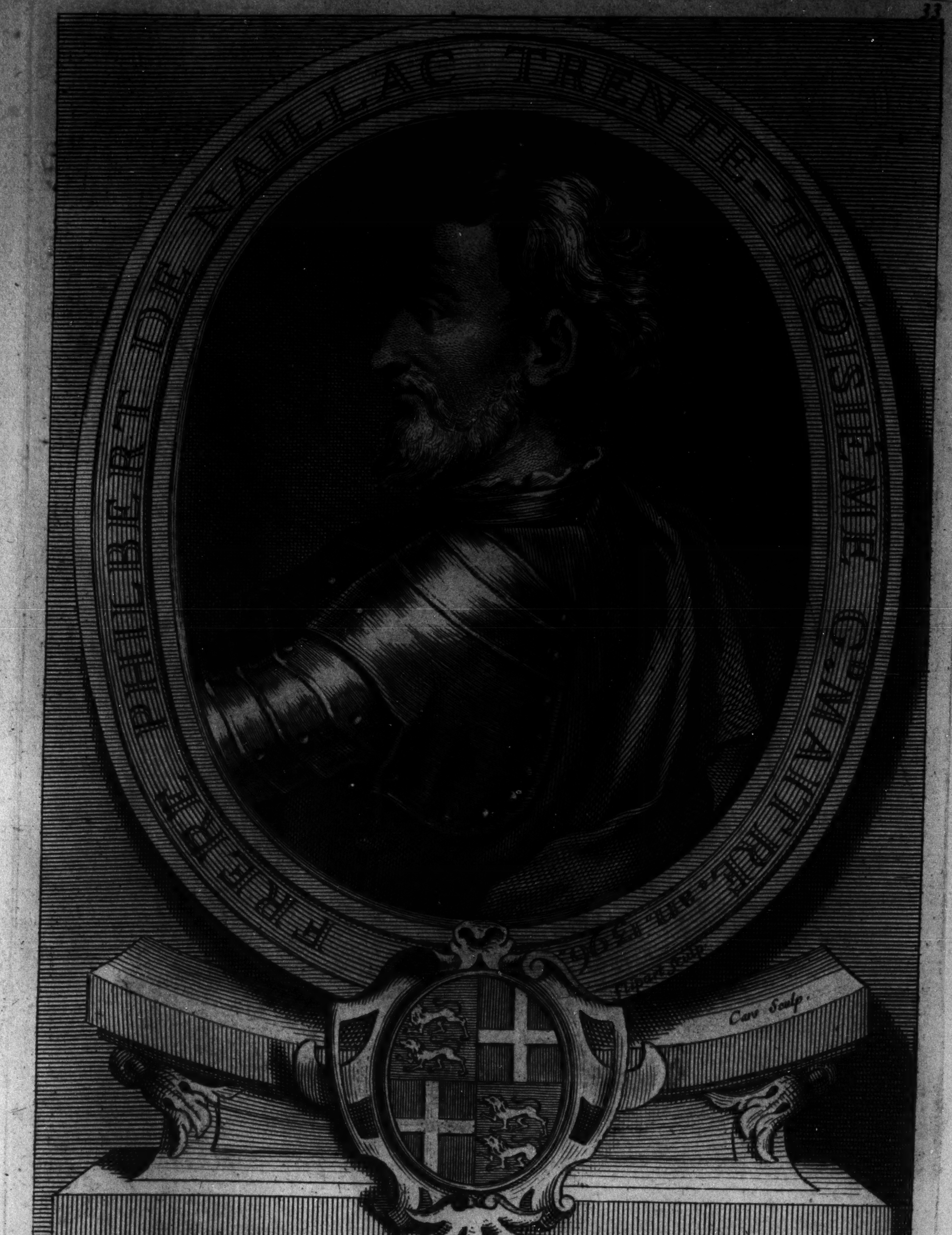

F. RICHARD CARACCIOLO NOMÉ TRENTE-DEUXIEME G.D M.E PENDANT UN SCHISME
Caro Sculp


FRERE PHILBERT DE NAILLAC TRENTE-TROISIEME G.D MAITRE m. 1396
Cars Sculp.

THE HISTORY OF THE Knights Hoſpitallers OF St. JOHN of JERUSALEM,

Called afterwards

The KNIGHTS of RHODES,

And at preſent,

The KNIGHTS of MALTA.

BOOK VI.

Philebert de Naillac. 1397.

WHEN the news of the grand maſter Heredia's death arrived at Rhodes, the knights that were then in the iſland aſſembled in a body to provide him a ſucceſſor. Their choice fell upon brother Philebert de Naillac grand prior of Aquitain, a gentleman equally eſteemed for his wiſdom and valour. The order indeed, during the ſchiſm, which divided it as well as the whole chriſtian church, ſtood in need of a chief of his conſummate prudence; nor was he leſs ſerviceable to it in the wars it was afterwards obliged to maintain againſt moſt of the eaſtern princes.

Abu-Jeſid-Benmorad-Gazi.

Scarce had the new prince of Rhodes taken poſſeſſion of his dignity, when he was ſolicited to enter into a league againſt Bajazet the firſt of the name, and fifth ſultan of the race of the Ottoman Turks, who threatned Hungary with a cruel invaſion. Sigiſmond, of the houſe of Luxemburg, and ſon to the emperor Charles IV. was then upon the throne of that kingdom in right of queen Mary his wife, a prince, whom adverſity and the various diſgraces he had paſſed thro' in his youth had render'd very ſkilful in the arts of government, but he was a much better politician than a general. The ravages which the Turks made almoſt every year on the frontiers of his territories obliged him to make application to the pope for ſuccours. The pontiff for that purpoſe formed a powerful league againſt the infidels, in which he engaged Charles VI. king of France, Philip the Hardy duke of Burgundy, the republick of Venice, and the knights of Rhodes. Manuel emperor of Conſtantinople deſired to be comprehended in it; and ſeveral petty chriſtian princes, as well Latins as Greeks, ſued for the ſame favour, but very little ſuccour came from their ſide; and their names were of no other uſe than to encreaſe the number of ſignatures that were put at the bottom of this famous treaty. Charles VI. alone furniſhed more troops than all the other allies put together. They pretend that there went out of France upon this expedition above a thouſand knights with banners, or chieftains of companies, and more than a thouſand eſquires, who generouſly abandoned their country in a warmth of zeal to ſignalize their courage againſt Bajazet.

1383.

Hiſtoire des Turcs t. 1. p. 45. chez Foppens.

Laon. Chalcondyl. t. 1.

THAT infidel prince was the ſon of Amurath I. whom a ſlave of Lazarus Deſpot, of Servia, ſtabbed in the midſt of his guards, to revenge the death of his maſter, whom the barbarous ſultan had taken in an engagement, and cauſed to be ſtrangled in his preſence. Bajazet, before the news of his father's death became publick, obliged a ſecretary of ſtate to write a letter in his father's name, to prince Giacup his brother, to come immediately to him: The unfortunate prince having no notion of the cruel deſtiny that was to befal him there, came to Adrianople; where Bajazet, to get rid of a rival in the empire, ordered him to be ſtrangled with a bow-ſtring, a fatal inſtrument, which moſt of his ſucceſſors, out of a pretended ſcruple of ſhedding blood ſo precious as that of the Ottoman race, have generally made uſe of to diſpatch the princes of their family.

Philippi Loniceri Turcica. Hiſt. l. 1.

BAJAZET, freed from a competitor, applied himſelf to ſecure the dominions left him by his father, and enlarge 'em by new conqueſts. He was a prince full of fire, of a courage equal to his ambition, warm, bold, and enterprizing; always on horſeback and in the field, thirſting after the blood of his enemies, and prodigal of that of his own ſoldiers: He look'd upon the art of making one's ſelf feared, as the ſureſt rule in politicks. He firſt fell upon Bulgaria, and the ſovereign of the country falling by the fate of war into his hands, he cauſed him to be immediately ſtrangled. He next ravaged Boſnia and Croatia, carrying off more captives than he left inhabitants. Macedonia was not exempted from the fury of his incurſions; and he fell down from thence upon the Morea, reduced part of it, and on the ſide of Conſtantinople forced his way through to the very walls of the city. He would willingly have beſieged it in form, but not having a number of forces ſufficient for ſo great an enterprize, he only blocked up that capital of the Greek empire, with ſeveral detachments of troops, which he poſted in different quarters about it.

HE went to finiſh in Aſia, the campaign he had begun ſo ſucceſsfully in Europe: Paſſing the Helleſpont, he over-ran Cappadocia and Phrygia, with the ſame rapidity, and without diſtinguiſhing the princes of his own, from thoſe of the Chriſtian religion. He attacked Aladin, ſultan of Cilicia, but finding too much reſiſtance on that ſide, he turned his arms againſt ſome petty princes of the Turcomans of the old Selgeucidian race, called Ethein-Sarkhan-Mendez-Teko, and Metin, who were poſſeſſed of different diſtricts of Anatolia, and plundered them of their dominions. Could he but have made himſelf maſter of their perſons, with the ſame facility, he would have given them no better treatment than he did the king of Bulgaria: But thoſe princes knowing his bloody temper, took a ſeaſonable refuge at the court of Tamerlane, the great cham of Tartary, another conqueror, who had reduced Perſia, Meſopotamia, and a great part of Syria.

BAJAZET, after theſe expeditions, left prince Ortogules his ſon, in Aſia, at Burſa, the capital of his dominions, to ſhew his ſubjects at once the authority of his own reign, and the expectation of his ſucceſſors. He returned afterwards into Europe, and fixed his reſidence at Adrianople, from whence he ravaged Attica and Theſſaly, conquered part of Macedonia, defeated the prince of Walachia, and forced him to ſubmit to pay him tribute. The rapidity of his incurſions allowed no time to oppoſe 'em, which gained him the ſirname of Ilderim, i. e. the thunder or the ſtorm. A ſmall body of his troops, detached from the body of his army, advancing on the ſide of Delphos, Theudelinda, the widow of Don Louis Davalos, whoſe predeceſſors had ſeized on that little ſtate, fearing to be beſieged by that conqueror, went out to viſit him at a diſtance, and in his camp made him magnificent preſents, and preſented him her daughter, who paſſed for one of the greateſt beauties of the eaſt. The charms of the young princeſs diſarmed Bajazet, who valued this conqueſt more than he did that of Delphos. He left Theudelinda miſtreſs of it, and brought away her daughter with him in exchange. At the end of the campaign he ravaged the frontiers of Hungary, deſtroying all before him with fire and ſword. They ſay, that as he retired, he ſent back ſome priſoners to Sigiſmond, charging them to tell that prince, by way of an inſulting threat, that he would return the next ſpring to viſit him, and when he had drove him out of his dominions, would paſs into Italy, as far as Rome; would plant his ſtandards on the top of the capitol, and feed his horſe with oats upon the very altar of St. Peter.

1394.

THE pope alarmed with theſe threats, publiſhed a ſort of cruſade againſt that infidel prince, which was the occaſion of the league abovementioned. The Greek emperor, the Venetians, and the knights of Rhodes, put a ſtrong fleet to ſea under the command of the noble Thomas Mocenigo, who lay off the mouth of the Danube all the campaign, whilſt the king of Hungary made all the nobility and gentry of his country, as well as militia of the nation, take the field. France alone, as we have already obſerved, furniſhed more regular troops than all the other allies together; and when they were ready to march, the king gave the command of that body to John count of Nevers, eldeſt ſon to the duke of Burgundy. Philip d'Artois, a lord of the blood, as the ſtile was at that time, and conſtable of the kingdom, went with that young prince; and there were in the ſame army the count de la Marche, Henry and Philip de Bar, all three related to the king; John de Vienne admiral of France, the marſhal de Boucicault, the ſire de Coucy, one of the moſt conſiderable lords of the kingdom, and yet more diſtinguiſhed by his admirable valour than his riches; Guy de la Tremouille, the ſeigniors of Roye, St. Paul, Montorel and Sampi, and in a manner all the moſt illuſtrious youth of France, who were inflamed with an eager deſire of coming to an engagement with the infidels.

L'Hiſt. Anon. de S. Denis l. 16. c. 2.

1397.

THIS French cruſade marched thro' Germany, and as they paſſed thro' Bavaria and Auſtria were joined by brother Frederic count of Zollern, grand prior of Germany, at the head of the knights of his nation. All theſe troops came into Hungary about the ſame time that the grand maſter arrived there from Rhodes, followed by the principal commanders, and a great number of knights of his order. Sigiſmond, who knew their valour, declared that he would fight at their head, lodged them in his own quarter, and kept the grand maſter near his perſon.

BAJAZET was at this time in Anatolia, tho' others ſay he was encamped near Conſtantinople, his troops continuing the blockade of that place; and tho' he was informed of the mighty ſuccours arrived in Hungary, yet he made no motion at all; whether he confided in the valour of the governors whom he had put in the principal places of his frontiers, or would allow time for the impetuoſity of the French to cool, or perhaps flattered himſelf, that jealouſy and diſſentions would not fail to break out ſoon in ſo vaſt a body as the chriſtian army, compoſed of different nations; and that the change of air and diet, and the difficulty of getting proviſions might occaſion ſickneſs in the camp; in fine, whatever were his motives, he like a wiſe prince reſolved at firſt to try what time would produce in his favour. The only precaution he took was to keep the Chriſtians from knowing any thing of his march, and whether he was ſtill in Europe or Aſia. The allies having no news of him paſſed the Danube, entred Bulgaria, took ſome little places, and on a particular occaſion a party conſiſting only of French, and commanded by the ſire de Coucy, cut to pieces the troops which the ſultan had left in the country, who had advanced to diſturb the Chriſtians in their forraging. This trifling advantage, the number and valour of the chriſtian troops, the facility they had afterwards in ſending out the parties on all ſides, puff'd up the ſoldiery with preſumption; the very generals were infected with that dangerous poiſon of a too favourable fortune, and Bajazet was not talked of but with contempt.

Bonfin. rer. Hung. Dec. 3. l. 2. p. 379.

THEY ſaid that he was lurking in the farther part of Aſia: the marſhal de Boucicault maintained in council that he durſt not paſs the Helleſpont; and an Hungarian hiſtorian relates, that Sigiſmond ſeeing himſelf at the head of an hundred thouſand men, of which ſixty thouſand were horſe, moſt of them men of arms, bragged that he would not only drive the Turks out of Europe, but that if the sky ſhould fall, his ſoldiers were numerous enough to bear it up with the points of their lances.

THIS confidence, raſh in it ſelf, and ever dangerous in the event, made him undertake the ſiege of Nicopolis, a ſtrong place, defended by a numerous garriſon, commanded by Dogamberg, one of Bajazet's principal captains. This Turkiſh officer ſoon made the Chriſtians ſenſible by his frequent ſallies, that it was much eaſier to ravage the open country, than to take a place, the government of which had been put into his hands; there were freſh combats every day, and the Chriſtians did not gain an inch of ground but what coſt them the lives of their braveſt ſoldiers. This vigorous reſiſtance weakened the army of the allies conſiderably, whilſt luxury and debauchery, two enemies yet more dangerous than the Turks, infected all the camp, which by the young gentry was made a place of publick proſtitution. It looked as if they thought the pious motive of their expedition was a ſufficient diſpenſation to authorize their violating with impunity the moſt eſſential obligations of Chriſtianity. The French eſpecially paſſed whole days with common proſtitutes, and in pleaſures as ſcandalous as they were eaſy to be obtained. The ſoldiery by their example drowned themſelves, as it were, in wine, and their drunkenneſs could not even be moderated by their indigence; they paſs'd away every moment like ſo many bacchanals, which ſcandalized even the very Turks, as well as the Chriſtians that inhabited the country. This looſneſs in military diſcipline, and the little care taken by the commanders to ſend out

Hiſt. Anon. de S. Denis l. 16. c. 10.

parties for intelligence, allowed Bajazet time to advance with great ſecrecy to the ſuccour of the place beſieged; he was but a day's march off when the Chriſtians believed him ſtill in Anatolia. Some ſoldiers that had ſtraggled out for pillage were the firſt that brought the account that the ſultan was within ſix leagues of the camp; they were eager to carry the firſt intelligence of it to the generals. Marſhal de Boucicault ſtill ridiculouſly poſſeſſed with his firſt notion, and that the Turk durſt not venture a battle, rejected the advice brought with great contempt, and turning to thoſe marauders, "You raſcals, ſays he, you ſhall dearly repent putting the "camp in alarm with your falſe news." He went ſo far as to threaten cutting off their ears: but he was ſoon undeceived of his fatal prepoſſeſſion; and they ſaw the van of the enemies army appear, advancing in good order, and drawing up in battle array in the plain.

Hiſt. Anon. l. 16. c. 11.

To this exceſs of confidence, ſucceeded ſurpriſe, tumult and confuſion in the chriſtian camp. The count of Nevers, who did not think that the Turks could with their javelins and ſcymitars reſiſt the lances and ſwords of the French, made his cavalry mount on horſeback. He pretended to have the poſt of honour in the field of battle, and inſiſted on making the firſt charge upon the infidels; but the king of Hungary repreſented to him that that great multitude of Turks which covered the neighbouring plains, were only militia and peaſants, ſorrily armed, that had been brought out of Aſia in chains, and dragged to the war by force; and that it was the general cuſtom of the infidels to put a great body of theſe fellows before them, and expoſe them to the firſt fury of their enemies only to fatigue them, that afterwards they might, with the freſh and regular troops which they had in reſerve, make their advantage of the diſorder and motions that would inevitably happen in the beginning of an engagement; that the Hungarians, in imitation of their practice, uſually oppoſed this ſort of enemies with militia of a like nature, of whom they made as little account; that he earneſtly beſought him to permit this infantry to ſtand the firſt ſhock of the infidels; that his cavalry might afterwards with their lances open and pierce thro' the thickeſt battalions of the Janizaries; that he would ſuſtain his attack with the grand maſter at the head of his knights and the gentry of his own kingdom; and that after all, he deſired him to remember that the honour and glory of a battle did not ſo much conſiſt in the firſt onſet, as in the laſt attack, which put an end to the engagement, and decided the victory.

Id. ibid. c. 11.

The count of Nevers aſſembling his council to give an anſwer to this repreſentation, addreſſed himſelf firſt to the ſire de Coucy, whoſe advice the duke of Burgundy his father had at parting recommended to him to follow. That lord, conſidering the experience which they had in Hungary of the manner in which the Turks drew up their troops in battle, approved the order and diſpoſition propoſed by the king of Hungary, and ſupported his opinion by ſaying, that it would be impoſſible for the militia of that kingdom to give back when ſuſtained by the French cavalry. The admiral John de Vienne, an old captain, was of the ſame opinion; but the conſtable and marſhal de Boucicault being piqued that the prince had addreſſed himſelf to the ſire de Coucy before he asked their ſentiments, declared that it would be ſcandalous for the French nation to march after the Hungarian foot; and that they were not come ſo far to let themſelves be preceded by a croud of ſorry peaſants and militia more uſed to run away than to ſtand their ground. All the young men, inveigled by this diſcourſe, and hurried away by a miſtaken emulation of glory, brought over the count of Nevers by their clamours into the ſame ſentiment. The prince therefore notified to the king of Hungary, that the French could not yield the poſt of honour in battle to any nation. He ordered his cavalry immediately to mount on horſeback, but before they drew their ſwords againſt the enemy, theſe violent and hot-headed young men put them to an uſe that was unworthy of the name of Chriſtians as well as of Frenchmen. Theſe knights, under pretence that the priſoners which they had taken in ſeveral occaſions might embarraſs them in the action, maſſacred them all in cold blood, without any regard to the faith and promiſe they had given them of ſaving their lives, upon paying the ranſom agreed on between them.

THEY afterwards gave the ſignal of battle; the French going on to charge found themſelves ſtopped at firſt by a paliſado, and ſeveral rows of piles ſharpened at the end, which embarraſſed the cavalry, and hindered them from marching cloſe together and in good order. There was a neceſſity of diſmounting to force and remove this obſtacle, which when they had done the men of arms mounted again on horſeback and fell upon the Turkiſh infantry poſted over againſt them; meeting firſt in their way that great body of militia which made very little reſiſtance, as the king of Hungary had foretold; thoſe peaſants, who did not merit the name of ſoldiers, ſuffered themſelves to be cut to pieces, or ſought their ſafety by flight. The Janizaries or Turkiſh infantry, compoſed of regular troops, ſhewed more courage and reſolution. They fought with a valour no way inferior to that of the French: the fight was long and obſtinate; at laſt the French lances open a way into the thickeſt battalions of the enemies; the Turks keep their ground no longer; every thing that appears to make head is puſhed back, beaten down, and hemmed round; terror ſeizes every quarter, and ſafety is to be found no where, and thoſe formidable Janizaries, after loſing above ten thouſand men, were forced to retire behind a great body of cavalry that advanced to their ſuccour. Id. ibid c. 12.

THIS was a ſort of a ſecond engagement which the French were forced to come to with the infidels. The Turkiſh cavalry advanced with a large front. The Chriſtians, to prevent being ſurrounded, extended themſelves in a long line, and without keeping their ranks duly, or taking any orders but from their own courage, every man of arms, as if the victory had depended on his ſingle valour, threw himſelf in among the Turks with ſo reſolute a courage that nothing could reſiſt their impetuoſity. The Hungarians, who ſeemed only come to be ſpectators of the battle, and the infidels themſelves could not ceaſe admiring a bravery that ſeemed ſuperior to the ordinary force of nature. Five thouſand Turks fell in this ſecond engagement; and the French would have ended the day victorious, and covered with glory, had not the fire of thoſe young men hurried them on to the purſuit of the remainder of that cavalry, which retired to a neighbouring hill.

IN vain did the chief commanders, and particularly the ſire de Coucy and admiral de Vienne adviſe them to let the infidels fly, or at leaſt to ſuffer themſelves to take breath and form their ſquadrons anew whilſt the Hungarians advanced. All the young gentlemen about the count of Nevers crying out that it was cowardly to let their enemies eſcape, they puſhed on immediately, and without keeping any order, or letting their horſes take breath, galloped away to a great diſtance from the body of the army, and mounted the riſing ground, where they thought to have found the broken remains of the Turkiſh army.

Id. ibid. c. 12. BUT what was their ſurpriſe, when in their ſtead they diſcovered a new army compoſed of forty thouſand horſe, the flower of Bajazet's troops?

The ſultan was poſted in the middle of that grove of lances, as in a citadel, in order to take his meaſures as events might happen. The ſoldiers ſtart at the ſight, and are daunted; they even ſuſpect their firſt advantages; the certainty of vanquiſhing, which may be called the firſt earneſt of victory, vaniſhes at once, and fear and terror ſoon ſucceed to a raſh confidence. Theſe heroes, who like lions make the Turks tremble before them, ſays the anonymous author of St. Denis, "became more daſtardly "than hares," the whole body breaks, and every one flies for the ſafety of his own life, but Bajazet's cavalry cut off their retreat. The greateſt part of the French were cut in pieces, and no leſs than three thouſand of them taken priſoners, among which were the count of Nevers, the count de la Marche, the prince of Bar, Boucicault the conſtable, and enguerrand de Coucy. The admiral de Vienne ſeeing all loſt, made a motion to ſave himſelf, when immediately calling to mind what he owed to his glory, and turning about to ten or a dozen horſemen that ſtuck to him. "God "forbid, my companions, ſays he to them, that we ſhould ſully our re"putation for the ſaving a poor remainder of life; we muſt try fate by a "noble defence, or die here in the bed of honour." His words were ſcarce ſpoke when he charged the infidels, pierced ſeveral times into their ſquadrons, and after firſt ſeeing his companions fall oppreſs'd with the number of their enemies, he himſelf covered over with wounds, expired on the very ſpot where he was fighting. Id. ibid. c. 12.

THE Turks having broke this great body of French, marched with all the confidence that the beginning of a victory inſpires, ſtraight againſt the Hungarians, who were encamped along the banks of the Danube. Their infantry, which was only compoſed of militia, as we have obſerved, terrified at the defeat of their allies, did not wait the coming up of the enemy, but broke and fell back upon their own cavalry, filling all with terror and confuſion; ſo that it was a general rout rather than an engagement in this occaſion. Such of the gentry of that nation, and the knights of Rhodes that ſurviv'd, rallied about the king and the grand maſter; and tho' they ſaw their ruin was inevitable, by reaſon of the prodigious number of Turks that ſurrounded them, no body diſhonoured himſelf ſo far as to endeavour to ſave his own life by flight; they all ſtood their ground, and fought with a bravery worthy of a better fate; the greateſt part of that gallant gentry, and a great number of the knights died on the ſpot they fought on. The king and the grand maſter would have ſhared the ſame fate, if in the diſorder of ſo general a rout, they had not by chance found a fiſherman's boat by the river ſide; this they got into, and in ſpite of a ſhower of arrows, which thoſe barbarians let fly at them, put off from the ſhore, and letting themſelves drive with the current, got to the mouth of the river, from whence they diſcovered the chriſtian fleet that was riding near it. The king and the grand maſter, overwhelmed with grief, went on board one of the gallies of the order, which carried them ſafe to Rhodes. The king, notwithſtanding the loſs of ſo many knights, was received there, if not with joy, yet at leaſt with all the reſpect due to his birth and dignity. There are other hiſtorians who pretend that he ſtopped on the coaſt of Dalmatia. Bonfin. ib. p. 379.

THE day after the battle, Bajazet ordered his priſoners to be brought and maſſacred in his preſence, by way of repriſal for the Turkiſh priſoners which the Chriſtians, before the battle begun, had ſacrificed to a ſhameful precaution. The ſultan, whoſe avarice ſerved for a counter-poiſe to his cruelty, exempted the count of Nevers and twenty five of the principal nobility out of the general maſſacre, in hopes of having a great ranſom for

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for them; and the money being come from France, when the count de Nevers went to take leave of him, “I do not require thee, ſays Bajazet “to him with an haughty air, to take the moſt ſolemn oath never to fight “againſt me, as I might force thee to do; on the contrary, if thou haſt “any ſenſe of honour, I entreat thee to take the field again as ſoon as “thou canſt, and to aſſemble all the forces of Chriſtendom: thou canſt “not do me a more ſenſible pleaſure, than by furniſhing me with new “occaſions of acquiring glory.

The ſultan, after ſo glorious a victory over the Latin Chriſtians, turned his arms againſt the Greeks, his troops overrunning the Morea, and deſtroying all before them with fire and ſword. He afterwards called in all his detachments, and joining them in one body advanced towards Conſtantinople, and changed the blockade of it into a regular ſiege. The emperor Manuel, terrified at ſeeing ſo formidable an enemy before his walls, begged for ſuccours of all chriſtian princes; but the different wars which then diſtracted Europe did not allow him to expect any immediate relief; and beſides, the loſs of the battle of Nicopolis, and the tears that were ſtill ſtreaming for the death of ſo many noble lords as had periſhed there, had cooled the zeal of the principal nobility and gentry. The Greek emperor therefore ſaw himſelf reduced to have recourſe to Tamerlane the great cham of Tartary. He ſent embaſſadors to him with rich preſents, entreating him to uſe the power of his arms, or at leaſt to interpoſe his good offices in order to put a ſtop to the enterpriſes of an ambitious prince, who, without any diſtinction of religion, was for enſlaving all the ſovereigns that were in the neighbourhood of his dominions.

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Bozio l. 4.

Proof I.

Whilst this great affair was treating at Tamerlane's court, Thomas Paleologus deſpot of the Morea, and brother to the Greek emperor, conſidering that great potentates never aſſiſt little ones gratis, laid no ſtreſs upon that embaſſy: he therefore retired to Rhodes, from whence the king of Hungary was juſt gone to return into his own dominions. The Greek prince was received full as honourably as the king of Hungary in an iſland, which ſerved at that time for a refuge to all chriſtian princes that were perſecuted by the infidels. Paleologus, diffident of his own ſtrength, and perhaps of his own courage, ſold the Morea to the order of St. John, and agreed with the grand maſter and the council to deliver up to them Corinth, Sparta, and the principal towns of that great province: he received the price ſtipulated for them, partly in money, and the reſt in jewels.

The commiſſaries of the order embarked immediately in order to take poſſeſſion of the province; they were received with great joy by the magiſtrates and inhabitants of Corinth, who thought themſelves, under the protection of the knights of Rhodes, ſufficiently ſecured for the future from the incurſions of the Turks.

But the inhabitants of Sparta acted very differently. The biſhop of that city, who followed the Greek ritual, and was conſequently an enemy to the Latins, not queſtioning but the order would, as ſoon as they were maſters of the place, put a Latin biſhop into his epiſcopal ſee, called all the citizens together, and repreſented to them the misfortune they were going to be expoſed to by ſubmitting to the power of the Latins, in ſo warm and moving terms, that all the inhabitants by concert ſent a deputation to the commiſſaries of Rhodes to tell them that they were reſolved not to admit them into their city; and that, if they offered to come near it, they ſhould be treated as enemies; ſo that the commiſſaries not having forces enough to make themſelves be obeyed, reſolved to return back to Rhodes.

THE deſpot being naturally inconſtant, and finding it hard, after he had reigned as a ſovereign, to reconcile himſelf to the condition of a private man, gave back part of the money, went from Rhodes, and returned to Sparta, where he was received with great joy by his ſubjects, who aſſured him that he ſhould find the ſame obedience from them, and the ſame fidelity that he had experienced for ſo many years, provided he would not treat with the Latins, nor admit any of them into the government: So great and ſo implacable was that averſion which the Greek biſhops had inſpired into their people, againſt every body that acknowledged the authority of the Pope; and I don't know whether they would not have ſubmitted to the government of the Turks, rather than to that of any chriſtian prince whatever, in the communion of the church of Rome.

THE order had a great deal of trouble in getting back from the Greek prince the reſt of the money which they had given him. Raimond de l'Eſtoure, prior of Tholouſe, Elias du Foſſé, commander of St. Maxence, and Peter of Beaufremont, the grand hoſpitaller, made ſeveral voyages into the Morea, on that account. At laſt this affair was terminated by brother Louis d' Allemagne, commander of Naples, a knight of an inſinuating temper, and a very able negotiator; and by the treaty made with Paleologus, it was ſtipulated, that the order of St. John ſhould deliver back to him the town of Corinth, and he ſhould give in exchange the county of Soleil, with the barony of Zetonne, beſides 46500 ducats, which he was to pay back of the money he had received at Rhodes, and of which he paid 22000 down.

BAJAZET in the mean time carried on the ſiege of Conſtantinople with vigour, deſigning to make it the capital of his empire, who would at laſt have taken it, had not Tamerlane, the great cham of the oriental Tartars, at the ſollicitation of the Greek embaſſadors, and the entreaties of the petty princes of Anatolia, whom Bajazet had plunder'd of their territories, advanced to put a ſtop to the progreſs of a prince who ſeemed inclined to put no bounds to his ambition and conqueſts. 'Tis very probable, that even the Mogul or Tartar prince engaged in this war, not ſo much out of a principle of compaſſion, rarely to be met with in princes, as out of jealouſy againſt a neighbour who was grown too powerful.

WHATEVER be the motives with which princes uſually ſet off their maniſeſto's, Tamerlane made uſe of none but what were noble and generous, and he ſent an embaſſador to Bajazet, to demand of him the re-eſtabliſhment of the petty princes that had taken refuge at his court, and that he would at the ſame time raiſe his ſiege from before Conſtantinople. The embaſſador preſented him likewiſe in his maſter's name with a magnificent veſt; but as in the eaſt preſents of that ſort are never made but to inferiors, Bajazet, the proudeſt mortal living, rejected it with diſdain. When he mention'd Tamerlane, he treated him as a ſoldier of fortune, and a captain of a band of robbers, and ordered his embaſſador to tell him, from him, that if he was daring enough to enter into his dominions, he knew how to make him repent ſo raſh an enterprize.

Hiſt. de Tamerlan, par M. Petit de Croix.

THERE are ſome authors who pretend that Tamerlane was only the ſon of a ſhepherd, or an herdſman. Some modern hiſtorians, or rather ſome modern tranſlators of old hiſtorians, derive his deſcent from a royal houſe among the Moguls of Zagathay. The Tarikh Montekh pretends that he was deſcended from Ginghizkhan by the woman's ſide; and yet he took upon himſelf at firſt only the title of Emir, i. e. commander; to which, after he had conquered ſome provinces, he only added that of Kurkhan, or the ally of princes; which might incline one to think that he did not at that time look upon himſelf as a prince. But fortune having raiſed him to the dignity of great cham, his extraction grew up in proportion to his power, and he at laſt became too potent not to be deſcended of royal blood.

We are but little better informed of the religion of this prince, than we are of his birth; there are ſome who ſay, he was neither a Jew, a Chriſtian, nor a Mahometan. Ahſneben-Arabſchach ſays, that he adhered to the law of Ginghizkhan, and that his religion had a greater affinity to the Chriſtian, than to the Mahometan; yet it looks as if from a political view he accommodated himſelf, at leaſt as to the outward exerciſe, to the worſhip and religion of the greateſt part of his ſubjects, who were Mahometans; the reſt was indifferent enough to him, and contenting himſelf, as Ginghizkhan did, to adore a firſt being, and one God alone, he very freely left to him the care of his own glory, and the eſtabliſhment of his law.

Whatever was the caſe as to the birth and religion of Tamerlane, the Arabian Alhacen, in the hiſtory or romance of his conqueſts, pretends that this prince or chieftain of the Moguls, at the head of a numerous army, firſt reduced under his empire, falling upon 'em ſucceſſively one after another, all the Tartar princes that poſſeſſed the north of Aſia; that he gained victories over the Muſcovite, and afterwards ſubdued Perſia, Meſopotamia and Syria; that he made the ſultan of Egypt tributary to him; that ſome monarchs of the Indies were obliged to take an oath of fidelity to him; and that China itſelf, or at leaſt the northern part of that vaſt empire, owned him for its ſovereign: So that during the whole courſe of his life, a victory ſerved only to open a freſh occaſion for a new war; and if we may believe Alhacen, the whole world was attentive, and turned its eyes upon his enterprizes, which became, ſays he, the greateſt ſpectacle of the whole univerſe. This famous Tartar had a ſtern look, ſquinting eyes, a lowring countenance, and a terrible and menacing air, that broke out in all his actions.

Such was the greateſt of all the ſucceſſors of Gengiskhan, and the ſecond hero of the ancient Mogul Tartars. But without adopting all the fables publiſhed about him, 'tis certain that he was a great captain, a native of Zagathay, who by his valour raiſed himſelf to a prodigious fortune, and by his activity, courage, and admirable diſcipline, made himſelf the terror of all his neighbours. He was otherwiſe cruel and bloody in his temper, and it was his uſual ſaying, "That a monarch was never ſafe, if the foot "of his throne did not ſwim in blood;" a maxim worthy of a Tartar, and which he never deviated from during the whole courſe of his reign.

Hiſt. de Tamerlan. par M. Petit de Croix.

This barbarous prince, upon receiving Bajazet's anſwer, took the field at the head of 800000 men, that followed him, and were commanded under him by the princes his ſons, and by other princes his tributaries. But the abſolute power which he exerciſed indifferently over both, ſunk them to the level of the meaneſt officers, and all of them were equally ſubmiſſive to the power and majeſty of this dreadful monarch.

No ſooner had he declared war againſt Bajazet, but he attacked Sebaſte or Siuvas, a city of Cappadocia. Ortogule, a young prince, full of fire and courage, had thrown himſelf into the place in order to ſignalize his valour, in hopes of ſtopping the Tartars progreſs, and giving time to the ſultan his father, to advance to his relief: But notwithſtanding the valour of the prince, and all the bravery ſhewn by the garriſon in its defence, nothing could reſiſt the violence of the attacks of Tamerlane. The place was carried by ſtorm; the ſoldiers, and all perſons capable of bearing arms, were put to the ſword, the women and maidens, the children and the old men, were all carried out of the town into a plain, where they were maſſacred, without diſtinction of age or ſex. The city was afterwards razed to the ground, and the Tartar, who never reckoned clemency and generoſity among the virtues, cauſed the ſon of his enemy to be beheaded.

Bajazet, whoſe conſtant proſperity rendered the inſults of fortune more inſupportable to him, abandoned himſelf to a violent grief when he heard the fatal news; he loved his ſon tenderly, and took pleaſure in ſeeing the ſeeds of ambition and glory, which he had inſpired him with, take root and grow up in the heart of the young prince. A death ſo unworthy of his rank and birth threw him into inexpreſſible tranſports of rage: He ſwore the deſtruction of Tamerlane, and hurried away with the violent deſire of a ſpeedy vengeance, without allowing himſelf time to raiſe a ſufficient body of troops to make head againſt ſo mighty an enemy: He raiſed the ſiege of Conſtantinople, paſſed the Boſphorus, and advanced towards Phrygia.

Historians relate a paſſage of him, viz. that as his army was on the march he ſaw a ſhepherd upon a neighbouring hill, who ſecured by his poverty from the rapaciouſneſs of the ſoldiery, was playing quietly upon his pipe: The ſultan ſtopped for ſome moments to hear him, and being full of grief, and perhaps envying the condition of the poor man, "Shepherd, ſays he to him, I beg of thee let the burthen of thy ſong be, for the future, to repeat theſe words, Unhappy Bajazet, thou ſhalt ſee no more thy dear ſon Ortogule, nor thy city of Sebaſte!" After this, he continued his march, and met the Tartars near Angouri, or Ancyra, the capital of Galatia. He had ſcarce above 120000 men in his army, moſt *1399* of them natural Turks, without reckoning an hord of Tartars that inhabited beyond the Euxine and Caſpian ſeas, commanded by Mahmoudkhari, who had inliſted himſelf under Bajazet. As the ſultan had experienced the valour of the Treballians before he had entirely ſubdued them, he drew from them a body of foot, though contrary to their inclinations; and fear and terror, the only bonds of ſlavery, forced them to expoſe their lives to ſupport the dominion of a prince, whom they looked upon as a tyrant over 'em.

The battle was fought at the foot of Mount Stella, and in the very plain where Pompey had formerly beat Mithridates. The ſhock of the two armies was terrible, and the action very bloody: The Treballians diſtinguiſhed themſelves by an extraordinary valour, victory began to declare itſelf in their favour, and they purſued the Tartars whom they had obliged to run away. Bajazet fearing that the heat of the action ſhould carry them too far, ſent them orders to return to their poſt. They obeyed: Tamerlane rallied his troops, put himſelf at their head, and ſhewed them at the ſame time the retreat of the Treballians, repreſenting it to them as a downright flight. He gave orders to prince Saruch his ſon, who commanded a wing of his army, to charge them, which he did, and after a bloody fight forced them in their turn to fly away. The Aſiatick Turks, terrified at their defeat, quitted their ranks without ſtriking a blow; and Bajazet found by experience, that in an engagement there was no making the leaſt motion without danger, before ſo able a general as Tamerlane.

We have obſerved, that Bajazet had a great body of Tartars in his army. Thoſe barbarians, bribed by their own countrymen, deſerted the ſultan's party in the very height of the combat; and their commander, to give the finiſhing ſtroke to his treachery, purſued the Turks in their rout, killed great numbers of them, took Bajazet priſoner, and preſented him to Tamerlane.

THERE are very different accounts of the manner in which the Tartar received him. Some hiſtorians ſay, that he reproached him with his pride, his cruelty, and his preſumption; "Oughteſt thou not to know, ſays he to him, that none but the ſons of the unfortunate dare reſiſt our invincible power?" Other writers pretend, on the contrary, that Tamerlane received him with great civility; that he conducted him into his own tent, entertained him at his table, and to comfort him under his affliction, diſcourſed of nothing but the viciſſitude and inconſtancy of fortune. They add, that he ſent him an hunting equipage, either from a principle of compaſſion, or elſe perhaps from contempt; and that the haughty Tartar felt a pleaſure in letting him know that he thought him fitter to follow a pack of hounds, than be at the head of a great army.

THIS at leaſt was the interpretation that Bajazet himſelf put upon the myſterious preſent of his enemy. That unfortunate prince having no command over his reſentment, and being eaten up with a ſurly melancholy, "Tell Tamerlane, replied he with an air of haughtineſs to the man who came from him with the preſent, "that he has acted very right in inviting me to an exerciſe that hath always been the diverſion of princes, and is much fitter for Bajazet, who derives his birth from the great Amurath, the ſon of Orchanes, than for a ſoldier of fortune, as he is, and a captain of a band of robbers."

TAMERLANE ſoon reſumed his true character, and provoked at ſo outragious an anſwer, gave orders that very moment for putting Bajazet without a ſaddle upon an old horſe that had been uſed to carry the baggage, and expoſe him in that manner through the camp, to the jeſts and raillery of his ſoldiers; which was immediately executed; and at his return they brought the unhappy Bajazet back before his conqueror, who aſked him, with a ſcornful ſneer, and in the moſt cutting terms, if that recreation was not likewiſe one of the pleaſures with which his illuſtrious anceſtors uſed to divert themſelves? To theſe ſharp invectives another outrage ſucceeded that pierced him to the very ſoul.

BAJAZET had married Miliera, or Mary, daughter to Eleazar deſpot of Servia. The Turks called her Ucogli; ſhe was the moſt dear to him, and the beſt beloved of all his wives. Tamerlane, who had taken this princeſs in the town of Burſa, which he had reduced juſt before, cauſed her robe to be cut ſhorter than the knee, and in this condition, in a manner half naked, forced her to wait upon him at table, and fill out his liquor in her huſband's preſence. Bajazet, who had no weapon left him but his tongue, diſtracted with anger and indignation, and perhaps with jealouſy, told him aloud, that ſprung as he was from the dregs of the people, and from parents too obſcure to be known, he ought to be aſhamed of trampling upon royal blood, and of being wanting in the regards due to a princeſs whoſe birth commanded reſpect from him.

THE Tartar only laughed at the impotent rage of his priſoner; he carried him about afterwards in his train loaden with chains; and they even pretend, that he cauſed him to be ſhut up in an iron cage like a wild beaſt. Bajazet could no longer ſupport ſuch a number of outrages; and his misfortune was ſtill greater, becauſe he had always been happy before. Some hiſtorians pretend, that life growing inſupportable to him, he, to put an end to it, knocked out his brains againſt the bars of his cage. Some writers relate, that a ſlave having inſolently thrown him a fiſh-bone, as he would have done to a dog, Bajazet, after having ſharpened it with his teeth, made uſe of it to diſpatch himſelf: others in fine make him die of an apoplexy, as they were conducting him to Samarchand, the capital of Tamerlane's dominions.

As all the deſigns of that prince had ever tended to an imperious ſovereignty, he had no ſooner triumphed over the power and life of Bajazet, but he propoſed to reduce all the other princes of Anatolia. Moſt of them, thoſe eſpecially who had implored his protection againſt Bajazet, were continually making their court to him; but under the name of allies, they were little different from his other ſubjects, and their chains were not leſs heavy for being gilt. There was none but the grand maſter of Rhodes and his knights, who, tho' eternal enemies to the Turks, would not yet crouch under the power of the Tartar; this was the reaſon which obliged him to declare war againſt them. But as he had no fleet to tranſport his army croſs the ſea, and beſides the whole iſland of Rhodes being defended by baſtions, redoubts, towers and bulwarks ſeemed to make but one ſingle fortreſs, and to defy an attack on any ſide, the Tartar choſe rather to fall upon Smyrna, a city inhabited by the knights, rich by its commerce, and having the convenience of a port which might in time ſupply him with ſhips to tranſport his troops into the iſle of Rhodes, and the other iſlands of the Mediterranean and Archipelago, which he was deſirous of conquering.

THE city of Smyrna, as we have already obſerved, is ſituated in that part of Aſia which was peopled by the Greeks, and known antiently by the name of Ionia, tho' ſince called, as it is at this day, Anatolia. The town was built like an amphitheatre on the declivity of an hill that lay to the ſouth-weſt; but from the middle up to the very top of this hill nothing was to be ſeen but ruins; the lower part was always well inhabited. In Tamerlane's time there was a caſtle which guarded and commanded the port. Brother John de Biandra prior of Lombardy, when he took this fort, had put the arms of the church upon it. And tho' Clement VI. who was at the head of the chriſtian league, aſſumed to himſelf the honour of this conqueſt, yet Gregory XI. one of his ſucceſſors, weary of the charge of maintaining a garriſon in it, granted the property of it to the knights of St. John who undertook to defend it.

'TIS eaſy to imagine, from what has been obſerved in the courſe of this hiſtory, what a vaſt expence the maintaining of this place, and the fortifications which they added to it, were to the order. They always kept there a numerous garriſon, commanded by ſome of the knights. The grand maſter ſeeing himſelf on the point of being attacked either by Bajazet or Tamerlane, according as fortune ſhould decide of their fate, ſent brother William de Mine the grand hoſpitaller of the order to command in Smyrna; and he threw into the place at the ſame time a ſupply of ammunition and proviſions, a body of freſh troops to reinforce the garriſon, and a ſum of money for the paying of them.

TAMERLANE, who knew that Smyrna was ſtill better fortified by the number and valour of its defendants, than by its fortifications and height of its walls, in order to prevent the dangers and length of a ſiege that might prove a very bloody one, made no other demand but what he thought neceſſary for his glory, inſiſting only as a point of honour, that the knight, who commanded in the place, ſhould ſuffer him to plant his ſtandard upon the towers: but the governor rejecting this propoſition with indignation, there was no remedy left but the fortune of war muſt decide of that of the place. * Tamerlane incenſed at the refuſal cauſed it to be inveſted; his troops began their attack by filling up the ditches with earth, hurdles and faſcines, whilſt their archers were plying thoſe that defended the walls with ſhowers of arrows. The knights made frequent ſallies to hinder their works from advancing; there was every day ſome ſkirmiſh or other in which thoſe ſoldiers of Jeſus Chriſt ſtrove with emulation to ſignalize their valour againſt the infidels.

THE next thing Tamerlane had recourſe to was that of undermining the walls; but the Chriſtians throwing down great pieces of rock, large ſtones and beams of timber cruſhed the moſt daring in pieces, and hindered the reſt from coming near the foot of the walls. The Tartar provoked at ſo brave a reſiſtance, and greater deſigns calling for his preſence in other places, he reſolved, in order to take the place with a greater expedition, to attempt a ſcalado. With this view he cauſed a prodigious number of wooden towers to be built: they were a ſort of walking machines, which the beſiegers puſhed upon wheels and brought very near the walls. Chalcondilas, ſpeaking of this ſiege, ſays, that Tamerlane put two hundred men in every one of theſe towers, which had ladders within them, and a ſort of ſtair-caſes to go up to the different floors. The loweſt floor was generally deſigned for the workmen who conducted the machine, or for the ſoldiers who worked to undermine the wall; the middle floor was to be on a level with the top of the wall, and contained a bridge which was to be thrown down upon the wall it ſelf for the beſiegers to paſs upon it and force their way into the place: in fine, upon the higheſt floor they placed their archers, who having the advantage of the higher poſt, infeſted and drove off with their arrows ſuch as offered to defend the place.

CHEREFEDDIN ALI a native of Yedz, a cotemporary author, tranſlated out of the Perſian tongue into the French by the late M. Petit de la Croix junior, has left us a relation of the ſiege of Smyrna; and tho' that author does not expreſly name the knights of Rhodes, yet it is very eaſy to diſtinguiſh them in the deſcription that he gives of the defenders of the place; and I fancy it will not be diſagreeable to the reader to copy that paſſage of his hiſtory. The Perſian hiſtorian who died in 1456 expreſſes himſelf on this ſubject, in theſe, or ſuch like terms.

“ TIMUR was informed that there was upon the ſea coaſt a place ex-
“ ceeding ſtrong, built of hewn ſtone, ſurrounded by the ſea on three
“ ſides, and on that of the land by a deep ditch, all built with lime, and
“ cemented from the top to the bottom; that there was a great number
“ of Europeans within it, and that it was called Iſmir or Smyrna; that the
“ Greeks looked upon it as an holy place; and perſons reſorted thither
“ from remote countries in pilgrimage with great devotion, who there of-
“ fered up their vows, and brought their alms; that there was near it
“ about the diſtance of an horſe's courſe, another fortreſs upon the ridge
“ of a mountain, called alſo Iſmir, but poſſeſſed by Muſulmen, who were
“ continually at war with thoſe of the other place on account of their
“ difference in religion; and as the Smyrna of the Chriſtians was ſur-

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* Hic etiam Tamerlanus Smyrnam tunc fortiſſimum caſtrum in Græcia, vicinum Turcorum dominio, quod erat hoſpitalis ſancti Joannis Hieroſolymitani etiam eâ tempeſtate, vi deſtruendo ſolo æquavit. Tamen quidam Cathalanus qui pro eodem hoſpitali erat capitaneus, ſi vexillum dicti Tamerlani ſuper illo collocare voluiſſet, rogatu cujuſdam epiſcopi chriſtiani, Tamerlanus illud nullatenùs deſtruxiſſet: ſed quia dictus Cathalanus illud cum faſtu, ſeu alias recuſaret facere, dictus Tamerlanus hoc ægrè ferens, & vim viribus accumulans, tandem dictum caſtrum cepit & deſtruxit totaliter; adeo quòd etiam, ut ipſimet fratres dicti hoſpitalis aiunt, cum centum millibus florenorum auri in ſtatum priſtinum reduci non poſſet. Theodorici à Niem de Schiſmate. Liv. 2. cap. 30.

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“ rounded by the ſea on three ſides, they were relieved from Europe by “ ſea, and had proviſions, cloaths, arms, and all other neceſſaries brought “ them that way. And as this place was ſeated in the fartheſt part of “ the frontiers of Aſia, and the country of the Muſulmen, the Greeks “ carried on from thence a cruel war and defended the place, as being “ of the utmoſt conſequence to them; that it had never been taken by “ any Muſulman prince, nor ever paid tribute to any body; that Amurath “ the father of Bajazet had taken the field ſeveral times at the head of a “ mighty army without being able to carry his point, and that Bajazet “ himſelf had kept it beſieged for ſeven years together without making “ any progreſs in it; that this place infeſted the Muſulmen exceedingly, “ and nothing was to be ſeen but ſlaughter and ſtreams of blood flowing “ continually into the ſea like torrents.

“ When Timur was informed of the ſtate of Smyrna, his zeal for re- “ ligion perſuaded him that it was his duty to deliver the Muſulmen from “ trouble by entirely deſtroying their enemies. He detached thither the “ mirza Pirmehemet Gmarchoicz, the emir check Nouredden and others, “ with orders firſt to ſummon them by an embaſſador to embrace the “ Muſulman religion; for ſuch is Mahomet’s order, that if they ſhould be “ happy enough to do ſo, his pleaſure was that they ſhould be kindly “ treated, and that they ſhould give him notice of it, in order that he “ might beſtow his favours upon them; that if their obſtinacy ſhould “ ſoften, and whilſt they deſired to continue Chriſtians would ſubmit to “ pay tribute, they ſhould regulate the ſum with them and receive it; but “ if unhappily for them they ſhould dare to ſtand upon their defence, they “ ſhould put them all to the ſword.

“ The mirza and the emirs obeyed immediately, and coming before “ Smyrna, ſent an embaſſador to invite the inhabitants to turn Muſulmen, “ uſing threats as well as promiſes for that purpoſe; but as they were pre- “ deſtinated to deſtruction, both were uſeleſs; and Mahmouy the go- “ vernor of the place had ſent to demand ſuccour of all the princes of “ Europe, ſo that he had got together a great number of the braveſt chri- “ ſtian captains, or rather a company of mad devils who erected maga- “ zines there, and ſupplied it with ammunition and proviſions.

“ Our generals gave advice thereof to the court, and Timur, upon the “ news, reſolved to go thither in perſon. He left his baggage at the foot “ of the mountain of Tire; and tho’ it was winter, and the weather ex- “ ceeding rainy, he would needs mount on horſeback, that the merit of “ this religious war might be aſcribed to him, and march on that ſide. “ He arrived there on Saturday the ſixth of Jumazyulevel An. 805. at the “ head of his army, and ſent orders to the mirza Mehemet ſultan, who “ was in winter quarters at Magniſcah, to advance and poſt himſelf before “ Smyrna. The like orders were ſent to Meraſmiren-Chuh and Bonléen, “ as alſo to the emir Gehan-chah and others. At Timur’s arrival before “ the place, they beat all their drums and kettle drums, and the whole “ army ſet up a great ſhout. The place was immediately attacked on “ the land ſide, and every general carried on the ſap over againſt his poſt, “ and prepared engines and battering rams for the aſſault. They ſhot “ arrows and threw pots of wildfire upon the gates of the caſtle: the “ emir Chamelec cauſed likewiſe great ſcaffolds with three feet to be “ erected in the middle of the water near one another, over which they “ threw great planks, and from the two ſides of the caſtle to the place “ where the feet of the ſcaffolding touched upon the land, they made a “ plain even way, and ſo firm, that the ſoldiers might boldly ſtand and walk on them without fearing their breaking down, and fight there as well as if they had been upon land. This being finiſhed, the Muſulmen took their bucklers, and got up on the ſcaffolds, aſſaulting the caſtle from thence; and the way being thus ſhut up on the ſide of the ſea, it was impoſſible for any body whatever to ſuccour the beſieged.

“In the mean time the mirzas, Mehemmed ſultan, and Miranchah arrived, having left their baggage at Magni-ſiah, under the care of the emir Chamſeddin-Abbas: this reinforcement was of great ſervice in forwarding the ſiege, for Timur gave orders for the general aſſault. The emir of Loumans and colonels of Hézarés with their troops advanced to it, each on the ſide where he was poſted, and the aſſault laſted from morning till evening, and from the evening till morning, the brave men on both ſides performing actions of wonderful vigour. If the attack was obſtinate and reſolute, the defence was equal to it, and no body had time to reſt a moment; the engines and battering rams beat down the walls and towers, and the beſieged ſtill undaunted were continually throwing pots of naphta, wildfire, and ſhowers of ſtones and arrows from engines as well as bows, without the leaſt intermiſſion.

“All this while the rain was ſo exceſſive, that it looked as if the univerſe was going to be overwhelmed with a ſecond deluge; yet notwithſtanding this prodigious ſtorm, the indefatigable Timur was every moment giving orders to his generals, and encouraging his ſoldiers in perſon. After the miners had finiſhed their works, and propped up the baſtions and courtines with ſtones, they filled the mines with faſcines and faggots dipped in naphta and ſet fire to them, upon which the walls were thrown down at once, and ſeveral of the beſieged fell from the top of them and were killed. The Muſulmen forced them ſword in hand to quit the breaches that they defended, and made their way into Smyrna, crying out victory, and praiſing God, to whom they offered the heads of all their enemies by way of thankſgiving for their ſucceſs. Very few of thoſe eſcaped who had thrown themſelves into the ſea and were ſwimming to the ſhips that lay off, a good number of theſe being drowned in the attempt. After they had put the people of Smyrna to the ſword, they demoliſhed the buildings both of the town and caſtle, and threw the materials, the bricks, arms and goods into the ſea.

“Some great ſhips called caracas came from certain parts of Europe; theſe had two maſts at leaſt, and were well provided with ſoldiers and arms on board to ſuccour thoſe of Smyrna. When they drew near the port, and ſaw no marks either of the town or caſtle, they were ſtartled and ſtopped their courſe. Timur gave orders to throw the heads of ſome of the Chriſtians on board theſe ſhips, and the throwers of wildfire having executed his orders, ſeveral heads fell into the very ſhips. The ſeamen knowing the heads of their comrades tacked about and returned in a fright, altogether diſappointed of their expectation.

This is Chereſeddin’s relation of what paſſed at the ſiege of Smyrna. ’Tis plain from thence, that what he ſays of the pilgrimages made by the Chriſtians to that city, whither, he ſays, they brought alms, is to be underſtood of Jeruſalem, which name the knights were called by. The ſuccour which thoſe of Smyrna ſent to get in Europe, from whence they received a number of brave captains, or rather a company of mad devils, all this deſcription repreſents the gallant defence made by the knights.

The author has not forgot the great carrack of the order, and when he treats the knights as ſea-faring men, it is plain that he means thoſe of Rhodes. Yet after all they were unable, as we have ſeen, to reſiſt the efforts of Tamerlane.

THAT barbarian, as his cuſtom was, ſlaughtered all the inhabitants and demoliſhed the place. He acted in this cruel manner, purpoſely to intimidate ſuch as ſhould refuſe to open their gates to him. Whenever he laid ſiege to any town, they always planted the firſt day a white ſtandard upon his tent, to ſhew that he was diſpoſed to uſe clemency to thoſe that ſhould ſurrender immediately. The day following that ſignal was of a red colour, to ſignify that he would have blood, and that the lives of the governor and thoſe principal officers of the garriſon muſt pay for their not ſurrendring on the firſt ſummons. But the third day they planted a black ſtandard, to declare, that whether the place was carried by ſtorm, or made a voluntary ſurrender, every body was to be put to death, and the town entirely deſtroyed. Notwithſtanding all the precautions that his cruelty made him take, ſeveral knights, and a conſiderable number of the ſoldiers made their eſcape, upon the town's being taken, by throwing themſelves into the ſea, and ſwimming to the ſhips that were come to throw ſuccours into the place.

TAMERLANE, whom we may conſider as another Attila, and as a ſcourge of God, after filling Aſia minor with blood, had a deſign to paſs over into Europe, and extend his conqueſts as far as the pillars of Hercules; to croſs afterwards the ſtreights of Gibraltar, and after reducing Africa, to return by the way of Egypt into his own dominions. But as he was making preparations proportionable to ſo vaſt a project, he received advice that a king of India, whoſe name hiſtorians do not mention, had fallen into Perſia, ravaged a great part of that country, and taken Cheri, one of the principal cities of that kingdom, where Tamerlane's treaſure was kept, which now became the prey of this other barbarian.

THE proud Tartar, who fancied himſelf ſuperior to all the monarchs of the world, and perhaps even to fortune, and the condition of human nature it ſelf, fell into a rage at the news. He marched immediately againſt that prince, reſolving to cut him to pieces; but after ſeveral engagements and trials of his forces, finding he had to do with a prince as powerful and as great a captain as himſelf, and feeling himſelf likewiſe advanced in years, he thought proper to make peace with his enemy, which he did, and retire into his own territories to Samarchand, where he died a little while after, which was occaſioned by his having given too great a looſe to wine and women. Other hiſtorians pretend that he died upon the road to China. His ſons divided his empire between them, but ſoon fell into diſſenſions, which gave Bajazet's children an opportunity of recovering their father's dominions. Theſe were four in number, viz. Joſhua, Muſulman or Calapin, Moſes and Mahomet. Theſe four princes reigned ſucceſſively one after another: the three firſt came to a violent end; Mahomet ſurvived the reſt, and ſeveral hiſtorians of that nation, without taking notice of his brothers, rank him as the immediate ſucceſſor to Bajazet.

April 1. 1415.

WHILST theſe civil wars laſted, and theſe infidel princes diſputed the empire in their ſeveral turns, the grand maſter made his advantage of their diviſions; and to provide for the better ſecurity of the iſles belonging to the order, particularly of that of Langos, he formed a project for taking an old caſtle ſituated on the main land twelve miles from that iſland in the gulph of Ceramis, and upon the ruins, as they ſay, of Halicarnaſſus,

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the capital city of Caria, a town famous for the magnificent tomb that queen Artemiſia antiently erected for king Mauſoleus her husband. This place was not leſs illuſtrious in antiquity for the birth of the Greek hiſtorians Herodotus, and Dionyſius ſirnamed Halicarnaſſæus. The grand maſter went himſelf on board his fleet, coaſted along Caria, landed in the gulph, entered into the port with a ſouth-weſt wind, landed his troops, ſurpriſed and attacked a garriſon of Tartars which Tamerlane had left in the place, and made himſelf maſter of it; but finding it weak he reſolved to raiſe another, which he built upon a rock on the point of a peninſula that jutted out into the ſea: he named it the caſtle of St. Peter, and the Turks called it afterwards Bidrou, ſtrengthening it with all the fortifications that art could invent; the walls were very high, and there were port-holes or openings in them at certain diſtances, ſupplied with cannon, which kept the enemies ſhips at a diſtance. The place was ſtill better fortified on the land ſide, and beſides the height and thickneſs of the walls, the entrance of it was defended by bulwarks and baſtions, and 'tis pretended that ſeven gates muſt be paſſed thro' before there was any getting into the body of the place. There was an inſcription over the laſt of them, in theſe words of the pſalmiſt, “ Niſi Dominus ædificaverit civitatem, fruſtra vigilat qui cuſtodit eam, ” to ſignify, that the ſtrongeſt garriſons cannot preſerve a place which is not built in the name and for the glory of the Lord. When the fortreſs was in a condition of defence, the grand maſter made them hollow and enlarge the ditches about it, ſo as to let the ſea water into them, and he always kept a certain number of brigantines, barks and felucca's, which upon the leaſt ſignals, and in concert with the gallies of Lango and Rhodes, blocked up the river of Caria, and hindered the veſſels of the Corſairs from entring it; and the caſtle on the land ſide ſerved as a place of refuge to ſuch chriſtian ſlaves of the neighbouring countries as could find means to eſcape out of the priſons and chains of the infidels.

THE grand maſter's care was not confined to the bare preſervation of the iſles of the order; he equally concerned himſelf in the defence of all the chriſtian ſtates in the Eaſt: he was a ſort of general in ordinary to them. The iſle of Cyprus particularly, which is ſituated near Rhodes, owed its preſervation entirely to the fleets and forces of the knights. But if their valour kept the infidels at a diſtance from it, all the prudence and ſkill of the grand maſter could not guard againſt and prevent the ill effects of the little courage and daſtardly ſpirit of the Cypriots, a nation effeminated by luxury and voluptuouſneſs, which tho' they profeſſed the chriſtian religion, ſtill ſacrificed in reality to the goddeſs of pleaſure, the antient tutelar divinity of the iſland in the times of paganiſm.

PETER of Luſignan was reigning in the iſland at that time. Some important affairs calling him to Italy, he, before his ſetting out, left the government of his kingdom to the count of Rohas or Rohais; ſo they then called the county of Edeſſa, of which however he was only the titular lord, ſince the conqueſt made of it by the infidels. The regent, in the king's abſence, debauched the queen, as they pretend, and in concert with her, took meaſures to deprive him of his crown: 'twas almoſt impoſſible for them to have carried their iniquity higher. The king having advice of their ill deſigns by an expreſs ſecretly diſpatched to him by a lord whoſe name was Viſconti, returned home immediately, cauſed the traitor to be ſeized, and delivered him into the hands of juſtice to be puniſhed according to the rigour of the law. But as the laws in that effeminate nation had ſcarce any vigour at all, the judges being corrupted by the queen's credit and her adulterer's preſents, pronounced him innocent, and Viſconti was condemned as a ſlanderer to perpetual baniſhment. The king enraged at a ſentence that diſhonoured him, changed from a wiſe and moderate prince to be a furious and cruel tyrant; and in order to revenge himſelf, fell upon all his ſubjects without diſtinction. He loaded them with irons, confiſcated their goods, raviſhed the honour of their wives and daughters, and even abandoned them to the miniſters of his tyranny upon the ſlighteſt pretences; and the leaſt ſuſpicion of rebellion was the ſame thing as if the criminal had been found guilty, who was immediately hurried away to puniſhment.

THE common priſons not being ſufficient to hold the great number of unhappy wretches whom he cauſed to be ſeized every day, he ordered a new one to be built in the middle of the publick ſquare; and from the moſt refined vengeance, forced even perſons of quality of both ſexes to work at it and aſſiſt the maſons. In this number of perſons born for ſlavery, there happened to be a woman of ſpirit, who tried to engage them to throw off ſo deteſtable a yoke. To gain her point, ſhe, who was a gentlewoman born, and of one of the beſt families in the iſland, under pretence of walking with greater eaſe under the burdens ſhe was forced to carry, tucked up her petticoats and ſhift above her knees, and continued ſo till the king, who came regularly every day to ſee his workmen, appeared with all his court about him: as ſoon as ſhe ſaw him ſhe let down her petticoats, but when he was gone by ſhe tucked them up again. Some perſons, ſcandalized at this breach of modeſty, demanding of her why ſhe veiled her nakedneſs before the king only, "Becauſe, ſays "ſhe, women are not ſo ſcrupulous before one another on that head; and "as to you, there is not any one among you that ſeems to have any thing "of the man in him but the king." This reproach raiſed a violent indignation in the Cypriots: they were aſhamed of their own weakneſs and cowardice, and fell immediately upon the king and ſlew him. They gave the crown to Petrin or Peter II. his ſon, a young child, who was ſtill under the direction of a governor, and put the regency of the kingdom into the hands of James de Luſignan, a prince of the blood, and the child's uncle.

Hiſt. de l'iſle de Cypre par Ant. Maria Gratiani.

THIS prince, at his acceſſion to the government of the kingdom; or as others ſay at the young king's coronation, made a noble feaſt: a great number of Venetian and Genoeſe noblemen were at this royal entertainment. Theſe ſtrangers diſputed for precedence, but by the regent's credit, it was decided that day in favour of the Venetians. The Genoeſe, in order to revenge themſelves, reſolved to carry it by force, and agreed together to come the next day to the palace with arms concealed under their cloaks. The regent having notice of their plot, ordered eight noble Genoeſe, who were walking in the hall of the palace, to be thrown out of the windows: and to make the caſe ſtill more odious, they pretend, that theſe noblemen were entirely ignorant of the deſign of their countrymen.

THIS news being carried to Genoa, the ſenate, to revenge the barbarous outrage, ſent a ſtrong fleet to Cyprus, with fourteen thouſand land forces on board, under the command of Peter Fregoſe. The Genoeſe ravaged the iſland, beſieged and took Famaguſta, and ſeized upon the regent, who was carried ignominiouſly with the princeſs his wife to Genoa and ſhut up in priſon. He continued there till the young king his nephew's death, who leaving no iſſue he became his heir. The Genoeſe in this juncture ſet him at liberty, but ſold it him very dear; and before they ſuffered him to embark, in order to return to his dominions, they obliged him to make them a ceſſion of the city of Famaguſta, to be enjoyed by them in abſolute ſovereignty, and to ſubmit to pay them an annual tribute of ten thouſand ducats.

JAMES, to gain his liberty and crown, ſigned the treaty, reſolving to give it one day ſuch an explanation as ſhould be ſuitable to his intereſt. The ſituation of his affairs did not allow him during his life to get rid of this vaſſalage. Janus his ſon, ſo called becauſe he was born at Genoa, being brought up from his cradle in an hereditary hatred againſt the Genoeſe, attempted to ſurpriſe the city of Famaguſta; which occaſioned a war between that prince and the Genoeſe. Thoſe republicans had for a long time been torn to pieces by the terrible diſſenſions that broke out between the body of the nobility and the people, and had a little before given up themſelves to Charles VI. king of France, who had put John le Meingre, called marſhal de Boucicault, to command in Genoa as governor or viceroy. That lord, to oppoſe the deſigns of the king of Cyprus, ordered a fleet to be fitted out immediately, reſolving to command it in perſon; and till this armament might be in a condition to ſet ſail, he diſpatched away Anthony Grimaldi, knight of the order of St. John of Jeruſalem, with three gallies and ſome land forces, which entered the port of Famaguſta, without the leaſt oppoſition.

BOUCICAULT, having equipped ſeven great veſſels and nine gallies, ſet ſail for the Levant; he landed firſt in the iſle of Rhodes, and was received by the grand maſter and the knights with all the honours due to his perſonal merit, and to the dignity of the prince he repreſented. The grand maſter lodged him in his own palace, and entertained him ſeveral times in a caſtle or banqueting-houſe ſeated on a riſing ground near the city. In the diſcourſes that paſſed between theſe two great men in private, the grand maſter repreſented to the marſhal, that whatever pleaſure he had to ſee him in the iſle of Rhodes, he could not help being ſenſibly concerned at the occaſion that brought him thither with an army; that the iſland of Cyprus lying in the neighbourhood of Paleſtine and Egypt, had always hitherto been a convenient place for all the European fleets to put in at; that it was the ſtrongeſt bulwark the Chriſtians had then left in the Eaſt; that he was going with his army to bring upon it all the calamities that are inſeparable from war; that he was even going to aſſiſt the Saracens, and facilitate their conqueſt of the iſland; and then conjured him to ſuffer him to go over into Cyprus, being in hopes that God would bleſs his voyage and intentions; and he might perhaps be happy enough to reſtore peace and amity between the two nations.

BOUCICAULT replied, that conqueſt was not ſo much his buſineſs as the preſerving the rights of a republick that had put it ſelf under the protection of the king his maſter; that the king of Cyprus might have peace if he pleaſed, and would give over his enterpriſe on Famaguſta; and that as for himſelf he had much rather turn his arms againſt the infidels, than employ them againſt a chriſtian king, eſpecially againſt a prince whoſe illuſtrious houſe derived its original from France.

THE grand maſter having got ſo favourable an anſwer, ordered the admiral galley to be fitted out, and taking two others with him for a convoy, ſet ſail for Cyprus. The marſhal not caring to remain idle during the grand maſter's voyage, went on board his fleet, thinking to ravage the country about Alexandretta, a city of Syria then called Leſcandelours or Scanderoon, ſituated twenty five leagues from Aleppo on the gulph of Lajazzo in the midſt of ſome marſhes, and but a little diſtance from the ſea; a Turkiſh prince was lord of it at that time. Boucicault landed his troops, which conſiſted of 800 knights and eſquires, among which were the banners of the marſhal, of the ſeignior d' Acher, of the ſeignior of Chateau-Morant, of meſſire William de Naillac, of the ſame name with the grand maſter; and thoſe likewiſe of the ſeigniors of Chateauneuf and Puyos: he had about 3000 men on board that little fleet in all. The lord of the country was then five great days journey from Alexandretta, and was encamped on his frontiers to oppoſe his brother who diſputed the ſeigniory with him. The marſhal taking advantage of his abſence, ordered the ſeignior of Chateau-Morand to attack the lower town, whilſt brother Louis de Culan, who executed the office of camp-marſhal in this little army, guarded a narrow paſs that hindered any ſuccours from being thrown into the place. The attack and defence were ſmart on both ſides, the Chriſtians were twice repulſed, but returning the third time to the aſſault, carried what was called the lower town, that was inhabited chiefly by merchants. Every thing there was plundered, and their rich magazines amply rewarded the valour of the ſoldiers, whilſt at the ſame time the marſhal's fleet made themſelves maſters of the port. The lord of Scanderoon having advice, that whilſt he was defending the entry of his country againſt his brother, the Chriſtians were on the point of taking his capital, haſtened to the ſuccour of the place, which was much ſtraitned. He made ſeveral attempts to throw in ſuccour, but finding all the paſſes ſecured by the marſhal's troops, he had recourſe to treaty, a method always moſt ſuitable to the weaker ſide, and ſent embaſſadors to the marſhal to complain, that without having ever had any diſpute with the Genoeſe, and without any previous declaration of war, he had fallen upon his dominions, and there committed acts of hoſtility, which are never practiſed but between open and declared enemies.

His ambaſſadors added, that how juſt ſoever the complaints of their maſter were, yet if the marſhal would withdraw his troops out of his territories, he was ready to enter into a ſtrict confederacy with him; and in caſe he came to a rupture with the king of Cyprus, he would oblige himſelf to furniſh him all the neceſſary ſupplies for ſuſtaining that war in an iſland ſo remote from Genoa.

The marſhal liſtened to theſe propoſals the more willingly, in that if he was obliged to make war in Cyprus, he might draw proviſions and other ſuccours from that country which lay near the iſland; and beſides, he was afraid of making any ſtay on that coaſt, in a ſeaſon when the air of Alexandretta was ſo very unwholſome and dangerous, by reaſon of the exhalations ariſing from the marſhes, when thoſe who did not die outright, would be ſure not to come off without a grievous fit of ſickneſs. Having therefore made his treaty with the lord of the country, and ſpent only 14 days in the expedition, he re-embarked his troops, and ſtood off for the coaſt of the iſle of Cyprus, to haſten the grand maſter's negotiation; but he found the affair very much forwarded.

That prince having a conference with the king, made him ſenſible of the power of the Genoeſe, and repreſented to him that he was not in a condition to make head againſt the forces of that republick; eſpecially when commanded by a general of the marſhal's experience; that if he ſhould call in the Venetians to his ſuccour, he would make his country the theatre of a bloody war; that he himſelf would be the victim of it; and that whoever would be victorious in war, he would have nothing left him but the choice of his tyrants; that he therefore adviſed him to adhere religiouſly to the treaty which the Genoeſe had made with the king his father, and not to trouble them in the poſſeſſion of Famaguſta, by which

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means he would intereſt them in the defence of the whole iſland, againſt the enterprizes of the ſultans of Egypt, who had ſeveral times attempted already to make themſelves maſters of it.

THIS repreſentation was not only founded upon good ſenſe and the wiſeſt politicks, but being given from the grand maſter, was ſomething more than bare advice. The kings of Cyprus had for many years been ſupported meerly by the protection and ſuccours which they drew from Rhodes: and the prince then reigning could not reject the grand maſter's good offices and mediation, without incurring the indignation of the whole order. The grand maſter indeed was at that time conſidered as the moſt powerful chriſtian prince in all the eaſt; and the order never had braver officers, nor a greater number of them. The convent was generally peopled with a thouſand knights; moſt of the iſles called Sporades depended on it, and the ſea was covered with their fleets. The rhodian merchants under the protection and convoy of the veſſels of the order, grew rich at the ſame time by their commerce: there was not a corſair that durſt venture near the ſeas of Lycia, and we may affirm, that the arms of the order were as terrible to the infidels, as its valour was generally eſteemed by the princes of Chriſtendom; ſo that it is leſs ſurprizing the king of Cyprus ſhould pay ſo ſubmiſſive a deference to the grand maſter's ſentiments. It was agreed between them, that the ſiege of Famaguſta ſhould be raiſed, and the king by the grand maſter's mediation had a conference with the marſhal: but a difficulty ſtarted up which had like to have ruined the negotiation before the treaty was ſigned.

THE Genoeſe engaged Boucicault to inſiſt that the king of Cyprus ſhould re-imburſe them the expence of the war, which they made amount to very conſiderable ſums. The king pretended on the contrary, that they ought to be ſatisfied that he had, out of regard to the grand maſter, been pleaſed to content to raiſe the ſiege of a place which had belonged to his anceſtors for ſo many ages, and which he was on the point of reducing. Both ſides maintained their pretenſions with equal ardour, and there was reaſon to apprehend that this article might break off the whole treaty; but the grand maſter, who knew the importance and neceſſity of a peace, prevailed with the king of Cyprus to pay the Genoeſe 70000 ducats; and as the young prince was not maſter of ſuch a ſum, he got it lent him out of the treaſury of the order, which for ſecurity had the regal crown, with veſſels of gold and ſilver, and precious ſtones, as a pawn till the money advanced ſhould be all paid. After the concluſion of this treaty, the grand maſter and the marſhal re-embarked, but before they returned to Rhodes, they reſolved to ravage the coaſts of Syria and Paleſtine, which were then in poſſeſſion both of the Saracens and the troops of Tamerlane. They landed on the coaſt of Tripoli, thinking to ſurprize the garriſon and inhabitants of the place; but they found the ſhore defended by above 15000 men, in which number were 600 cavalry, part of Tamerlane's troops, all dreſſed, ſays the hiſtorian of Boucicault, in fine velvet and cloth of gold.

THOUGH the Chriſtians ſaw plainly that the infidels had notice of their deſign, and were prepared to receive them, yet they reſolved to make a deſcent upon the coaſts of the Saracens. The marſhal put himſelf at their head with the grand maſter, who was attended by brother Raimond de Leſture, grand prior of Toulouſe, brother Peter de Beaufremont, hoſpitaller, and a great number of other knights of the order. Theſe knights, hurried on by their courage, and without waiting till the boats could put them on ſhore, threw themſelves up to the neck in the ſea, and advanced boldly ſword in hand againſt the infidels; and though the chriſtian troops made at moſt but 3000 men, and the Saracen's army was computed at 15000, our knights, ſuſtained by the troops of Genoa, charged them ſo furiouſly, that the barbarians, not able to ſtand the attack, gave ground and fled, but rallied afterwards at ſome diſtance from the ſhore, when their commanders drew them up in order of battle. There was no great likelihood that the Chriſtians ſhould with ſo ſmall a force advance, and attack that great body of Saracens, which was likewiſe covered with hedges and defiles, and had the ſtrong city of Tripoli behind them. But the grand maſter and the marſhal could not bring themſelves, notwithſtanding the inequality of number, to re-embark without advancing nearer them; ſo that letting their ſoldiers take breath a while, they divided their little army into three bodies; and taking care not to get at too great a diſtance from the ſhore, for fear of being intercepted by the Saracens, they march towards them, and attack them ſword in hand. They charge on both ſides, and cloſe together in a moment; the combat grows bloody, and laſts for ſome time with fury; but the greateſt loſs falling upon the infidels, they can no longer bear up againſt the efforts of the Chriſtians: they retire into gardens planted with fruit-trees, and fenced about with thick hedges, but not thinking themſelves ſafe enough there, moſt of them run to the very city for refuge: in a word, the whole body is broke, and the chriſtian generals meet with no enemy to reſiſt them. However, not having a ſufficient body of troops to form the ſiege of Tripoli, a place of great ſtrength, and defended by a garriſon numerous enough to take the field, the Chriſtians re-embarked; but before they returned, the grand maſter and the marſhal reſolved to make an attempt on Baruth, and try if they ſhould find the enemy on their guard, and prepared to receive them.

1403

Baruth, or Berytus, a town of Phœnicia, was at that time conſiderable on account of its commerce. Its harbour ſerved for a ſort of ſtaple to all the merchandize carried from Egypt into Europe, and moſt of the chriſtian merchants, and particularly the Venetians, had their counting-houſes and conſiderable magazines there. The chriſtian fleet ſailing on in its courſe, ſaw a light bark, called at that time Gripperio, coming out of the port of Baruth, and making all the ſail it could to get out to ſea, and eſcape from the Chriſtians; but a galley being ordered to purſue it, ſoon came up with it, and brought it back to the generals. The captain of this little veſſel being examined according to the laws of war, about his condition and circumſtances, and the reaſons of his eagerneſs to avoid the chriſtian fleet, he owned himſelf a Chriſtian and a Venetian, but did not care to ſay more. However, being threatened to be put to the rack, the fear of torture made him confeſs that he had been diſpatched by the venetian general to all the ſea-ports of Phœnicia, Paleſtine and Egypt, to give the ſubjects of the ſultan of Egypt advice of the Chriſtians being at ſea, under the command of the grand maſter of Rhodes and the governor of Genoa, in order that they might take the neceſſary precautions againſt the enterprizes of their enemies. Moſt of the ſoldiers and officers of the fleet, enraged at the intelligence given them by this Venetian, were for throwing him into the ſea, but were hindered by their generals, who continued firm in their reſolution of keeping on their courſe and making a deſcent near Baruth.

As the town was but poorly fortified, the inhabitants, upon the advice brought them by the Venetian, had carried off the beſt of their effects into the woods and mountains. This did not prevent the Chriſtians from landing; and after plundering the town, they ſet it on fire, re-embarked and ſailed towards Sayda, anciently called Sidon, another town of Phœnicia, 35 miles from Baruth. They found the ſame precautions there, viz. the port and ſhore lined with the inhabitants all in arms, to the number of 10000 men. The grand maſter and the marſhal, however, by help of the engines which they had on board, made their deſcent at the head of 200 men of arms and as many croſs-bow-men, and were going to land the reſt of the troops, when they were ſurprized by ſo violent ſtormy weather, and a contrary wind, that they could not continue their landing. The grand maſter and marſhal ſaw themſelves by this means left with only five 5 or 600 men about them, deſtitute of ſuccours, and expoſed to enemies vaſtly ſuperior in ſtrength, who might have cut them in pieces if they had known how to make their advantage of ſo favourable an opportunity.

THE Barbarians indeed advanced to charge them, but the Chriſtians cloſing and keeping their ranks, made head againſt them on all ſides with ſo reſolute a countenance, that they thought fit only to fight at a diſtance and incommode them with their arrows. The Chriſtians did the ſame, and the ſea, after a ſtorm of five hours, growing calm, they re-embarked in ſight of the Infidels, who never durſt advance nearer than within bow-ſhot of them.

THE fleet landed afterwards on the coaſt of Lidda, another town of Paleſtine, which the Greeks called anciently Dioſpolis, i. e. the city of Jupiter. This place was ſituated in a plain, about a league north of Ramatha; it was covered on one ſide by a mountain, and on the other by a wood. They landed there, not on the ſide of the main ſea, but in a little creek or bay, which was defended by two towers. They diſcovered only 3000 men, or thereabouts, who appeared and kept themſelves at a diſtance from the ſea, ſeeming to be afraid of them. The generals, in order to reconnoitre them, put ſome troops on ſhore, without any oppoſition being made to their landing, and upon the report of the principal officers, reſolved to attack the enemy the next day. But for fear leſt the barbarians, aſſiſted by the night, ſhould ſurprize the troops that were landed, they made them retire on board the fleet in the evening. The Infidels ſeeing the Chriſtians re-embarking, and believing that their ſcouts had diſcovered the ambuſcade which they had laid between the town and the ſea, ſallied out from behind the mountain and the wood, to the number of above 30000 men, all of them ſword in hand, and ſetting up a great ſhout, advanced boldly to the foot of the towers, and very brink of the ſea. 'Twas this precipitate eagerneſs of theirs to ſhew themſelves, which ſaved the Chriſtians, who would elſe have been all cut off the next day, if they had, purſuant to their general's deſign, marched to Lidda, and advanced into the plain, where they muſt have been intercepted and ſurrounded by an army that was ſo very numerous, and ſo vaſtly ſuperior to their own.

THE grand maſter and the marſhal ſeeing the ſeaſon advanced, and that there was nothing to be done along the coaſt, took leave of one another, the grand maſter returning to Rhodes, and the marſhal ſailing for Famaguſta, where, upon his arrival, he gave the neceſſary orders for the ſecurity of the place. He ſtayed but a few days there, and then ſet out on his return for Italy; but before he made for Genoa, he touched at the iſle of Rhodes, to thank the grand maſter and the order for their good offices towards him in the late treaty concluded with the king of Cyprus. The grand maſter treated him nobly, ſtored his fleet with proviſions and refreſhments, and ſhewed him, before he embarked, the principal fortreſſes of the iſland, their garriſons, arms, and the magazines in each of them. The marſhal admired particularly the port of Rhodes, which was fortified with two caſtles, well provided with warlike engines that commanded the mouth of it, and filled with an infinite number of ſhips of war, merchant veſſels, gallies and galliots, ſaicks and ſelucca's, moſt of them equipped for war, and making frequent returns with various prizes that they were continually taking from the infidels, and chiefly from the ſubjects of the ſultans of Egypt. Thoſe barbarians could ſcarce venture any more out of the port of Alexandria, or ſail in the ſeas of Cyprus and Lycia, without being ſnapped up by the knights of Rhodes.

1403

THE ſultan, though full of reſentment at theſe captures, and the ſeveral deſcents which the grand maſter had juſt made upon his coaſts, thought it yet more proper to make peace with the order, than to continue a war ſo prejudicial to his ſubjects: with this view he ſent an embaſſador to Rhodes. As the knights were on the point of entring into a league of chriſtian princes againſt the Turk, and it was not proper to have two ſuch mighty enemies to oppoſe at once, they reſolved to hear the ſultan's miniſter. Commiſſioners were named to enter upon a negotiation, and peace was ſoon enough agreed upon, by reaſon of the diſpoſition there was in both parties to conclude it; but it was eaſy enough to ſee that the grand maſter preſcribed the terms of the treaty.

Treaty

X

NAILLAC, who had always in view the ſpirit and main deſign for which his order was inſtituted, took care to have it ſtipulated, that in order to prevent the profanations of infidels, he ſhould have leave to wall in the holy ſepulchre; that he might always keep ſix knights in Jeruſalem who ſhould be exempted from all Carache, i. e. from all tribute; who might entertain other knights in their houſe, and ſuch pilgrims as ſhould come out of devotion to the holy city; that the order might ranſom chriſtian ſlaves either by paying the ſame money that they coſt their maſters, or by giving a Saracen in exchange for a Chriſtian; that there ſhould be a free commerce between the ſubjects of the order and thoſe of the ſultan, and that the grand maſter might keep conſuls at Jeruſalem, Rama and Alexandria, to ſecure the Chriſtians from the exactions they were expoſed to in the territories of the infidels: and in fine, that the ſhips of the order might export corn out of the ſultan's dominions. It was agreed likewiſe, that in caſe either party was for breaking the treaty, and beginning the war a-freſh, he ſhould be obliged to make a publick denunciation of it three months before, that both ſides might ſecure their effects before acts of hoſtility were begun: all which conditions, are a demonſtration of the ſultan's eagerneſs to make peace, and his fear of the power and forces of the knights.

BUT how numerous would the forces of this formidable body have been, had they not been divided by the unhappy ſchiſm which then infeſted the order as well as the univerſal church? We have already obſerved, that there were two popes at the ſame time in the church, each of them having different nations under their authority, and two ſuperiors in the order independent on each other. The convent of Rhodes, the knights in the eaſt, with thoſe of France, Caſtile, Scotland, and part of Germany, acknowledged the authority of the grand maſter, who adhered to Benedict XIII. ſucceſſor to Clement VII. whilſt the popes that ſucceeded Urban VI. had, in order to retain the Arragonian, Italian, and Engliſh knights, as well as thoſe of the kingdoms of the north, Bohemia and Hungary in their obedience, appointed Italian commanders to be their ſuperiors, under the title of lieutenants of the grand maſterſhip; and who, as if that great dignity was not already filled up, governed this part of the order without having the leaſt intercourſe with the grand maſter of Rhodes. 'Tis eaſy to gueſs what prejudice ſuch a fatal diviſion muſt cauſe in that iſland, which ſaw its forces divided, and that for a long time received no contribution from the priories and commanderies that had ſeparated themſelves from the body of the order.

HAPPILY at this juncture the cardinals who adhered to both the popes, excited by the zeal of moſt of the princes of Chriſtendom, agreed together to join their endeavours to aſſemble a general council; and it being then uncertain which of the two rivals was the true Pope, whether Peter de Luna, ſtil'd Benedict XIII, or Angelo Corrario, who had taken the name of Gregory XII, theſe cardinals reſolved to put a perſon into the chair of St. Peter, whoſe election ſhould be ſo indiſputable that no Chriſtian could help acknowledging him for ſole and lawful head of the univerſal church.

'TWAS with this view that theſe cardinals had in all the conclaves held from the time of the death of Urban VI. and Clement VII. ſubſcribed to a formal inſtrument, whereby the perſon who ſhould be elected out of their body, engaged himſelf for the ſake of peace to renounce the popedom, which they called accepting of the vote of ceſſion. But experience demonſtrated afterwards that all thoſe whom they raiſed to that ſupreme dignity, thought themſelves, the moment they received the papal crown, diſpenſed from the promiſes they had made in order to attain it: and the competitors, by a tacit colluſion, agreed in nothing but in one point, which was never to agree upon any of the ſeveral expedients propoſed in order to bring about a reciprocal ceſſion.

THE fear of ſeeing this ſchiſm perpetuated in the church, determined the cardinals to call a general council in the city of Piſa in Italy. Scarce had a more illuſtrious, and withal, a more numerous aſſembly, been ſeen in any part of the chriſtian world. There were preſent at it 22 cardinals, 4 patriarchs, 12 archbiſhops in perſon, and 14 by their proxies, 80 biſhops, and the proxies of above 100; the grand maſter of Rhodes, accompanied with 16 commanders, the prior of the knights of the holy ſepulchre, and procurator of the teutonick order; 87 abbots, in which number were the abbots, ſuperiors of the order of the Ciſtertians, of Grammont, of Camaldoli and Valombroſa, with the proxies of the abbots general of the order of the Premonſtrants, and of St. Anthony of Vienna; the proxies of 200 other abbots; an infinite number of priors and eccleſiaſticks; the deputies of the univerſities of Paris, Toulouſe, Orleans, Angers, Montpelier, Bologna, Florence, Cracow, Vienna, Prague, Cologne, Oxford and Cambridge; above 300 doctors in divinity and canon law; and the embaſſadors of the king's of France, England, Portugal, Bohemia, Sicily, Poland and Cyprus, of the dukes of Burgundy, Brabant, Lorain, Bavaria and Pomerania, of the marqueſs of Brandenburg, the landgrave of Thuringia, and of almoſt all the princes of Germany.

1409 March 25. THIS famous council was opened on Lady-day; they ſat ſeveral times, and after ſeveral citations had been made in vain to the two pretenders, who would never anſwer them, and all other formalities requiſite to be obſerved in cauſa majori, and in an affair of ſuch importance, the holy council proceeded at laſt to a definitive ſentence, declaring Peter de Luna and Angelo Corrario ſchiſmaticks, and guilty of perjury and artifice, in order to impoſe on the faithful, and keep up the ſchiſm which had diſtracted the church for ſo many years together, depriving them of the popedom, and allowing the cardinals to proceed to the election of a ſovereign pontiff: during which, the guard of the conclave was committed to the grand maſter and his knights.

ALL the cardinals preſent in the council gave their votes unanimouſly for the cardinal of Milan, who at his inauguration, and at the ceremony of his coronation, took the name of Alexander V. a perſon illuſtrious for his eminent piety and profound knowledge; qualities equally to be wiſhed in all thoſe perſons who fill that auguſt dignity. This pope was a Greek by birth, and of the iſle of Candia, but born of parents ſo miſerably poor, that he was abandoned by them in his infancy, inſomuch that he never knew of any he had: this made him ſay after his advancement to the pontifical chair, that the church would, during his pontificate, be ſecure from nepotiſm. This holy pope indeed made a more worthy uſe of his riches, employing them equally in relieving the poor, and in rewarding men of virtue and merit. Whatever joy the church in general expreſſed at the election of ſo pious a pope, and in expectation of its putting a final end to the ſchiſm, no body could be more affected with it than the grand maſter, who conſidered it likewiſe as a means to re-unite all chriſtian princes, and engage them in a league againſt the Turks. With this view, and to carry on this important negotiation, he made choice of brother Walter de Graſſy, prior of the church of Rhodes, and brother Lucius de Valines, grand marſhal, and ſent them as his embaſſadors, to moſt of the ſovereigns of Chriſtendom, to notify to them the pope's election. Their orders were to repreſent in his name the favourableneſs of the preſent juncture for making war upon the Turks; that the throne of Bajazet had received a terrible ſhock by the fall of that prince, and by the victories of Tamerlane, and that they might make their advantage of the civil wars riſen up between the ſons of the turkiſh prince, who diſputed his ſucceſſion, and the weak remains of his empire.

THE grand maſter having acquainted the pope with the deſign of this embaſſy, received the praiſes due to his zeal on that account. The holy pontiff told him that if they could carry their point in that affair, he would declare himſelf head of the league, and be at the chief expence of the expedition. At the ſame time he ſent a nuncio to Rhodes, to notify his election to brother Dominic of Germany, the grand maſter's lieutenant, and the council and convent of Rhodes. The pope, though the grand maſter was near his perſon, took this ſtep from a particular regard for the whole body of the order, which was always ſuppoſed to reſide in the iſle of Rhodes.

THE Pope, to put a final end to the particular ſchiſm which had ſo long infeſted the order, iſſued out a bull, which he ordered his nuncio to publiſh over all Chriſtendom, wherein he declared that brother Philebert de Naillac was the only lawful grand maſter of all the knights of the order of St. John of Jeruſalem, enjoining, by virtue of the obedience they owed him, and under pain of excommunication, all the religious of the order, whether knights, chaplains, or ſerving brothers, in what part of the world ſoever they might reſide, to acknowledge him for their head and only ſuperior.

IN conſequence of this bull, the grand maſter ſummoned a general chapter at Nice, which was afterwards tranſlated to Aix in Provence; and in his ſummons, after repreſenting at large and in a moving manner, the evils which the ſchiſm had cauſed to the whole church in general, and to the order in particular, he orders all priors, and the four oldeſt commanders of each priory, to appear at the chapter by the firſt of April, to take meaſures by concert for the reſtoring of diſcipline and the reformation of the order, in the head as well as in the members of it.

THE grand maſter was preparing to ſet out for this aſſembly, where his preſence was highly neceſſary, in order to extinguiſh the remains of the ſchiſm, and reſtore a perfect union and harmony between all the knights: when the pope, who knew his merit, and the peculiar talent he had for negotiations, obliged him to undertake an embaſſy from him to the kings of France and England, who were then at war, to mediate a good peace, or at leaſt a long truce between them. The grand maſter accepted this commiſſion the more willingly, becauſe he conſidered the peace he was going to treat of as a means to engage thoſe two powerful monarchs to join their forces againſt the infidels. But not to deprive the order by his abſence of the advantages that might be expected from the chapter, he allowed that auguſt aſſembly to chuſe three perſons to preſide there in his ſtead: and the choice of the members fell upon the brothers James Tivelly prior of Auvergne, Raimond de Letture prior of Toulouſe, and Philip de Langueglia prior of Lombardy. In this chapter ſeveral regulations were made of very great conſequence, relating as well to the reſponſions which were payable out of the commandries into the common treaſury, as to the ill uſe which certain priors made of their authority. The treaſury had during the ſchiſm been deprived of all its dues and contributions ariſing from the commandries ſituated in England, Scotland, Arragon, and part of Germany, in the kingdoms of the North, Bohemia, Hungary, and over all Italy; it was therefore ordered that viſitors ſhould be ſent into all theſe countries to re-eſtabliſh the right of the order there: and the priors were expreſly prohibited from ſeizing for the future, as ſome had done in the commandries within their priories, upon the foreſts, rights of fiſhery, thoſe of mort-main and for-marriage, and in a word upon all the ſeignioral rights, which they had aſſumed to themſelves to the prejudice of the commanders; and a ſtatute was made, that for the future every commander, in order to enable him to pay his reſponſions the more eaſily, ſhould enjoy all the rights and profits of his commandry, without the priors appropriating the leaſt part thereof to himſelf under any pretence whatever. They choſe likewiſe in this chapter an adminiſtrator of the treaſury, naming for that poſt brother Raimond de Leſture prior of Toulouſe and grand commander of Cyprus, a knight very zealous for the intereſt of his order, and well verſed in the direction and ordering of the publick revenues. The order made choice of him in hopes that he would find out an expedient to oblige the commanders of Italy and other countries, who had divided from the body of the order during the ſchiſm, to pay the arrears of their reſponſions, and continue them for the future with the exactneſs which their profeſſion required them to obſerve with reſpect to their ſtatutes and the orders of their ſuperiors.

BUT unhappily the ſchiſm was not yet extinguiſhed. The council of Piſa, far from terminating that great affair, had only perplexed it the more. Benedict XIII. and Gregory XII. were indeed depoſed there, and they had choſen Alexander V. for their ſucceſſor; but the two firſt refuſed to acknowledge the authority of the council, and each of them maintained his own election with more obſtinacy than ever; ſo that inſtead of two popes as they had before, they had now three. Theſe troubles which infeſted the church ſerved as a skreen to moſt of the commanders, who, under a pretence of adhering to thoſe two antipopes, refuſed obeying the grand maſter, and neglected to pay their reſponſions.

POPE Alexander V. dying in the beginning of May at Bologna, they were ſtrangely ſurpriſed and ſcandaliſed to ſee his place filled by cardinal Baltazar Coſſa, legate or rather tyrant of Bologna. * He had been a pirate in his youth, and afterwards turned eccleſiaſtick, as thinking it the beſt profeſſion for him to make his fortune. This change he made without deviating in the leaſt from his firſt way of life, and one would rather have taken him for a ſoldier than a man devoted to the ſervice of the altar. His relations procured him afterwards an archdeaconry in the church of Bologna; but finding that poſt too narrow for his ambition, he reſolved to go to Rome; and 'tis ſaid, that when he ſet out on his journey to that capital of the chriſtian world, his friends asking him whither he was going, "I am going, ſays he, to the popedom." Boniface IX. ſucceſſor to Urban, and one of the popes who kept up the ſchiſm, made him his chamberlain; a dignity in which he had amaſs'd immenſe wealth, by employing all the tricks and artifice of ſimony. But he did not labour for himſelf only, for he was obliged to account with Boniface, who was as greedy as himſelf in ſcraping up riches, and who connived at his pilferings to ſhare the profits with him. Coſſa procured the legateſhip of Bologna from him, and a publican or farmer of the revenue made the moſt of it. They ſay that it was partly by his credit and intrigues, that after the death of Boniface IX. and Innocent VII. his ſucceſſor, he got Benedict XIII. and Gregory XII. depoſed in the council of Piſa, and Alexander V. elected, whoſe great age made him flatter himſelf with the hopes of ſucceeding him in a little time. But death moving with a ſlower pace than his ambition, he was ſuſpected of having got him poiſoned in a doſe of phyſick. Theodoric of Niem who was his ſecretary, in his hiſtory of the ſchiſm, repreſents him as a man polluted with avarice, cruelty, and the moſt abominable incontinency. However, as he was elected canonically, he was enthroned and adored by the name of John XXIII.

THIS change of dignity did not make him alter his conduct; he was ſtill as looſe as ever in his morals, always graſping at other peoples wealth, and carrying on a ſordid traffick with the moſt holy things. Sigiſmond the emperor, or only king of the Romans, whom we have had occaſion to mention before in quality of king of Hungary, in a conference which he had with this pope at Lodi, opened himſelf very freely in relation to his irregularities, and preſſed him to put an end to the ſcandal he gave to the whole church by his ſimony. That prince had deſired this interview in order to engage the pope to call a general council. Beſides the benefit that might accrue from thence to the whole church, Sigiſmond, who had always his own intereſt in view, and was as great a politician as he was an ill captain, not finding himſelf in a condition ſingly to ſupport the war, which the Turks were making upon him in his kingdom of Hungary, flattered himſelf with the hopes, that if he could but carry his point in extinguiſhing the ſchiſm, he might find a way to unite all the chriſtian princes in a league againſt the infidels. With this view he careſſed John XXIII. perſuading him that he would get him acknowledged in a general council (by the condemnation of Benedict XIII. and Gregory XII.) for the ſole pope and paſtor of the univerſal church. But his real deſign, which indeed he kept to himſelf, and which was at laſt diſcovered by time only, always was to have all the three popes depoſed,

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* In cujus electione multi ſcandaliſati ſunt, quia ut tyrannus rexiſſe Bononiam, & vitæ mundanæ deditus dicebatur. Gobillin. in Coſmod. ætatis 6. cap. 30.

and a fourth elected by the concurrence and votes of the cardinals of the three parties. Pope John, who did not ſee thro' this fine political turn, and who ſtood in fear of the emperor, in order to keep meaſures with him, called the council at Conſtance. Beſides the rooting out of the ſchiſm, which was the chief thing propoſed to be done in that auguſt aſſembly, they were likewiſe to ſet about reforming the church in its head and members, and to examine at the ſame time the doctrine of John Hus and Jerome of Prague, who had revived Wicklif's heretical opinions in Bohemia.

'Twas expected that the emperor's remonſtrances, and eſpecially the calling of a general council, would keep the pope or the officers of the apoſtolical chamber in ſome awe; but it made no alteration in their conduct. The order of St. John ſuffered in a particular manner upon that account: the pope, or ſuch as made uſe of his authority, in conſideration of a large ſum of money, iſſued out a bull, by which licenſe was given to a certain knight commander, who had made his vows to renounce them, and to quit the habit of the order and marry. The ſovereign pontiff at the ſame time cauſed the commandry, which that religious enjoyed, to be reſigned to him; and they ſay, that he ſold it afterwards to a boy, not above fourteen years old, whom he diſpenſed with from taking the habit and making his vows. He carried theſe ſorts of diſpenſations ſtill farther in favour of another child but five years old, named Aloyſe or Alexis, natural ſon to the king of Cyprus, whom he ſuffered, in conſideration of a rich commandry which he ſold to the king his father, to make the vows of the order at that age.

From the ſame principle of avarice, and without any regard to the important ſervices done by the order to all Chriſtendom, he ſeized on all the priories and commandries that he heard were fallen vacant, and ſold them afterwards to ſuch as offered moſt money, ſo that the convent of Rhodes, or rather the whole order was in danger of being utterly ruined by his avarice.

This was the occaſion of a letter which the council wrote to him in the ſtrongeſt as well as moſt moving terms. In this letter they repreſented to him with a generous liberty, that the knights, who reſided at Rhodes and in the neighbouring iſles, were to ſignalize their zeal againſt the enemies of the faith, ſhedding their blood daily in the defence of the Chriſtians that went to viſit the holy places; that themſelves as well as their predeceſſors had, at entring into the order, founded ſeveral commandries out of their own patrimony. That moſt of the chriſtian princes, edified with their zeal, had followed their example in making thoſe pious foundations; that his holineſs, by ſeizing on thoſe eſtates, or beſtowing them on his creatures, was going to deprive Rhodes of its gallant defenders, and the convent of the neceſſary ſupplies for its ſubſiſtence; that the oldeſt knights had always looked upon thoſe commandries as the juſt recompence of their ſervices, and the only means of relief in their old age; and that if he went on to deprive them thereof, they would ſoon ſee the iſle of Rhodes abandoned as a prey to the infidels, and every knight unable to ſubſiſt there any longer, ſeeking at laſt a refuge among his relations; which could not fail of redounding to the great ſcandal of Chriſtendom, and the diſhonour of the holy ſee.

Fond as the pope was of his ſovereign power over all eccleſiaſtical poſſeſſions, the juſt complaints of the order, and his fear of the knights laying them before the council, ſerved to counter-balance his avarice. He revoked the grant that he had made of the commandry of Cyprus in favour of the baſtard abovementioned. But as he never did any favour or act of juſtice gratis, he could not bring himſelf to pay the king of Cyprus back the money that he had received in hand; the order was forced to re-imburſe it out of their own treaſury; and after the council, in order to get rid of this oppreſſion, had ſubmitted to ſuch hard conditions, he exacted ſix thouſand florins more from them in ready money, before he would iſſue out the brief of revocation.

We paſs over in ſilence other exceſſes of his ſtill more ſhocking, which are mentioned by hiſtorians, and the very acts of the council, tho' it were indeed to be wiſhed they had drawn a veil over them. We ſhall only ſay, that tho' the pontiff, out of regard to the emperor, had appointed the council to be held at Conſtance, an Imperial city, ſituated between Suabia and Swizzerland, he yet came thither with great reluctance, and as if he had foreboding apprehenſions of the fate that attended him in that place.

'Tis ſaid, that when he was arrived near the city, viewing it with ſome concern, from the top of a neighbouring mountain, he could not help ſaying, with an heavy ſmile, "There is the hole where they catch "foxes." But as he had gone too far to retire back, he entered the place, attended by the cardinals and his whole court: he opened the council on the firſt day of November, and appointed the firſt ſeſſion to be held on the ſixteenth of the ſame month. There paſſed in this council things that will be ever memorable; the proſecution and depoſing of two popes; the voluntary or forced abdication of a third; the canonical and lawful election of a fourth; the re-union of all the churches of the Weſt under his obedience; the execution of John Hus and Jerome of Prague; the civil war that broke out on that occaſion in Bohemia; the various ſprings made uſe of to bring about ſuch great events: all this has been treated of by ſuch learned pens, that we ſhall only ſay, with regard to the particular deſign of our work, that after the depoſing of John XXIII. the ceſſion of Gregory XII. and the condemnation of Benedict XIII. when they were to fill the chair of St. Peter, the holy council, in order to avoid the cabals ſo uſual in the conclaves of the cardinals, and provide a worthy head for the univerſal church, ordered, in the fortieth ſeſſion, that for this once, and by conſent of the cardinals, ſix eccleſiaſtical deputies out of each of the five nations which compoſed that auguſt aſſembly, ſhould be joined with them to make this important election.

In fine, upon Thurſday the eleventh of November, fifty eight electors gave their votes for Otho Colonna, cardinal deacon of the title of St. George a velo aureo, who in memory of St. Martin of Tours, whoſe feaſt was kept that day, would be called Martin, and was the fifth of the name. This pope was deſcended from one of the moſt noble houſes, not only of Italy but of all Chriſtendom, which has in various ages produced great men and heroes of all characters. Such as have ſince deſcended from this noble race, have, by their great actions, reflected back as much luſtre as ever they derived from their anceſtors.

The pope, after the forty fifth ſeſſion, diſmiſſed the fathers of the council on April 25. with the uſual ceremonies; and thoſe prelates who had ſo long been kept at a diſtance from their reſpective dioceſſes, ſet out on their journey back with pleaſure. The grand maſter would have been glad to have returned at the ſame time to Rhodes; the neceſſities of the order called him back, and he was invited thither by the ardent wiſhes of all his knights, who had made ſeveral proceſſions and publick prayers for his preſervation and return. But his zeal for the whole body of the order 1418.

did not allow him to quit Europe ſo ſoon: all he could do was to ſend eighteen thouſand crowns out of his own purſe to Rhodes, in order to relieve the wants of the convent there, which by the unhappy conſequences of the ſchiſm was reduced to an extreme indigence.

We have ſeen a little before in the courſe of this hiſtory, that the fatal ſchiſm, which had infeſted the church for above forty years, had occaſioned a like diviſion in the order of St. John, and that moſt of the European knights adhered to ſuch of the popes as their ſovereigns followed. The unanimous election of Martin V. having put an end to theſe different parties among chriſtian princes, the next buſineſs was to root them out likewiſe in the order, and re-unite to the body of it all the various members that had ſeparated themſelves from it, and particularly the Italian knights, who, notwithſtanding the decrees and particular ordinance of pope Alexander V. had, under pretence that Gregory XII. would not own the authority of the council of Piſa, perſevered in the obedience of that antipope, under the authority of the pretended lieutenants of the maſterſhip. The grand maſter, after the voluntary ceſſion of Gregory XII. and the unanimous election of Martin V. conſidered that the moſt important affair of his order would be to efface the leaſt footſteps of this unhappy ſchiſm.

But as he could not undertake any thing without the conſent and concurrence of the principal perſons of the order, he called an aſſembly of the priors, receivers and oldeſt commanders of France, Spain and Savoy at Avignon. The grand maſter acquainted them with the reaſons of that particular convocation, and after various opinions had been propoſed and debated, they agreed in one that ſuited the republican government of the order, which was to call a general chapter at Rhodes, and ſummon the greateſt number of priors and old commanders that could poſſibly be got together to it; and withall to ſend a particular deputation to the priors of Lombardy, Venice, Rome and Piſa, who had been till then averſe to own the grand maſter's authority; in order that their re-union, to the entire body of the order, might be authorized by the decrees of a general chapter, or elſe that that auguſt aſſembly, in which the ſovereignty of the order was veſted, might decree ſuch penalties as they ſhould think proper againſt the diſobedient and refractory.

With this view they commiſſioned brother John de Patru, the conventual treaſurer, to go into Italy. And to authoriſe him with proper powers, the grand maſter gave him the title of viſitor and corrector in the four priories abovementioned: and his orders were to demand of them the re-eſtabliſhment of their reſponſions, which had not been paid ever ſince the beginning of the ſchiſm. A propoſal of this nature, tho' undoubtedly juſt, was not without great difficulties. The buſineſs in queſtion was to levy a ſort of tribute or tax upon a ſet of men that had been bred for above forty years together in a ſpirit of independency. However as thoſe knights had adhered to the Italian popes, only out of a notion that they alone of all the competitors were the rightful ſucceſſors of St. Peter, and had ſubmitted to them in the ſincerity of their heart, theſe, as ſoon as they had an account of the voluntary ceſſion of Gregory XII. and the unanimous election of Martin V. readily acknowledged this laſt pontiff; and from the ſame diſpoſition received the viſitor with reſpect, making proteſtations of their filial obedience to the grand maſter, and promiſing to come to Rhodes to the general chapter, in order to receive its decrees in perſon, and conform themſelves to them in every article.

Philebert de Naillac.

The priors of Capua and Barletta, the commanders of St. Euphemia, Venuſia, Naples, and St. Stephen de Monopoli, and all the knights of the kingdom of Naples, excited by their example, diſpatched the chevalier de la Porte to the grand maſter, with a letter drawn up in the form of a legal inſtrument, wherein they acknowledged him for their lawful ſuperior, and demanded with earneſtneſs to be received immediately into an union with the body of the order, from which they ſaid they had been ſeparated by the miſfortune of the times.

Their deputy met with the grand maſter at Bologna; that brave old man, notwithſtanding his great age, and the fatigues he muſt neceſſarily paſs thro' in ſuch continual voyages, had come to Florence to confer with the pope in order to find out an expedient to engage the moſt potent chriſtian princes in a league againſt the ſons of Bajazet, who began to make themſelves formidable; and after having taken leave of the pontiff, he went to Bologna where the envoy from Naples met him. The grand maſter was greatly pleaſed to ſee all his order united at laſt together, and informed with the ſame ſpirit of ſubmiſſion and obedience: his anſwer to the Neapolitan knights was, that now he had received ſuch a declaration of their ſubmiſſion and re-union with the body of the order, he had nothing more to wiſh for before he died; that he invited them to come to the general chapter that was to be held at Rhodes on the eighth of September that very year; and that in order to prepare the matters which were to be treated of in that place, it would be proper for them to meet him at Ancona, to deliberate together about them in an aſſembly which he would hold there before the end of March.

The bailiffs, the priors, and the principal commanders of Italy did not fail to come to the aſſembly. Brother John Pignatelli, commander of St. Stephen of Monopoli, was the only perſon who, tho' expreſly ſummoned, neglected to appear there. The grand maſter was at firſt of opinion to take no notice of the only perſon that proved refractory to his orders: he ſaw plainly that it was the dregs and a ſort of leaven of the ſame rebellious ſpirit that had cauſed ſuch a deſtructive ſchiſm in the order. But as he was for extinguiſhing even the leaſt ſparks of it, he ordered him to be ſummoned a ſecond time to appear before him, allowing him only to the fifteenth of April for that purpoſe. The commander perſiſted in an obſtinate ſilence; and the grand maſter was forced to ſend him a third ſummons, enjoining him upon his obedience to come to Rhodes within five months, on pain of being degraded from the order and deprived of his commandry. He perſiſted even ſome time longer in his diſobedience, but ſeeing preparations made for executing the grand maſter's orders againſt him, he made his ſubmiſſion and returned to his duty. The next thing the aſſembly applied themſelves to was to reſtore the regular diſcipline in all the provinces of Italy; ſeveral very neceſſary regulations were there made; what was leſs urgent was put off to the general chapter, and every body prepared to ſet out immediately for Rhodes.

The grand maſter embarked ſoon after, and arrived ſafe at Rhodes towards the end of July, where he was received with univerſal joy, and with that tender reſpect which a great merit ſupported by a great dignity always inſpires. The people in particular, to whom he was a father rather than a prince, made bonfires on the day of his return, which was kept as a general feaſt all over the iſland. The grand maſter's firſt care was to examine into the ſtate of the magazines: and finding that the badneſs of the laſt harveſt had raiſed the price of corn, he ſent ſhips im-

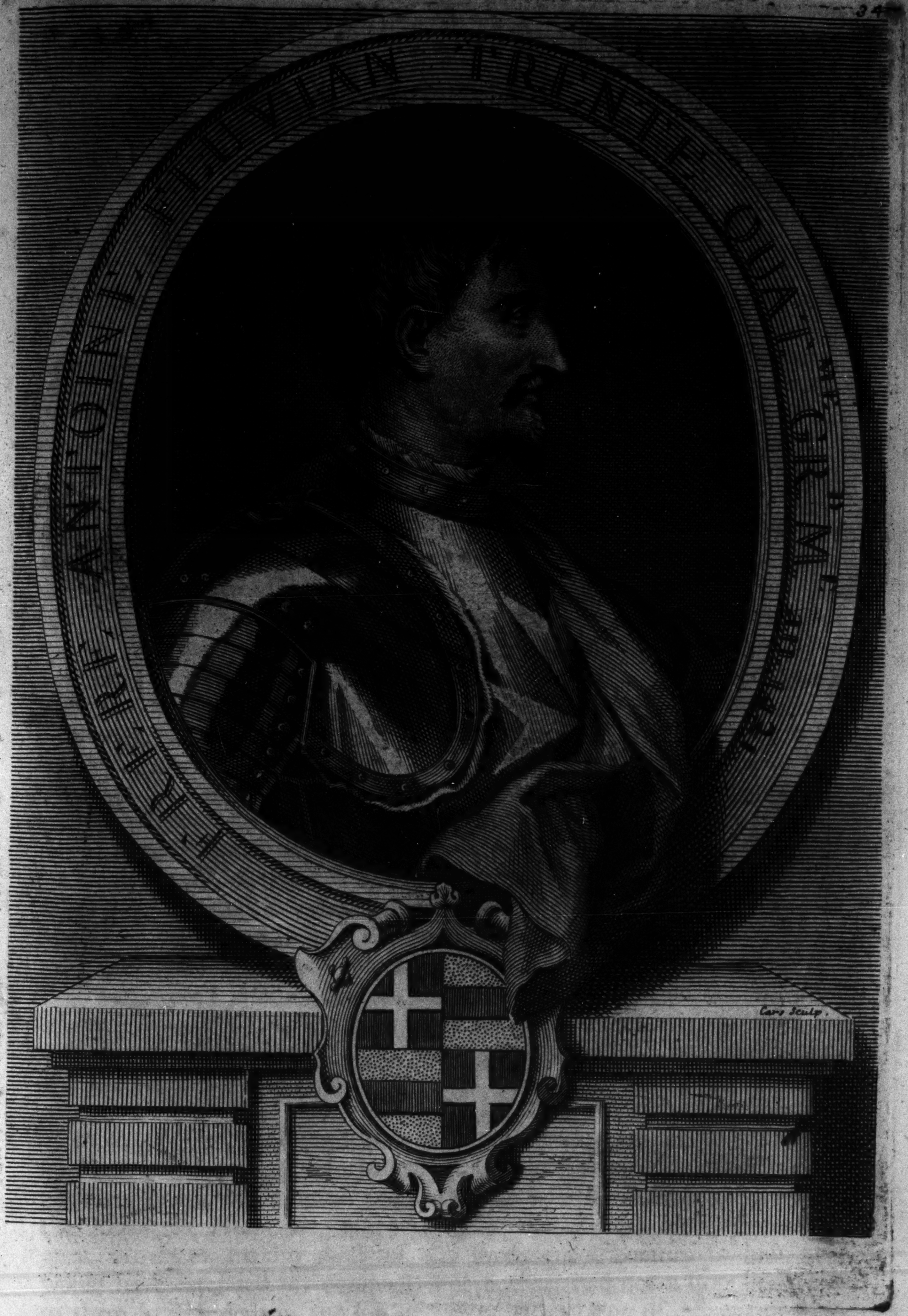
PHILEBERT DE NAILLAC.

mediately to ſeveral ports of Italy to fetch corn of all ſorts from thence, which brought back plenty into his territories.

THIS great man afterwards opened the general chapter: there had not for a conſiderable time been held any one ſo remarkable either for the number of perſons that compoſed it, or for the importance of the matters there treated of. Here appeared for the firſt time moſt of the knights that had been before engaged in the ſchiſm, and had inſenſibly, tho' with good intentions, tranſgreſs'd the bounds of their duty. They all returned to it; the priors and bailiffs of Italy, England, the kingdoms of the North, Bohemia, Hungary and Arragon, made a ſolemn recognition of the grand maſter as their head and only ſuperior: the ſchiſm was never mentioned but with deteſtation. The knights, who had been under different obediences in order to celebrate their re-union, embraced one another with joy; and both conſidering it as the reſult of the grand maſter's wiſdom, ſtrove to gueſs at his intentions, and anticipate them by conforming themſelves to them. The great and only object they all had in view was the glory of God and the defence of their fellow Chriſtians: ſo that before the chapter broke up, he eaſily got ſeveral decrees paſſed, very neceſſary for the re-eſtabliſhment of diſcipline, and the regulation of the revenues of the order. He ſent the records of this chapter to the pope, who ratified them by his authority. 'Twas the ſeal which that wiſe pontiff put to the peace and union of the order; and 'twas likewiſe the laſt tranſaction that paſſed under the government of this grand maſter. It looked as if he waited only for the news of it, in order to quit life with greater ſatisfaction. 1421. He fell ill a little while after he had received the pope's brief, and without any preparation but that of an holy life, ended his days with a tranquility that may be conſidered as a preſage of the felicity which heaven deſigned for him. His place was filled by brother ANTHONY FLUVIAN, OR DE LA RIVIERE, of the priory of Catalonia, ſtandard-bearer of the order, and grand prior of Cyprus, or great conſervator and lieutenant to his predeceſſor. The peace which the order had enjoyed in the laſt years of the maſterſhip of Naillac, was interrupted by ſeveral enterpriſes of the infidels; and the knights ſaw themſelves ſucceſſively attacked by the Turks of Aſia, and by the Saracens of Egypt.

ANTHONY FLUVIAN.

WE have ſeen in the beginning of this book in what manner the Ottoman power had like to have been entirely deſtroyed by the valour and good fortune of Tamerlane, and the captivity and death of Bajazet. This laſt prince left four ſons, Yſa or Joſhua, Muſa or Muſulman, Moſes and Mahomet. Joſhua, after Tamerlane's death, recovered Burſa from the Moguls, and would have made a greater progreſs, had he not been obliged to turn his arms againſt Muſulman, who, ſupported by a body of troops which the emperor of Conſtantinople furniſhed him with, advances againſt his brother, attacks, beats, takes him priſoner, and cauſes him to be ſtrangled. Moſes, who ſeemed only to wait the ſucceſs of this civil war before he declared himſelf, appears upon the ſtage with a ſtrong army, ſeizes on Adrianople and offers battel to his brother, but was betrayed by the Bulgarians in his army, who deſerted him in the heat of the engagement. Moſes knowing very well the fate allotted to the vanquiſhed, flies and gets into Adrianople, reſerving himſelf for another occaſion. He gathers together and rallies the remains of his army, bribes Chaſan aga of the janizaries, and Ebrénez commander of the ſpahi who come over to his party. With this reinforcement he again marches againſt his brother,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FRERE ANTOINE FLUVIAN TRENTE QUATme GRd Me
Caro Sculp.

defeats his army, and getting him into his power, cauſes him to be ſtrangled.

THE Greek emperor, to foment this civil war among the Turks, ſets up Mahomet Zelebin, i. e. the young, againſt Moſes: he was the laſt of Bajazet's ſons, and during the misfortunes of his family had been hid in the houſe of a lute-ſtring maker. 'Tis ſaid that he learned the trade, and that thoſe who were entruſted with his education did not let him know the greatneſs of his extraction, the better to conceal him. However it was, this young prince, with the ſuccours of the Greeks, of the prince of Caramania, and of the deſpot of Servia, levies an army; and tho' he had never made a campaign before, advances to attack his brother, and offers him battle, which he loſes. Notwithſtanding his defeat, he, by the aſſiſtance of his allies, levies new troops and advances towards his brother, holding at the ſame time a ſecret correſpondence with ſome perſons in his army. Chaſan aga of the janizaries, and Ebrénez commander of the ſpahi, who had betrayed Muſulman to ſerve Moſes, now abandon this prince and go over to the army of Mahomet. The aga carried his rebellion and perfidiouſneſs ſtill farther; and before the two armies engaged, he advanced to the firſt ranks, endeavouring by ſeditious diſcourſes to corrupt the janizaries that were left in Moſes's party. This prince, provoked at his impudence and treaſon, rides up to him, and with his ſcymitar in hand, aims at his head, but was prevented by Chaſan's ſquire who cut off his ſword hand. This unlucky accident decided the victory and his life: his ſoldiers ſeeing him return into their ranks with but one hand and all over bloody, interpreted his wound as a manifeſtation of his being proſcribed by heaven; upon which they deſerted him, and went to lay their ſtandards and colours at the feet of Mahomet.

THE victorious prince got Moſes, who was found hid in a marſh, to be firſt ſeiz'd, and afterwards ſtrangled, becoming by his death aſſured of the crown, and of reigning without a competitor. The Turkiſh hiſtorians do not put Yſa or Joſhua, Muſulman, nor Moſes, who reigned one after another, in the liſt of their emperors, but reckon all that paſſed from Bajazet's death till Mahomet I. as an interregnum. But all the Greek authors place theſe princes among the ſultans; and as the hiſtory of the Ottomans makes part of that of the knights of St. John, their perpetual enemies, we could not help giving a ſummary account of the ſucceſs of the civil wars which infeſted that new empire till the advancement of Mahomet I. upon the throne of his anceſtors. This prince enjoyed the ſovereign authority peaceably during the eight years which he reigned, and was ſucceeded by Amurath II. his eldeſt ſon, one of the greateſt princes of that nation. The conqueſts of this laſt blotted out the remembrance of thoſe of Tamerlane, and reſtored the Ottoman empire to its former ſplendor. His arms were equally ſucceſsful in Europe and in Aſia. The Caramanian and other infidel princes of the eaſt felt their fury, as well as the Albanians, Hungarians and tranſalpine Walachians. He ravaged thoſe great provinces, making moſt of the ſovereigns tributaries to him, and would have extended his conqueſts ſtill farther, had not a ſtop been put to them by Scanderbeg, the ſon of John Caſtriot king of Albania on one ſide, and by John Huniades vaivod of Tranſilvania, and general of the troops of Hungary on the other, both of them the greateſt captains of their age, who with an inconſiderable number of forces, but ſupported by an intrepid courage, and the moſt exquiſite experience in war, check'd the progreſs of his arms.

He afterwards turned them againſt ſeveral princes that poſſeſſed places in the Morea, and in the iſles of the Archipelago. All theſe petty ſovereigns had recourſe to the order of St. John, and engaged the bailiff of the Morea to go to Rhodes to implore ſuccour of the grand maſter. That prince, actuated by the ſpirit of his order, reſolved, in concert with the council, to ſend ſome gallies into thoſe ſeas, in order to diſcover the deſign of the infidels. But as they were preparing to put ſome troops on board, there came advice that the prince of Scanderoon or Alexandretta, in conjunction with other vaſſals of the grand ſeignior, was at ſea by his order, with a fleet compoſed of veſſels of different bulk, and ſix gallies belonging to the lord of Scanderoon. They readily ſuſpected their deſign to be againſt the iſle of Rhodes, or at leaſt againſt the neighbouring iſles which depended on the order. This news ſuſpended the ſuccours deſigned for the Morea; they fitted out all the gallies of the order and ſailed in queſt of the enemies fleet. But as the infidels did not care to come to a deciſive battle they avoided an engagement; and in order to make themſelves amends for the expence of this armament, they took ſome merchant ſhips of Rhodes and Venice.

Whilst the knights and the Turks, equally animated againſt one another, were roving up and down the ſeas, ravaging the coaſts, where they could make any deſcent, and labouring to ſurpriſe one another, there ſtarted up a new enemy to the order, who was almoſt as near Rhodes as the Turks, but more formidable, on account of his maritime forces, his fleets, and particularly from the ſkilfulneſs of his ſubjects in navigation, in which they excelled, eſpecially ſince he began his reign. I ſpeak of the famous ſultan of Egypt Alnazer-Aldaher, a Circaſſian by birth, whom the Mamelukes had raiſed to the throne. They admitted none into that body, which was the ſtrongeſt in Egypt, but foreign ſlaves; and theſe generally were young children that had either been taken by the Tartars in their incurſions, or elſe ſold to them by their unnatural parents. The Egyptians bought all they could, and brought up theſe young men in exerciſes ſuitable to the profeſſion they deſigned them for; and when they were able to bear arms, they incorporated them into the body of the Mamelukes. 'Twas in this manner that Daher, whom we are ſpeaking of, was admitted into that body; and after many long years of ſervice, and a great ſeries of glorious actions and a diſtinguiſhed valour, was at laſt advanced to the ſovereign power, which by the laws of that body could never devolve from father to ſon, or deſcend to his heirs.

Egypt + Cypr.

Daher, in order to maintain himſelf in a dignity ſubject to frequent revolutions, from the inconſtancy and ſeditious temper of the Mamelukes, and alſo to find employment for their courage, declared war againſt Janus of Luſignan king of Cyprus. His fleet landed a conſiderable army in the iſland; the king immediately applied to the order for aſſiſtance; and tho' the knights were then at peace with the Saracens, the grand maſter and the council could not ſee their arms ſo near the iſle of Rhodes, without fearing ſome unhappy conſequences to the order from that war. As the territories belonging to it were ſituated between thoſe of the Turkiſh emperor and the ſultan of Egypt, the council was always ſo politick as to maintain peace with one of thoſe infidel princes, whilſt it was engaged in war with the other. Agreeable to this maxim they could have wiſhed to have had no quarrel with the Saracens whilſt they were at war with the Turks. The grand maſter, in this view, omitted nothing that might contribute to the bringing about a peace between the ſultan of Egypt and the king of Cyprus; but as the Egyptian regulated his pretenſions

ſions by his forces, he inſiſted that the king of Cyprus ſhould acknowledge himſelf his vaſſal, and as ſuch, pay him and his ſucceſſors an annual tribute, and ſhould likewiſe re-imburſe him all the expence he had been at in that armament and expedition.

These conditions were too hard to be accepted; ſo that there was a neceſſity of deciding the diſpute by arms. Acts of hoſtility were begun on both ſides; the order, as an ally of the crown of Cyprus, ſent over conſiderable ſuccours at different times; the war proved long and bloody. At laſt they came to a battle, the particulars of which we are unacquainted with; we only know in general that the Chriſtians loſt it, and that a great number of Cypriot lords and gentlemen, and ſeveral knights of St. John, were ſlain at the ſame time. The Saracens had a compleat victory, and the king, to make the misfortune ſtill greater, fell into the hands of the Infidels, who carried him to Alexandria.

The grand maſter hearing this bad news, and fearing the Infidels might ſeize on the whole iſland, ſent over new ſuccours of men and money, and gave ſecret aſſurances to the principal lords of the kingdom, that the order would never abandon them, provided they would not abandon themſelves; and that they ſhould take up a noble reſolution to die ſword in hand rather than ſubmit to the Mahometans. But thoſe lords divided among themſelves, and effeminated by pleaſures, not diſcovering any great courage and reſolution, ſent, by the grand maſter's advice, embaſſadors to Egypt, to the ſultan's court, to treat for the ranſom of their ſovereign. The negotiation was ſpun out to a great length; the ſultan, in hopes that his troops would ſoon reduce the whole iſland, was every day ſtarting new difficulties: but the Egyptian general ſoon found a ſtop put to the progreſs of his arms by the valour of the knights. By way of revenge, he ravaged the great commandry or bailliage which the order poſſeſſed in that iſland, demoliſhing the houſes, cutting down the trees, and rooting up the vines; ſo that this great commandry, which was reckoned the richeſt of the order, was entirely ruined. The ſultan too reſolved to turn the efforts of his arms againſt the iſle of Rhodes, hoping that if he could make himſelf maſter of it, that of Cyprus being left deſtitute of the ſuccours of the knights, would of courſe fall into his hands. And as ambitious princes ſeldom ſet any bounds to their projects, the ſultan flattered himſelf that the conqueſt of the iſles of Rhodes and Cyprus would pave the way to that of all the iſles of the Archipelago; and that after this, Aſia minor could never reſiſt a power ſo formidable as his would then be. Full of ſuch vaſt deſigns, the dangers and difficulties of which his ambition concealed from him, he again ſet the negotiation on foot with the embaſſadors of Cyprus. His miniſters ſet a price upon the king's liberty, and demanded an hundred and twenty thouſand florins of gold for his ranſom. The prince rejected this propoſal, not only becauſe he looked on the ſum as too extravagant, but alſo becauſe he wanted money, his exchequer being quite exhauſted by the war. But the grand maſter, who was afraid leſt the Saracens ſhould at laſt ſeize on the iſle of Cyprus, adviſed him to get out of the hands of thoſe barbarians at any rate; and the order, to facilitate his liberty, ſupplied him with the greateſt part of his ranſom: peace was made on theſe conditions.

The ſultan to amuſe the grand maſter, and under pretence of deſiring to maintain a laſting peace with the order, renewed at the ſame time the treaty which the ſultan his predeceſſor had made during the maſterſhip of Naillac. But the grand maſter, who paid for good intelligence, and kept ſpies in Alexandria, and even in that prince's council, was ſoon informed

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of his moſt ſecret deſigns. To prevent being ſurprized by the Barbarian, he immediately ſent advice of it to pope Eugenius IV. and to moſt of the chriſtian princes, tranſmitting at the ſame time a general ſummons into all parts of the chriſtian world, with expreſs injunctions to the priors to ſend away forthwith 25 knights or commanders out of each priory to Rhodes. But a much greater number of them arrived, whom zeal and courage had drawn thither; part of them were kept at Rhodes, and the reſt diſtributed into the iſles belonging to the order. Brother Hugh de Sarcus, grand prior of France, ſent to the capital of the order a ſhip laden with croſs-bows, arrow-heads, and other arms neceſſary for the defence of the place. The grand maſter took care to ſupply it with corn and all ſorts of proviſions: in fine, this worthy chief, by his vigilance and activity, put himſelf in ſo good a poſture to receive the enemy, that the news of his armament ſoon paſſed into Egypt; and the ſultan flattering himſelf that the order could not long maintain ſo great a number of knights, thought fit to ſuſpend his enterprize.

THIS great expence however, having emptied the treaſury of the order, the grand maſter, to fill it again, reſolved to call a general chapter at Rhodes, as the cuſtom was in thoſe times: the priors generally brought to the chapters the reſponſions of the commandries that lay within their priories, with a liſt of thoſe who had not diſcharged that obligation: and as it was impoſſible for the order to maintain ſo many different wars againſt the infidels without this ſupply, the chapter decreed ſevere penalties againſt ſuch as were negligent and refractory, endeavouring at the ſame time by new citations, to raiſe the neceſſary funds for the armaments of the order.

'TWAS with this deſign, and with a view of reſtoring a regularity in diſcipline, that the grand maſter called the chapter at Rhodes, to be held there on May 23. 1428. at which, among a great number of priors, bailiffs, and commanders, were alſo preſent brother John de Vivone, prior of Aquitain, and lieutenant to the grand maſter in the three languages of France; brother John de Ventadour, great commander; brother Anthony de St. Chamand, marſhal of the order; brother John de Laſtic, prior of Auvergne; brother Gratian de la Tour, bailiffs of the commerce of Rhodes, and ſeveral other old knights of different nations.

THE grand maſter opened the chapter with a diſcourſe, in which he repreſented the unavoidable expences the order had been obliged to put themſelves to both in defending the iſland of Cyprus, as well as in guarding againſt the ſultan's ill deſigns, the conſequences of which were always to be feared; that Rhodes and the iſlands which depended on it, if they did not keep up a ſufficient body of forces, could never be ſecured from the attempts of Amurath; and that the order ſupported itſelf only by the jealouſy that was fomented between the Turks and Saracens, two formidable powers which it would be hard to reſiſt, if from a zeal for a religion that was common to both, they ſhould join their forces againſt the order; that in this ſituation nothing came into the treaſury out of the priories of France, the commandries of which had been ruined in the war carried on by the Engliſh in that kingdom; that Bohemia, Moravia, and Sileſia, being haraſſed by the Huſſites, did not furniſh any quota to the order; that Poland being engaged in war againſt the Teutonick knights, ſcarce kept up any correſpondence with Rhodes, and that it was the buſineſs of the chapter, by ſome wiſe regulations, to re-eſtabliſh, as near as poſſible, the reſponſions on the old foot, which thoſe ſeveral nations ſeemed entirely to have forgot.

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The chapter, out of regard to theſe juſt remonſtrances, and to make up the fund of the reſponſions of France, granted leave to alienate ſeveral lands belonging to the commandries of the order to ſecular perſons for whom they lay convenient, provided always that ſuch alienations were made only for life, and at a certain rate. With the ſame view, they by the next ſtatute erected a new dignity in the language of Germany, that of great bailiff; and annexed to it an inſpection and authority over all the priories and commandries lying in Germany, particularly in Bohemia and the adjoining provinces, where the Huſſites had made cruel ravages ever ſince the execution of John Hus and Jerom of Prague at the council of Conſtance. To the authority and functions of grand bailiff of Germany, they annexed likewiſe the inſpection over the governor and caſtle of St. Peter, a ſtrong place in Caria, built, as we have obſerved, near or upon the foundations of the old city of Halicarnaſſus, and ſerving for a bulwark to the iſle of Rhodes on the ſide of Aſia minor and the main land. The great bailiff was to viſit this place every year, either in perſon or by his lieutenant. He was empowered by his commiſſion to review the garriſon; to break uſeleſs ſoldiers; to fill up their places with others more capable of ſerving: in a word, every thing that concerned the defence of that caſtle and its territory was put under his juriſdiction, except only the houſhold and officers of the governor, and ſome ſoldiers, who after the taking of Smyrna by the Mogul Tartars, had thrown themſelves into the ſea, and ſwimming to the ſhips of the order that lay at anchor, eſcaped the fury of thoſe barbarians. The order by way of recompence for their valour, had aſſigned them this place as a retirement for the reſt of their lives, where they were taken care of, and maintained at the publick expence. The chapter had afterwards given the iſland of Niſſaro to brother Fantin Quintic, prior of Rome by an infeoffment, on condition of paying an annual rent of 600 florins of gold to the publick treaſury; of maintaining there at his own expence, a garriſon neceſſary for its defence, and of giving ſubſiſtence to two knights and a ſerving brother. 'Twas then the cuſtom in all the priories of the order, that when they admitted a young knight, they aſſigned him at the ſame time a commandry for his reſidence, the commander whereof was to ſubſiſt and maintain him, and bring him up in the ſpirit of the order till ſuch time as he was qualified to go to Rhodes.

By this wiſe regulation, the practice of which it were to be wiſhed might be reſtored, no young knights were to be ſeen wandering about in cities and provinces, and often without having any thing of religious about them but the croſs of the order, which ſome ſtill wear rather as a badge of diſtinction that flatters their vanity, than as a mark of the obligations they have entered into before the altar, of leading an holy and regular life.

Be that as it will, at preſent, we find in the annals of the order, that the commander of Cagnac deſiring to be excuſed from receiving into his houſe a young knight called brother William de Riery, who had been aſſigned the commandry of Cagnac for his reſidence; the commander, whether he pretended that his houſe was too full of pupils, or that it was the turn of the commander of St. Sulpice, ſent him to him. This latter refuſed to receive him, and complained to the grand maſter, who being very juſtly angry at the commander of Cagnac, threatened to deprive him of his habit and commandry, if he neglected to maintain and provide for the young knight whom the order had committed to his care; a circumſtance which I ſhould not have taken notice of, had it not ſerved to ſhew, that in the middle of the fifteenth age, near 400 years after the firſt

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inſtitution of the order, all the commandries of it were like ſo many ſeminaries and academies, where the knights were alike educated in piety and the exerciſe of arms, two qualities, which though they happen not to meet together in ſecular perſons, may nevertheleſs form great men in each particular kind, but which ought to be ever united in a knight of the order of St. John.

'TWAS from the ſame ſpirit of regularity, and to keep the knights the more cloſely to their reſidence, that the grand maſter forbad them by an expreſs bull to go to Rome and ſettle in the pope's court without his permiſſion, or that of the procurator general of the order. He made this wiſe regulation in order to check the reſtleſs and ambitious humour of ſome knights, who the ſooner to poſſeſs themſelves of the commandries and principal dignities, inſtead of meriting them by their ſervices, ſought to get them by recommendation from the pope or his cardinals, who had the greateſt hand in the government of the church. Thus was it that the grand maſter, in the interval which the truce made with the ſultan of Egypt allowed him, employed his authority to maintain a regularity of diſcipline among his religious. To make their abode in the iſle and convent of Rhodes more convenient for them, he built a magnificent infirmary upon the foundations of the old one, endowing it at his own expence. According to the ſpirit and conſtant practice of the order, ſuch knights as were ſick or wounded, were viſited and taken care of there with all the regard and attention due to noble perſonages, that repreſented the conquerors of the iſle, and were every day defending the poſſeſſion and ſovereignty of it at the expence of their blood.

1437 IN the practice of theſe peaceful virtues, did the grand maſter Anthony Fluvian, or de la Riviere, end his days. He ſaw the approaches of death without any diſturbance, and with great piety: and deſiring to die as he had always lived, a true religious, he diſpoſed of all his effects, and ſent 200000 ducats into the treaſury, the fruit of his thriftineſs and retrenchments from that magnificence which luxury and vanity ſeem to require of ſuch as fill the firſt dignities in the church.

THE chapter aſſembled immediately to provide him a ſucceſſor, and the members of it had recourſe to arbitration: they firſt made choice of 13 knights, to whom the chapter referred the right of election. Theſe 13 electors prepared themſelves for it by receiving the ſacraments of penance and the holy euchariſt: they afterwards ſhut themſelves up in a room diſtinct from the chapter-houſe, and after a careful examination of the merit of the ſeveral candidates, of their perſonal qualities, and eſpecially of thoſe which were moſt proper for government, they unanimouſly gave their votes in favour of brother JOHN DE LASTIC, grand prior of Auvergne, who was acknowledged in form by all the chapter as grand maſter of the order. As that lord was then at his priory, they immediately diſpatched two grand croſſes to carry him the inſtrument of his election; but before theſe deputies ſet out from Rhodes, the convent made them take an oath that they would not aſk any favour of him before he had taken poſſeſſion of his dignity, none eſpecially that might be to the prejudice of the ſenior knights of the order.

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THE grand maſter, upon the news of his election, made the beſt of his way for Rhodes. As ſoon as he arrived there, he received advice from the ſpies which the order kept in Egypt, that ſecret deſigns were forming in that kingdom againſt the iſle of Rhodes, and what was ſtill worſe, theſe ſpies informed him that they ſuſpected Amurath II. emperor of the Turks, approved this enterprize, or at leaſt would not oppoſe it.

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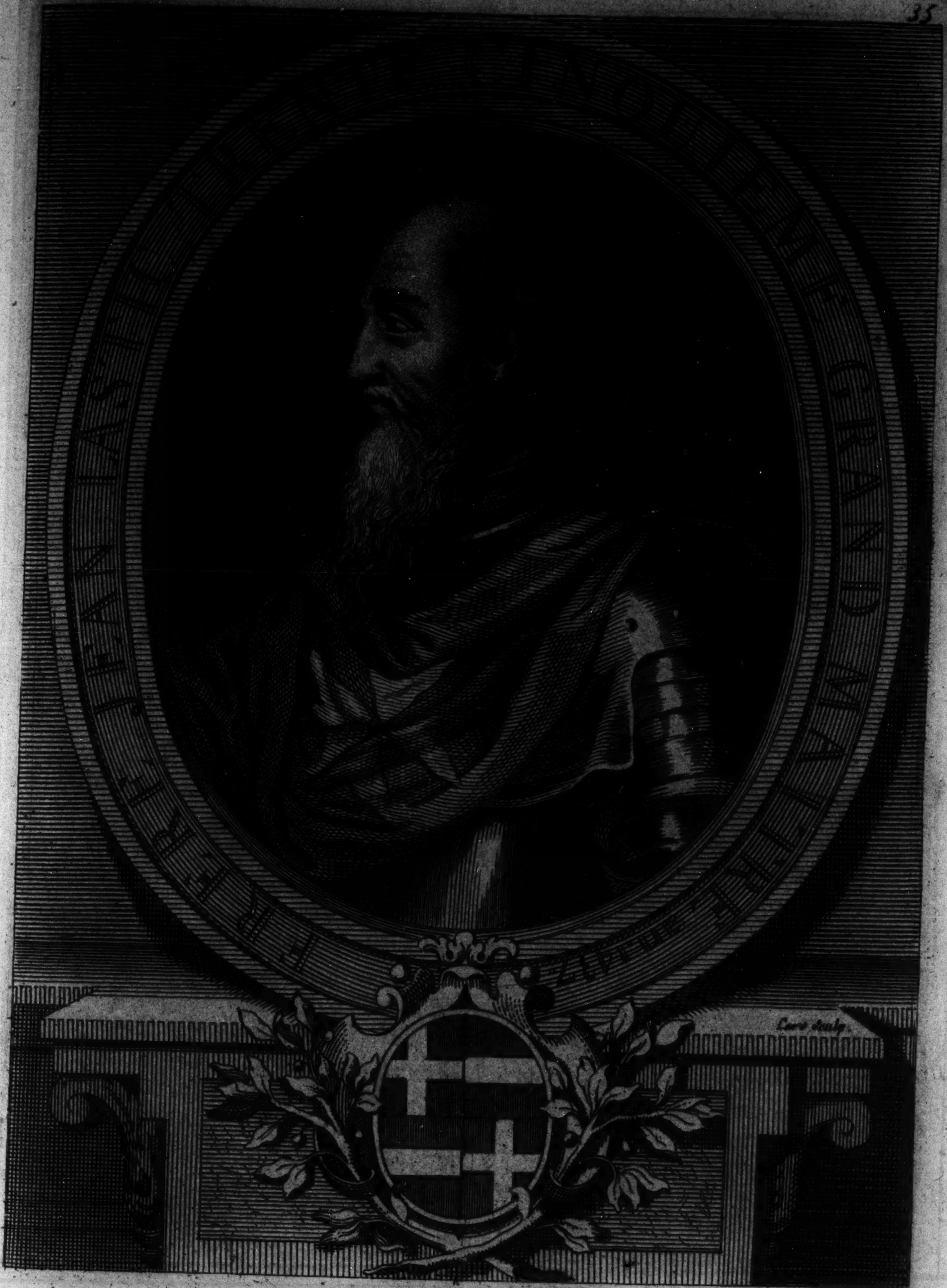
FRERE JEAN LASTIC ... QUIEME GRAND MAITRE en 1437
Cars sculp.

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THE emulation and jealouſy between thoſe two neighbouring powers had ſerved hitherto as a kind of ſuccour to the order: but Amurath being uneaſy at the league made againſt him by the chriſtian princes, was well enough ſatisfied that the ſultan of Egypt ſhould at this juncture find employment for all the forces of the knights. However, as they were not yet fully acquainted with that prince's intentions, the grand maſter ſent brother John Morel, prior of the church, to him, as his embaſſador, under pretence of notifying his election to him, and to demand of him a renewing of the truce which the order had made with his predeceſſor. 'Twas a common practice in the order, and which the popes had authorized for the knights to make a truce with one party of infidels, at the ſame time they were oppoſing another. The prior of Rhodes executed his commiſſion with great skill and addreſs. The grand ſeignor returned the civilities paid him in the new grand maſter's name, with other compliments, but expreſſed in general terms that carried no meaning with them; declining at the ſame time to enter into any negotiation, under pretence that the old treaties were ſufficient for the ſecurity of both ſides. The prior returned to Rhodes and acquainted the grand maſter that if the war was not declared, yet peace was not more to be depended on. The grand maſter, in order to diſcover if poſſible the deſigns of the infidels, ſent William de Laſtic his nephew, ſeneſchal of the order, with two veſſels, towards the coaſts of Egypt and Barbary. This knight was not long before he returned to Rhodes, and acquainted the grand maſter that he would be immediately attacked by all the forces of Egypt. The certainty of war made the knights arm without loſs of time; they fitted out eight gallies, four ſhips with high decks, and ſeveral tranſport-veſſels, putting a conſiderable body of troops on board of them, working at the ſame time in the iſle of Rhodes and thoſe adjacent to it, in order to put the principal places in a condition of defence.

are these the 2 vessels of the Pr. Edmundes.

THE ſultan on his ſide put to ſea a conſiderable fleet, conſiſting of eighteen gallies, a great number of veſſels of different bulk, well provided with arms, and laden with a conſiderable body of croſsbow-men and land forces. But to give ſome colour to this armament, the ſultan pretended that the iſle of Rhodes, as well as that of Cyprus, depended formerly on the empire of Egypt. The firſt attempt made by his forces, was upon a little iſland called Chateauroux, ſituated an hundred miles to the eaſt of the iſle of Rhodes, and only a mile, or at moſt a French league, from Lycia. This iſle, or rather this rock, belonged to the order, who had fortified it with a caſtle, over the gate of which the arms of the order of St. John, and thoſe of Arragon, were quartered; a circumſtance which might incline us to believe that it was the language of that nation which had fortified this little place.

THE Saracens met with little oppoſition in making their deſcent, and in all probability ſeized on this little caſtle with the like eaſe; at leaſt there is no paſſage in hiſtory that takes notice of any conſiderable combat that happened: they re-embarked after having deſtroyed this ſettlement, ſailed for Rhodes, and appeared off the iſland on September 25, 1440.

THE inhabitants emulating the example and care of the grand maſter and his knights had taken arms, and lining the coaſts, appeared reſolute to oppoſe the infidels, if they ſhould offer to make a deſcent. The marſhal of the order, who by virtue of that poſt had the command of the fleet, ſailed out of the port in good order, and though he was much inferior to the enemy in number of ſhips, yet he advanced boldly and offered them battle. The infidels, who imagined that all the ſhips of the order were

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out a cruizing, were ſurprized to ſee this armament, and retired into a bay, where turning the poops of their ſhips towards the land, they contented themſelves with making a great fire with their artillery, to keep the Chriſtians at a diſtance. They were anſwered in the ſame manner; the reſt of the day paſſed in cannonading one another, and night coming on, the chriſtian fleet put into the port of Rhodes, the commander of it deſigning, after he had taken in ſome powder and freſh troops, to return immediately in queſt of the enemy. But the Saracens ſeeing that it was impracticable to attack Rhodes in ſight of the chriſtian fleet, ſet ſail in the night. Their deſign was to ſurprize the iſle of Lango. The marſhal, whoſe experience ſupplied the place of ſpies, gueſſing at their deſign, put out to ſea at the ſame time, and crowding all the ſail he could, and his men plying their oars, he advanced with great expedition under the cannon of the caſtle of Lango, ſo that the Saracens, when they came up, were ſtrangely ſurprized to find him in their front, drawn up in order of battle, and offering to fight them a ſecond time.

THE Egyptian admiral, aſtoniſhed at this, tacked about to avoid an engagement, and got to an iſland which belonged to the Turks; and entering into the harbour, which ſeemed in a manner abandoned, he joined his gallies to one another, with their prows towards the ſea, and erected batteries upon them, to repulſe the knights if they ſhould offer to attack him; and the Turks who inhabited the iſland, knowing Amurath's intentions, and influenced likewiſe by the religion which they profeſſed in common with the Saracens, ran to their ſuccour againſt the Chriſtians.

THE marſhal, who had followed the Egyptian fleet without loſing ſight of it, ſeeing it ſo well fortified, called a council of war. Moſt of the officers, in order to diſſuade him from attacking the infidels, repreſented to him their number and forces, which were much ſuperior to thoſe of the order; and beſides, there was a bad bottom in that place, it being filled with a quick-ſand that was very dangerous. They were all for returning to Rhodes; but the marſhal, who did not know what danger was, told them that the knights of St. John were never uſed to count the number of their enemies, and that he would ſooner chooſe to meet with a grave in the ſea, than lie under the reproach of ſeeing the barbarians ſo near him, without daring to attack them. But as his capacity was no ways inferior to his valour, he put his troops on board flat-bottomed veſſels, that drew leſs water; and advancing at their head, being covered at the ſame time by his artillery, he attacked the Saracens, who received him with a ſmart fire from their cannon and muſkets. If the attack was briſk, the defence was equally as brave, and the Saracens, ſupported by the Turks, exerted themſelves to the utmoſt, in order to hinder the Chriſtians from approaching their gallies. The night coming on, parted the combatants; the Infidels loſt above ſeven hundred men on this occaſion, and on the Chriſtians ſide they did not compute above ſixty. The marſhal, covered over with the blood of his enemies, and wounded in five ſeveral places, made for Rhodes, upon ſome ſigns of bad weather; and for fear of a ſtorm, which the pilots were threatened with. The Infidels took the advantage of his retreat, to get out of thoſe ſeas in the night time, and came firſt off the iſle of Cyprus: there they made a deſcent, and ſet fire to the great commandry of the order; which was all the advantage the ſultan had from an armament and expedition which had put him to a conſiderable expence.

THIS ill ſucceſs ſerved only to exaſperate him the more: he diſſembled however his reſentment, and the deſigns he had in view, in order to have an opportunity of falling upon them with a greater force. But the grand maſter was not impoſed upon; new fortifications were by his orders added to the city of Rhodes, and he ſupplied the magazines with ammunition and proviſions. Theſe firſt inſtances of his care were followed with a general citation, ſummoning all the knights, able to bear arms, to repair to the convent: and the prince granted at the ſame time a general pardon to all exiles and criminals, excepting ſuch as were guilty of high treaſon and incendiaries. He carried his views farther, and ſent embaſſadors to moſt of the courts of Europe to ſollicit ſuccours. Theſe embaſſadors did not fail to lay before thoſe ſovereigns the power and forces of the ſultan of Egypt, and to repreſent that that infidel prince was ready to lay ſiege to Rhodes; and that if they ſhould abandon the order in this juncture, all that the knights could expect, after a long defence, would be to bury themſelves under the ruins of the place; but that the chriſtian princes would lie under an eternal reproach, ſhould they ſuffer the ruin of an iſland and a ſtate, that ſerved for a bulwark to Chriſtendom, and which, by its lying ſo near to the holy Land, might facilitate the conqueſt of it. The ſeveral princes, to whom theſe embaſſadors were ſent, made no other return to all theſe juſt remonſtrances, than by employing a few empty expreſſions of an uſeleſs compaſſion. Moſt of them, detained at home by wars with their neighbours, did not think it proper to leave their dominions in ſuch a juncture: beſides the firſt fire of devotion, which had produced ſo many cruſades, was now in a manner ſpent: and a great many looked upon thoſe tranſports of piety, either as the reſult of a miſtaken and irregular zeal, or perhaps as one of thoſe ſprings which politicians ſet a going, in order to ſend away thoſe princes and great men whom they thought too potent and too jealous of the privileges of their dignity at a diſtance from their country, and keep them there on a pretence of devotion.

BE that as it will, the order obtained no ſuccours from the chriſtian princes in this juncture: John Paleologus emperor of Conſtantinople was the only one that made a league offenſive and defenſive with them againſt the ſultan of Egypt: but this league produced nothing but a treaty that had no manner of conſequence or effect. Of all thoſe vaſt dominions that had belonged formerly to the empire of the great Conſtantine, nothing was then left to Paleologus but only the city of Conſtantinople, with its adjoining territory. The Turks kept that prince blocked up as it were on all ſides; ſo that out of regard to his own preſervation, and for fear of ſeeing himſelf ſpeedily beſieged, he durſt not part with the ſuccours which he had ſtipulated to ſend to Rhodes. This inſignificant treaty was followed by another made with the ſultan of Egypt himſelf, which indeed ſeemed to be ſomething more advantageous; but that prince, who was an excellent politician, concluded it only with a deſign of amuſing the grand maſter.

SIR Fantin Quirini, a noble Venetian, bailiff of Lango, and great admiral of the order, held the iſland of Nizzaro of it by way of fief, and was obliged to take care of defending thoſe two iſles. The ſultan apprehending that if he ſhould make his attack on that ſide, Quirini's relations, who had a ſtrong intereſt in the ſenate, might prevail with the republick to ſend troops to the aſſiſtance of the order, notified to him, that out of regard to his nation with which he had always lived in good correſpondence, he would readily agree to a treaty of neutrality for the iſlands which were under his government. Quirini communicated theſe propoſitions to the grand maſter and council of the order; ſome fed themſelves with hopes that this private treaty might be improved to a more general one, and perhaps to the re-eſtabliſhment of peace: but the moſt ſkilful were of a different opinion, judging that the ſole motive of the ſultan's offering this neutrality was only to prevent a rupture with the Venetians who alone enjoyed the commerce of Alexandria, and with a ſuppoſition that if he could once make himſelf maſter of Rhodes, the neighbouring iſles, which depended on it, would follow the fate of the capital, and fall of courſe into his hands. However, as the order would by this treaty be diſcharged from the care and expence of maintaining troops in thoſe two iſlands, they told the bailiff that he might conclude it, provided it was drawn up in terms ſuitable to the ſovereignty of the order.

THE ſultan, from a motive that was very near of the ſame nature with that abovementioned, agreed with the king of Cyprus on a like neutrality, for the veſſels of Rhodes and Egypt that ſhould put into the ports of his kingdom. Yet in the midſt of theſe preliminary treaties, which ſeemed to uſher in a peace or at leaſt a long truce, a conſiderable fleet of the ſultan's was again ſeen off of the iſle of Rhodes, which landed eighteen thouſand foot in that place, beſides a ſtrong body of horſe and Mamelukes, in which the principal ſtrength of the Egyptians conſiſted. Theſe barbarians, without ſitting down before any other place in the iſland, marched directly to the capital, which they beſieged at the ſame time that their fleet lay off at ſea, in order to block up the port and prevent the throwing in of ſuccours.

1444.
Auguſt.
PROOF III.

THE reader may juſtly expect to meet in this place with an exact relation of this ſiege, with the particulars of the ſallies made by the knights, the ſtormings which they oppos'd, and the killed and wounded on both ſides; but theſe knights knew much better how to handle their ſwords than their pens. The little learning at that time in the order, and indeed in that age, has deprived us of ſo curious and ſo important a relation: all that is to be found in the regiſters of the chancery is, that the ſiege laſted forty days; that the infidels battered down the place with a great train of artillery; that there were ſeveral aſſaults given in which they were always repulſed; and that their general having loſt the beſt part of his troops, re-embarked with the remainder, and was the firſt that carried to his maſter the news of the ill ſucceſs of his arms.

40 days X

THE grand maſter wiſely judging that it would not be long before the infidels would make him another viſit under the walls of Rhodes, diſpatched William de Laſtic his nephew into the weſt, to give the pope and moſt of the chriſtian princes an account of the advantages lately gained by the order over the Saracens. He took this ſtep in hopes of obtaining ſome ſuccour, and that ſovereigns, like other men, would declare themſelves more freely for the victorious party. In fact, as ſoon as they heard in Europe that the knights had drove the infidels out of their iſle, abundance of the young nobility of Europe, particularly the gentlemen of the kingdoms of France and Spain, fond of ſharing in the glory of the order, were very eager to be admitted into it. This was a very ſeaſonable recruit, and helped to fill up the forces of the order, which had been much diminiſhed by loſſes which are inſeparable from war. But this at the ſame time was an additional expence to the convent; and in order to make a proviſion for it, the grand maſter called a general chapter at Rhodes, which was to aſſemble July 25.

WHILST this aſſembly was ſitting, the grand maſter received an account from the ſeneſchal his nephew, that he had gone thro' moſt of the courts of Europe, but found the princes ſo exaſperated againſt one another, and ſo univerſally engaged in war, that there were no hopes of any great ſuccour. The grand maſter and the chapter ſaw plainly by theſe letters that they muſt rely upon their own ſtrength entirely; whereupon, by common conſent, they encreaſed the reſponſions for five years. By the ſame ſtatute the priors were forbid to receive a greater number of knights than the order could maintain; and they agreed that the grand maſter ſhould be impowered to put an end to this deſtructive war by a peace, if they made him any overtures of it. The treaty was carried on the year following by the agents of James Cœur a French merchant, who was afterwards treaſurer to Charles VII. king of France. He was a citizen of the town of Bourges, a man of petite generation, as an hiſtorian of the time expreſſes it, to ſhew that he was born of parents who were not noble. But the defect of birth, if it really be a defect, was abundantly repaired by the greatneſs of his genius, by his induſtry and his application. France never gave birth to a merchant who extended its commerce ſo far and made ſuch prodigious profits: he had whole fleets at his command, and above three hundred factors diſperſed in ſeveral countries of Europe and Aſia, and even as far as Sarraſiname, as the author abovementioned expreſſes it. 'Twas one of theſe factors, who in virtue of the ſafe conducts which he had for his commerce, conducted the agent of the order to Alexandria on board his maſter's gallies. A peace was made, but all that we know of the conditions of the treaty is, that the envoy of Rhodes, after it was concluded, brought back with him into the iſland a great number of chriſtian ſlaves and priſoners that had been taken during the war. A bull of the grand maſter's, bearing date Feb. 8. 1446. is ſtill preſerved in the treaſury of the order, in which he orders brother Raimond d'Arpajon grand prior of St. Giles, and the receiver of the language of Provence, to pay James Cœur what was due to him for this voyage.

Hiſtoire de Charles VII. roy de France par Mat. de Coucy p. 691. edit. de Louvre.

1446

1448. THE grand maſter's joy in having procured ſo many poor Chriſtians their liberty, was a little damped by the concern that ſome letters ſent from pope Nicholas V. gave him. There were ſome commanders at Rome, and at the pontiff's court, who were uneaſy at the reſponſions of their commandries being encreaſed: they complained to the pope of it as if it had been a tyrannical impoſition, and as if the grand maſter and the chapter had exceeded the bounds ſet to their authority by the ſtatutes. Nicolas V. being prejudiced againſt the grand maſter, and without examining whether there were no miſrepreſentation in theſe complaints, wrote about them in harſh terms to Laſtic, ſending him at the ſame time a collection of the ſtatutes made in the laſt chapter, which he ſuppoſed had been tranſgreſſed, and which he ordered him to obſerve for the future as the rule of his conduct.

THE grand maſter laid the pope's letters before the council, and made an anſwer in terms which indeed were very reſpectful; but at the ſame time full of that reſolution which truth and juſtice always inſpire. He repreſented to that pontiff, that pope Eugenius IV. his predeceſſor, after having examined the accounts of the expence the order had been at in ſuſtaining the ſiege of Rhodes, had approved the augmentation of the reſponſions, in order to pay off the debts it had been obliged to contract during the war; that ſuch as made their complaints on this article were unworthy to wear the habit, fellows, ſays he, that never ſaw Rhodes, or elſe made no ſtay there, and with a deſign only of getting rid of the regular diſcipline, or probably to keep out of the way of dangers that are uſual in war, eſpecially in a bloody ſiege; that moſt of thoſe religious, inſtead of reſiding ſo much as upon their commandries, which they were

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obliged to do, and exerciſing the duties of hoſpitality, had entirely devoted themſelves to the court of Rome, where they paſſed away their lives in luxury and pleaſure; that he beſought his holineſs to ſend them back immediately to the convent, to live in the chief houſe of their order, and to learn from the example of their brother-companions, the life a true knight of St. John ought to lead. As to the ſtatutes which his holineſs had ſent to him, they agreed in council, after having exactly compared them with the originals, that it could be the work only of ſome forger of writings, who had inſerted ſeveral articles that were never heard of before in the order, and which were invented only to encourage the ſpirit of appropriation and libertiniſm of thoſe profligate knights.

The indignation which the grand maſter diſcovered againſt thoſe mutineers was the better founded, in that they lived under his government at Rhodes, in an exact obſervance of their rule and ſtatutes; that in the very heat of the armaments which were frequently making, the knights never neglected to keep a ſtrict faſt during Advent and Lent; that they abſtained from meat every Wedneſday in the year; and that in the refectory and all other regular places, no body durſt interrupt a ſilence which in that place was obſerved as regularly as in a community of monks and hermits. The grand maſter's letter, drawn up in form of an apology, was ſigned by the whole council, and the pope ſeemed ſatisfied with it.

But ſeveral of the European commanders, who were ſupported by the protection of ſome cardinals, and had alſo powerful friends in the order, and in the very council, were not a jot more exact in paying their reſponſions: ſo that one would have thought that they would pretend to free themſelves from their vow of obedience. The order, by their rebellion, fell inſenſibly into a kind of anarchy: ſeveral chapters and various aſſemblies were held on this account, in which very wholeſome regulations were made, but diſobedience, power, credit and cabal rendered them entirely ineffectual.

The council ſeeing the authority of the government ſlighted, could not think of a more proper remedy, in order to put a ſtop to ſo great a diſorder, than by putting the ſovereign authority and the entire diſpoſition of the revenue into the hands of the grand maſter only. This was a ſort of dictatorſhip, which is always dangerous in a republican ſtate; but they were ſo perſuaded of the zeal of Laſtic, of his ſincere piety, and withall of his moderation, that they made no difficulty of entruſting him with an abſolute authority. He excuſed himſelf at firſt from accepting it on account of his great age; and for fear of breaking in upon the antient conſtitution of the order, of which he was a zealons obſerver, he could not be brought to comply with the preſſing ſolicitations of his religious, but upon condition that this alteration in the government ſhould laſt only for three years, after the expiration of which term the ſupreme council ſhould reſume its antient authority.

The wiſdom and reſolution of his conduct ſoon juſtified the choice the order had made; by virtue of the regulations made in the laſt chapter, he threatened openly to deprive all thoſe of their commandries, and even degrade them from the order, who did not by a certain ſtated time pay in their reſponſions. Theſe menaces, from a ſovereign and a ſuperior, whom they knew incapable of being moved by any recommendation, intimidated the moſt rebellious. They all gave ſecurity for their obedience, till ſuch time as they ſhould meet with an opportunity of remitting money to Rhodes; all bowed and ſubmitted before the authority of ſo worthy an head, armed with ſo juſt an authority.

But as funds in the beginning were wanting in order to pay the debts and provide for the indiſpenſable neceſſities of the order, he took them up on the revenues appropriated to the maſterſhip. The firſt uſe that he made of his new authority was to ſtrip himſelf; and like a true father, ſacrificed with pleaſure the great revenues annexed to his dignity for the maintenance of his children, and the ſubſiſtence of the troops which the order kept in the ſeveral iſlands which then compoſed its dominions. However, that they might not abuſe his eaſineſs, he commanded all ſuch commanders as reſided at Rhodes, and received the value of an hundred crowns of gold revenue from their commandries, not to receive any thing more out of the treaſury of the order for their ſubſiſtence.

This regulation of domeſtick diſcipline was ſucceeded by more important concerns. As in the diſorder that the revenue was in, they had reaſon to fear a rupture with the Turks, who were never very ſcrupulous in obſerving treaties, the grand maſter ſent embaſſadors to Amurath II. who was then upon the throne, to diſcover how that prince was diſpoſed with reſpect to the order. We have ſeen, during the war which the ſultan of Egypt was making in the iſle of Rhodes, how Amurath, that he might take his meaſures according as events ſhould happen, put off the grand maſter's propoſal of renewing the antient treaties of peace. The new embaſſadors of the order found him more compliant at this juncture: that prince had enough to do to defend himſelf againſt a formidable league of chriſtian princes, into which the king of Hungary, the famous John Huniades vaivod of Tranſilvania, the Walachians, Scander-beg king of Albania, and even Uſum-Caſſan king of Perſia had entered. But of all his enemies none was ſo terrible to him as the king or prince of Albania.

Albania, a province of Europe, is ſituated eaſtward of us along the gulph of Venice; it has on the eaſt Macedonia, of which it was formerly a part, Epirus on the ſouth, and on the north Servia and a corner of Dalmatia. Some high mountains divide it from Epirus, and other mountains, marſhes, craggy rocks, and narrow paſſes make the country impracticable to troops that are unacquainted with the ground. This advantageous ſituation, with the courage and ferocity of theſe mountaineers, made them terrible to their neighbours, eſpecially to the Turks: Amurath undertook to ſubdue them. John Caſtriot, who reigned then in this country, defended himſelf for a long time with great courage; but he was forced at laſt to yield to forces ſuperior to thoſe of his little ſtate. Caſtriot, to ſave the poor remains of his fortune, entered into a treaty with the Turkiſh prince, and as a pledge of his ſubjection, was obliged to give him his three ſons, Conſtantine, George and John in hoſtage. Amurath, without any regard to the faith of this treaty, ordered them to be circumciſed, and inſtructed in the Mahometan law; and the father of theſe three unfortunate princes, hearing of their misfortune, died of grief. Amurath, under pretence of ſecuring the principality to the children of the abovementioned Albanian prince, ſeized upon it, and put ſtrong garriſons into all the places.

'Tis not known what became of the two eldeſt ſons of John Caſtriot. Moſt hiſtorians accuſe Amurath of poiſoning them; others ſay that he only put out their eyes, and incapacitated them from ever having any heirs. The like fate was deſigned for the third; but they ſay Amurath was ſo charmed with his agreeable mien, and a certain air of grandeur that diſcovered it ſelf already in that young prince, that he exempted him from thoſe puniſhments, and ordered him to be carefully brought up in the religion of Mahomet, and in all the exerciſes proper for a ſoldier.

As ſoon as he was able to bear arms, Amurath took him with him into the field; and in his very firſt campaign he performed actions of ſuch ſurpriſing valour, that the grand ſeignior, by way of alluſion to the name of a great king of Macedonia, would have him called Scander-beg, i. e. lord Alexander. All the ſucceeding part of his life correſponded with this favourable beginning: whether he was engaged in duels and ſingle combats, which he undertook againſt adventurers who challenged him at the head of armies, or elſe in general battles, he always gained the honour of the day. He ſoon became the favourite of Amurath, and afterwards one of his generals; but the remembrance of Albania, which the young prince conſidered as his inheritance, and a ſecret uneaſineſs to ſee himſelf engaged in a religion different from that of his father's, affected him more than all the ſultan's favour, ſo that he was reſolutely bent to recover his dominions at any rate, and return to his mother the church.

Scander-beg being fixed in this deſign, took his time when Amurath's ſecretary was in the country. He came to him, drew him aſide, and having forced him to draw up letters patents directed to the governor of Croia, the capital of Albania, by which he was ordered to deliver up the government of that place to Scander-Beg, he immediately ſtabbed that miniſter, and ſlew all his train to a man, and advanced with all poſſible diligence to the gates of Croia. He was received into that capital of Albania with all the reſpect that was due to the orders he brought; but in the night, letting in three hundred men, which he had cauſed to advance and poſt themſelves privately near the gates of the city, he put the Turkiſh governor and all the garriſon to the ſword, and without loſing time haſted into all parts of Albania, which he reduced into his power. Moſt of the chriſtian princes his neighbours ſent to congratulate him on his good ſucceſs; and the Venetians, who looked upon his dominions as a barrier to cover thoſe of the republick, ſupplied him with conſiderable ſums to levy troops.

There was no want of ſoldiers: the Albanians, a warlike people, offered themſelves in crouds to take the field; but out of this great number which would have formed a conſiderable army, he choſe only eight thouſand foot and ſeven thouſand horſe. With this ſmall body of troops, and the advantage of the mountains and narrow paſſes with which the country abounded, he beat four great armies of the Turks. The firſt commanded by Ali, the ſecond by Feris-Beg, and the two others by Muſtapha Baſha, Baſſa or Pacha, as different authors write him. Amurath aſcribing theſe great loſſes to a want of courage or capacity in his generals, fancied the war would go on more ſucceſsfully under his own direction, and therefore reſolved to command his troops in perſon: he marched at the head of a formidable army to attack Scander-Beg, and indeed carried ſome places, but the taking of them coſt him more ſoldiers than the loſs of a battle would have done. He was attended in this expedition by young Mahomet his ſon, whoſe valour, courage and reſolution, as much as his birth, had engaged him to take him in for his partner in the empire; having a mind to ſhew his troops at one and the ſame time the capacity of an old captain, and the ardor and fire of a young conqueror.

In the ſecond campaign, the two ſultans prepared to form the ſiege of Croia, the capital of Albania; but before they undertook it, that they might not be diſturbed in the execution of their deſigns, they made a treaty of peace with the Venetians, in which it was expreſly ſtipulated, that the republick ſhould hold no correſpondence with the prince of Albania. 'Twas from the ſame motive, and in order to ſecure himſelf againſt all apprehenſions from the fleets of the order, that Amurath renewed with the grand maſter the treaties of peace which he had made with his predeceſſor.

The ſiege of Croia proved unhappy to the Turks: Amurath, after ſeeing part of his army deſtroyed by the ſudden attacks of Scander-Beg who kept the field, was at laſt obliged to raiſe it. The prince of Albania purſued him in his retreat, and cut to pieces the beſt part of his rear. Amurath fretting at the ill ſucceſs of the campaign, and worn out with the infirmities of old age, fell ſick: he was carried to Adrianople, where he ended his days, after a lingering illneſs of five or ſix months. This ſultan was regretted by his ſubjects, and even by the Chriſtians, eſpecially when they came to compare his reign and his conduct with that of his ſucceſſor; a young prince, and one of the greateſt conquerors indeed that Europe and Aſia ever ſaw, but at the ſame time of a cruel, perfidious, and bloody nature, and whoſe actions revived the hateful remembrance of the moſt inhuman tyrant.

The neceſſary connection of his hiſtory, with that which I write, and the bloody wars that he made upon the order of St. John, oblige me to give a more particular account of one of its greateſt enemies. He was a young prince, hardly 21 years old, whom nature and fortune conſpired in conjunction with an extraordinary valour, to make the terror of the whole world. His ambition was ſtill greater than his birth, and the empire to which he was born. He had very ſuperior talents, immenſe views, an admirable genius for diſtributing on proper occaſions the execution of his projects; was always attentive, always preſent to events, and never loſt ſight of the diſpoſitions and forces of his enemies: his thirſt after glory and pleaſures was inſatiable, and he abandoned himſelf to thoſe abominable ſenſualities which nature cannot think of without horror; he had no honour, no humanity, no religion; and eſteemed the alcoran as little as he did the goſpel; and according to his principles, there were but two divinities that deſerved to be worſhipped by men, fortune and valour.

Such was Mahomet II. who affected the title of Al-Biuch, or Mahomet the Great betimes, a title which poſterity hath continued to him. He was worthy of it, if we judge of him only by his conqueſts; but in monarchs there are virtues which ought to take place of valour, and a prince cannot be truly great without piety and juſtice; virtues which Mahomet had no notion of, or at leaſt thought the practice of them fit only for private men.

Yet no ſooner was the death of Amurath, and the advancement of Mahomet II. upon the Ottoman throne made publick, but the embaſſadors of the emperors of Conſtantinople and Trebizond, and moſt of the Grecian and eaſtern princes, crowded to the port. The grand maſter ſent brother Peter Zinot thither in the name of the order. All theſe miniſters, after making the uſual compliments upon theſe occaſions, preſſed for a confirmation of the old alliances made between the princes their maſters and the Ottoman houſe. Mahomet, whether dazzled with the charms of abſolute power, or that he had a mind to lull the embaſſadors into a ſecurity, received them all with an affected ſatisfaction, and readily renewed the treaties which they deſired to have confirmed. But as the conqueſt of Conſtantinople was the firſt aim of his ambition, he employed all the next year in making ſecretly the neceſſary preparations for ſo great

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an enterprize, and in ſecuring all the avenues that led to that capital of the eaſt, to prevent the throwing in of any ſuccours that the Greek emperor might obtain, either on the land ſide, or by the way of Pontus Euxinus, or the Black Sea.

IN this view he cauſed a fort to be erected on the European ſide of the Boſphorus. The emperor Conſtantine alarmed at this ſtep diſpatched embaſſadors to him, to complain of it as an infraction of the treaties of peace ſo lately renewed between them. Mahomet anſwered them at firſt with a ſeeming moderation, that he had only raiſed that fort to oppoſe the incurſions of the knights of Rhodes, who were as much enemies to the Greeks as to the Turks; and to ſecure, as he ſaid, the ſubjects of both empires againſt the inroads of the Latins. But the embaſſadors offering to inſiſt on the fidelity with which the order obſerved its treaties, Mahomet, tranſported by the violence of his temper, ordered them to hold their tongue, and ſwore, “That the firſt that ſhould dare to ſpeak a word to “him more on that ſubject, he would cauſe him to be flea'd alive.”

AFTER this declaration, and without keeping meaſures, he ordered his troops to advance and inveſt the capital of the Greek empire; and they began to form one of the moſt remarkable ſieges mentioned in all the hiſtory of the lower empire.

THE ſultan arrived in the camp on the ſecond of April: they ſay, that there were at leaſt 300000 men in his army, without reckoning a large fleet conſiſting of 250 veſſels of different bulk, which had 24000 men on board. All the force that they could muſter up in Conſtantinople to oppoſe ſuch formidable forces, hardly amounted to 6000 Greeks under arms, and about 3000 men, conſiſting of foreign troops and volunteers: which may well appear ſurprizing, conſidering the greatneſs of the city, and the prodigious number of its inhabitants. But theſe were none of the old Greeks, ſo renowned in antiquity for their valour, and the love of their country; all their genius was now turned entirely to commerce: Conſtantinople was ſcarce filled with any thing but merchants, without reckoning a large number of calojers and monks, moſt of them covetous wretches, who, rather than aſſiſt their ſovereign, buried their money in private places. So that it is no great wonder if Conſtantine, deſtitute of troops and ſuccours, could not hold out long againſt the efforts of the infidels. Notwithſtanding all the reſiſtance of the beſieged, the city was taken by ſtorm the forty ſecond day of the ſiege.

THE emperor choſe rather to be killed in defending his religion and his crown, than to fall alive into the hands of the infidels. Perhaps there never was ſeen a more melancholy and a more moving ſpectacle than what paſſed at the taking of this city. Above forty thouſand men were put to the ſword; ſixty thouſand ſold for ſlaves: nothing eſcaped the fury and avarice of the ſoldiery.

THE women deteſted the fruitfulneſs which had made them mothers, and lamented bitterly the fate of the young children which they carried in their arms. Here was a numberleſs multitude of young maidens to be ſeen, fearful, and faltering in their pace, who not knowing where to go, wandered about like poor ſtrangers in the very boſom of their country, and whilſt they were in queſt of their parents, fell into an abyſs of misfortunes, and into the hands of barbarians, from whom they ſuffered a treatment more ſhocking than the moſt cruel executions. Their tears and cries, which reached the heavens, could not move the heart of the inſolent vanquiſher; and the meaneſt of the Turks had an accompliſhed beauty for his prey, though often taken from him by another Turk, either ſtronger than him-

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ſelf, or of greater authority in the army. Moſt of theſe Barbarians ſet their priſoners to ſale, but the men of quality, the princes and officers who were taken under arms, were executed by the ſultan's orders: nothing eſcaped his cruelty but the handſomeſt young perſons of both ſexes, whom he reſerved for the abominations of his ſeraglio.

'Twas thus that a young Greek lady of noble birth, called Irene, hardly ſeventeen years old, fell into his hands. A baſha had juſt made her his ſlave, but being ſtruck with her exquiſite beauty, thought her a preſent worthy of the ſultan. The eaſt had never before given birth to ſo inchanting a creature; her charms were irreſiſtible, and triumphed over the ſavage heart of Mahomet; rough as he was, he was forced to yield; he abandoned himſelf entirely to this new paſſion; and in order to have fewer avocations from his amorous aſſiduities, he paſſed ſeveral days without permitting his miniſters and the principal officers of his army to ſee him. Irene followed him afterwards to Adrianople: 'twas here he fixed the reſidence of the young Greek. As for himſelf, on whatever ſide war might oblige him to go, he would often, in the midſt of the moſt important expeditions, leave the conduct of them to his generals, and hurry away to return to Irene. It was not long before it was viſible that war was no longer his reigning paſſion; the ſoldiers who were inured to plunder, and uſed to find booty in following him, murmured at this change. Theſe murmurs ſpread and became epidemical; the officers as well as the ſoldiers complained of his effeminate life: yet his wrath was ſo terrible, that no body durſt undertake to ſpeak to him on that ſubject. At laſt, as the diſcontents of the ſoldiery were juſt going to break out, Muſtapha baſha, having regard only to the fidelity which he owed his maſter, was the firſt that gave him notice of the diſcourſes which the janizaries held publickly to the prejudice of his glory.

The ſultan continued for ſome time in a ſullen and deep ſilence, as if he was conſidering in himſelf what reſolution he ſhould take; the only anſwer he gave him, and under pretence of a review, he ordered Muſtapha to ſummon the baſha's to aſſemble the next day with all his guards, and the troops that were poſted about the city; after which he went into the apartment of Irene, and ſtayed with her till the next day.

Never did that young princeſs appear ſo charming in his eyes; never too had the prince given her ſuch tender marks of his love before: and in order, if poſſible, to beſtow a new luſtre on her beauty, he deſired her women to exert all their art and ſkill in dreſſing her. When ſhe was thus ſet out, and adjuſted to appear in publick, he took her by the hand, and he led her into the middle of the aſſembly, when throwing aſide the veil which covered her face, he demanded haughtily of the baſha's that ſtood round him, if they had ever ſeen a more finiſhed beauty? All the officers like good courtiers, were laviſh of their praiſes, and congratulated him on his happineſs. Upon which, Mahomet taking the fair Greek by the hair with one hand, and drawing his ſcymitar with the other, he cut off her head at one ſtroke, and turning himſelf about to the grandees of the court, "This ſword, ſays he to them, with a wild and furious air, can, when I "pleaſe, cut aſunder the bonds of love."

The whole aſſembly was ſeized with horror, and ſhuddered at the ſight: the dread they were all ſeized with of being treated in the like manner, made the moſt mutinous of them tremble: every one thought he ſaw the fatal ſcymitar lifted over his own head; but if they eſcaped his blood-thirſty temper at that moment, it was only to execute his vengeance the better. Muſtapha, as a reward of his faithful advice, was firſt ſacrificed, and that

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on a ſlight pretence; he cauſed him to be ſtrangled in the ſeraglio; and in the long wars in which he was afterwards engaged, and which laſted as long as his reign, he had the cruel pleaſure of diſpatching moſt of the janizaries one after another, who by their ſeditious cries had interrupted his pleaſures, and awaked his fury.

THIS prince had ſcarce been above ſix months in poſſeſſion of Conſtantinople, when imagining that all the princes of Aſia ought to ſubmit to his power, he began with the knights of Rhodes; his demands upon them ſufficiently declaring his pretenſions. He ſent an embaſſador, or rather an herald, to the grand maſter, ſummoning him to own him for his ſovereign, and ſend into his treaſury a yearly tribute of 2000 ducats. Upon his refuſal, the embaſſador had orders to denounce war againſt him, and declare that the ſultan his maſter was reſolved in perſon to fall upon all the iſles of the order with his invincible forces.

THE grand maſter, after adviſing with the council, anſwered him, that his order was compoſed of a body of military religious, who as ſuch depended by their profeſſion on the ſovereign pontiff of the Chriſtians; that their anceſtors had by their valour, and at the expence of their blood, ſince made a conqueſt of Rhodes and the neighbouring iſlands, the ſovereignty of which no prince had as yet diſputed with them; that at the time of his election to the grand maſterſhip this ſovereignty was put as it were in truſt into his hands; that he was accountable for it to his brothers and their ſucceſſors, and that he would ſacrifice his life with pleaſure, rather than do the leaſt thing to prejudice the independency and liberty of the order.

THIS wiſe grand maſter and his council not doubting but ſo reſolute an anſwer would ſoon be attended by the ſultan's invaſion of their territories, applied to the princes of Chriſtendom, though they took this ſtep rather with a view of having nothing wherewith they might reproach themſelves, than out of any hopes of a ſpeedy and effectual ſuccour. The commander D' Aubuſſon, of the language of Auvergne, and deſcended from one of the moſt noble and ancient houſes of la Marche, was appointed embaſſador to Charles VII. who was then upon the throne of France. The grand maſter knowing his zeal for the order, made choice of him for that commiſſion, and it proved the laſt action of his maſterſhip. He died in a very old age, after having governed Rhodes in difficult and tempeſtuous times with equal prudence and reſolution.

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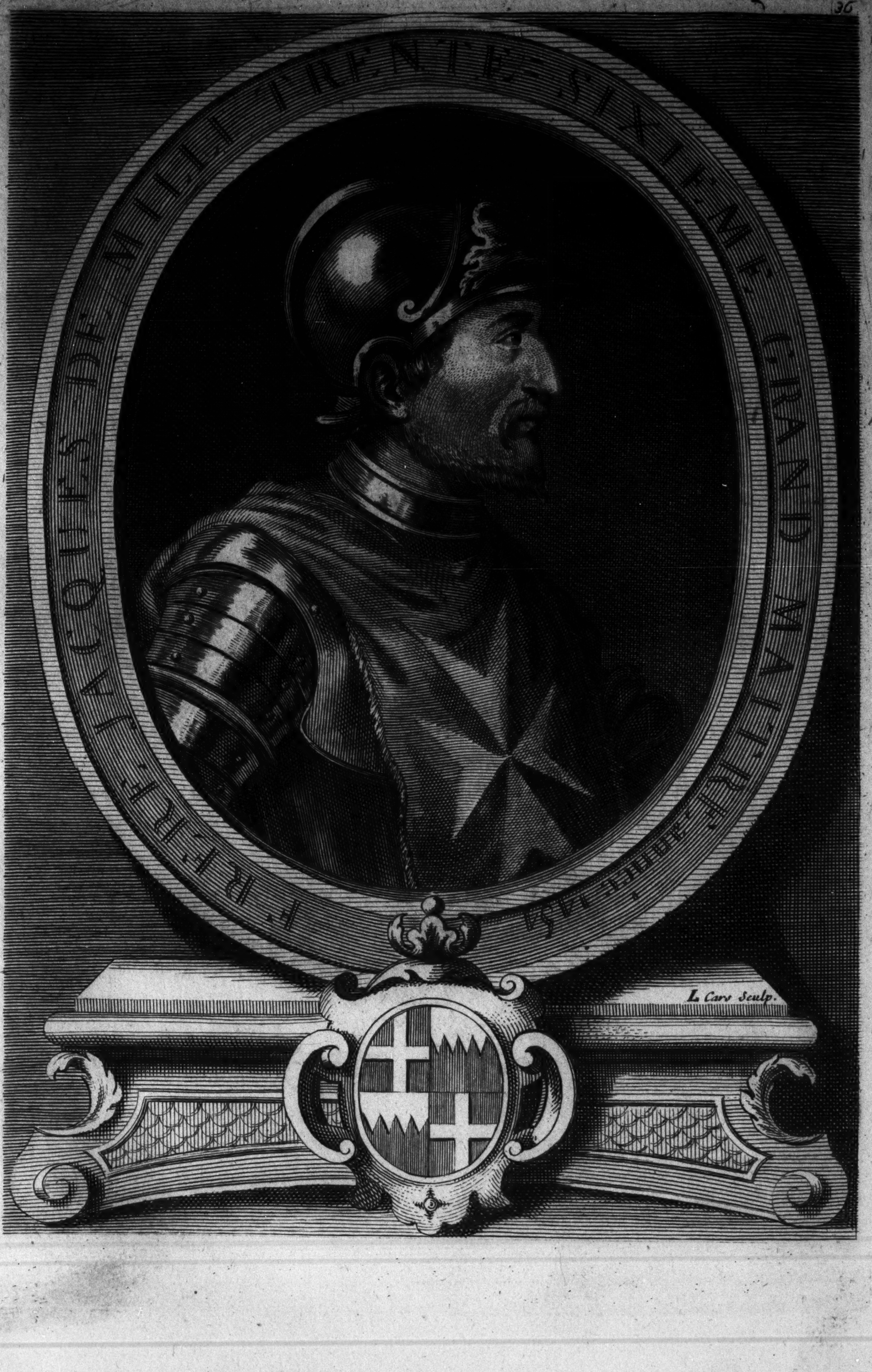
F.RERE JACQUES DE MILLI TRENTE-SIXIEME GRAND MAITRE. ANNEE 1454
L Cars Sculp.

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
Knights Hoſpitallers
OF
St. JOHN of JERUSALEM,
Called afterwards
The KNIGHTS of RHODES,
And at preſent,
The KNIGHTS of MALTA.

BOOK VII.

BROTHER JAMES DE MILLY, grand prior of Auvergne, ſucceeded the grand maſter de Laſtic; he was then at his priory. They diſpatched the chevalier de Boiſrond his nephew to him, to carry him the act of his election: in this diſpatch the council repreſented to the new grand maſter, how important it was, for the good of the order, that he ſhould repair immediately to Rhodes. In the ſame letter they inſinuated to him, that in order to get rid of the recommendations of princes in favour of ſome young knights, and not prejudice the rights of ſeniority, it would be proper for him to make an early declaration, that he would grant no favour before he had taken poſſeſſion of his dignity in Rhodes, and taken likewiſe the oaths uſually tendered to the grand maſters at ſuch ſolemnities.

JAMES DE MILLY. 1454. 1. June.

THE prince paid a juſt deference to this advice, ſet out immediately for Rhodes, and arrived there on Aug. 20. 1454. his preſence was indeed very neceſſary. Mahomet, the haughtieſt and proudeſt man breathing, enraged at the reſolute anſwer that the knights made his embaſſador, ſwore their ruin, and the deſtruction of Rhodes; and out of his eagerneſs to be revenged, had juſt ſent thirty gallies, as the harbingers of his fury, who had by his command ravaged the coaſts of the iſles of the order.

Of all the neighbouring princes, whom his vaſt ambition made him look upon as his enemies, there was none more odious to him, or whom he ſuffered more impatiently in the midſt of his territories, than the grand maſters of Rhodes. He intended the year following to fall upon that iſle and extirpate the whole order of St. John: but he was obliged to defer that enterpriſe upon news of a powerful league that was formed againſt him for the defence of Hungary. Pope Calixtus III. was the head of it; and beſides the king of Hungary, he had engaged in it ſucceſſively one after another, Alphonſus king of Arragon, Philip duke of Burgundy, the republicks of Venice and Genoa, the new grand maſter of Rhodes, and ſeveral princes of Italy.

Charles VII. king of France was ſtrongly ſollicited by a legate whom the pope had ſent him on purpoſe to join his forces with thoſe of the allies. The pontiff too, upon that prince's appearing averſe to leave his dominions, had wrote to him in imperious terms. But thoſe times were now no more, when popes, either out of a true zeal for religion or political views, could eaſily carry their point, under the ſpecious pretext of cruſades and holy wars, of baniſhing, as we may ſay, emperors and other ſovereigns into the fartheſt parts of the eaſt. The king of France ſlighted menaces that came diſguiſed under the mask of pious exhortations. However as he was a truly religious prince, though he was ſtill on his guard againſt the Engliſh whom he had driven out of France, and that the ambition of the dauphin his ſon gave great uneaſineſs, he nevertheleſs preſented the commander d'Aubuſſon, whom the grand maſter had ſent to deſire ſuccours from him, with conſiderable ſums, which were employed either in buying up arms, or finiſhing the new fortifications of the town of Rhodes.

Whilst all theſe allies were arming ſlowly and bringing their forces but heavily to the rendezvous, Mahomet, after ſeveral feints purpoſely to conceal his real deſign, fell at once on the town of Belgrade, that Amurath his father had formerly beſieged to no purpoſe, which made this prince the more fond, out of an emulation of glory, of ſurpriſing or carrying it by force. This important place is ſituated upon a point of land, in a ſort of peninſula formed by two rivers, by the Danube to the north, and the Save to the weſt. Huniades, one of the greateſt captains of Chriſtendom, and the only man of his time to be compared with Scander-Beg, lay, during all the time of the ſiege, intrenched with a body of Hungarians on the north bank of the Danube. Mahomet, to make himſelf maſter of the river before Belgrade, and to cut off the communication of the chriſtian camp with the place, had formed a ſort of ſemicircle of ſaicks and brigantines faſtened together, which took up all the ſpace both above and below the city. Huniades, to break through this incloſure and throw ſuccours into the place, fitted out a great number of veſſels of different bulks, and putting his braveſt and moſt reſolute ſoldiers on board, goes himſelf at their head, falls down the ſtream, attacks the infidels fleet, leaps firſt into the admiral's galliot, takes it, and followed by the Hungarian officers who commanded the land forces, breaks the encloſure, diſperſes the little veſſels that formed it, ſinks part of them, ſeizes on others, puts the troops on board them to the ſword, and enters into the port, dragging after him the ſhattered remains of the Turkiſh fleet. This lord by his preſence raiſes the courage of the garriſon and inhabitants, and making them a ſpeech: “I am come, ſays he, in company “ with theſe brave ſoldiers, reſolved either to live or die with you, and I “ will either ſave the place or bury my ſelf in its ruins.

THIS great man, during the whole ſiege, performed all the functions of a wiſe captain and a reſolute ſoldier: he was general, governor, commander of the fleet and artillery at one and the ſame time; the Turks met with him at all the poſts they attacked; they ſaw him in like manner at the head of all the ſallies that were made. They ſay, that in one of theſe ſallies he killed no leſs than twelve enemies with his own hand: but as theſe little advantages were not after all any ways deciſive, and that Mahomet was ſtill advancing his works, he ſaw plainly that nothing but an engagement and a battle could ſave the place. He therefore cauſed the garriſon, the troops that he brought with him, and the braveſt of the inhabitants to put themſelves under arms; then made choice of the braveſt of them, and out of all theſe troops formed a conſiderable body, put himſelf at their head, and fell into the enemies trenches ſword in hand. He at firſt cut all thoſe to pieces that ſtood in his way, but at the noiſe of the attack the Turks 1456. ſoon rally and ſtand their ground: never had the Chriſtians and Infidels fought with greater courage and obſtinacy. Huniades, reſolved either to vanquiſh or die, provoked at ſo long a reſiſtance, throws himſelf into the thickeſt battalions of the enemies, forces his way, puſhes and kills all before him, and obliges the infidels to retire in diſorder. Mahomet himſelf runs to their ſuccour, and at the head of thoſe invincible legions of janizaries, which made all the force of his army and empire, charges the Chriſtians, and kills one of the principal officers of the Hungarians with his own hand, but at the ſame time he himſelf receives a deep wound in the thigh which diſables him: they carry him immediately to his tent, where he faints away with loſs of blood.

THE combat however ſtill laſted with the ſame fury: Huniades makes new efforts, drives them from their batteries, and turns the cannon againſt the tents of the ſultan. But the chriſtian general ſeeing a body of ſpahi advancing ſcymetar in hand to cut off his retreat, did not think it adviſable to drive the Turks by too obſtinate an engagement to a deſpair, that is frequently more formidable than their ordinary valour; but contenting himſelf with the advantages he had already gained, re-entred triumphantly into Belgrade amidſt the acclamations of his ſoldiers, who dragged after them a great number of priſoners.

THE ſultan recovering from his ſwoon, was immediately informed of the iſſue of the combat: they could not conceal from him that the firſt baſhas of his court, the vizir, the aga of the janizaries, and the principal officers of that body of troops were killed; that the cannon was nailed up, and the baggage taken. 'Tis ſaid, that at this ill news, ſo contrary to his expectation, he called for poiſon to put an end to his life and vexation.

'TIS certain however that he loſt above twenty thouſand men of his 1454. beſt troops, and that he was obliged to raiſe the ſiege and retire to Con- August 6. ſtantinople with precipitation. To increaſe his pain, he received advice, that the knights of Rhodes, in order to make a diverſion during the campaign, had ravaged the coaſts of his dominions, blocked up his ports, done infinite damage to the commerce of his ſubjects, and ſecured that of the Chriſtians.

THE ſultan, to be revenged on the knights, put to ſea a ſtrong fleet, having 18000 land forces on board, ordering them to deſtroy all the iſles of the order with fire and ſword. The admiral landed firſt in the iſland of Coos or Lango: he there beſieged a fortified caſtle called Landimachio: the Turks battered the place with a great train of cannons and mortars, and having made a breach, advanced in crouds to the aſſault. They flattered themſelves that they ſhould carry the caſtle without much oppoſition, but they met with a good number of knights on the breach who drove them back; and by rolling down great ſtones and throwing boiling oil and melted lead upon the beſiegers, laid the braveſt of them dead at the foot of the walls. A ſeaſonable ſally following this defence put an end to the diſpute, and cauſed ſo much trouble and diſorder in the infidel troops, that they re-embarked with more precipitation and eagerneſs than they had run to the aſſault.

THE general, not daunted with this ill ſucceſs, fancied he ſhould be more lucky againſt the inhabitants of the iſland Simia or of Apes: he inveſted the caſtle, and to ſave his men carried on the ſiege by way of Sap, running his mines as far as the middle of the place. But his deſign being timely diſcovered was prevented by the knights, who, making countermines, defeated his attempt, and advancing ſword in hand, cut the miners and the troops that ſupported them to pieces, and forced the infidels to re-imbark. From thence they ſtood for the iſle of Rhodes, and landing ſome ſoldiers, the admiral ordered them to march up with all poſſible ſecrecy into the country, to ſee what guard they kept in the iſland, and whether there were any troops along the coaſt.

THESE ſpies went a good way up into the country without being diſcovered; every thing appeared buried in a profound calm, and without the leaſt diſtruſt; and likewiſe found that a town at no great diſtance, called Archangel, very well peopled, and the richeſt of the iſland, was in a ſorry condition for defence; thereupon they made the ſignals which the admiral had directed. The general as ſoon as he ſaw them put all his infantry into flat-bottomed veſſels, and landing them, the infidels marched ſtraight to the town, ſurpriſed the inhabitants, ſlew all that made head againſt them, and made ſlaves of the reſt; but fearing to be attacked by all the forces of the order, the Turkiſh admiral, after ravaging the open country, re-imbarked in great haſte. He did the like execution in the iſles of Lerro, Calamo, Niſſaro, Lango and Simia, which he viſited again in his return from Rhodes. As thoſe iſles were moſt of them defenceleſs, he ravaged the country, rooted up the vines, cut down the fruit-trees, carried off all the inhabitants that he could ſurpriſe, and after having left marks of his cruelty wherever he went, returned back to Conſtantinople. He preſented Mahomet with a great number of ſlaves which he had made in his expedition: the ſultan viewed them with a barbarous pleaſure, as what gratified his rage againſt the knights: he left them only the choice of dying or abjuring their religion. Several were weak enough to do the latter, and theſe wretches turning Mahometans, ſerved afterwards for guides to the corſairs that infeſted the ſeveral iſles of the order.

BROTHER John de Chateneuf, of the language of Provence, commander of Uſez in the priory of St. Giles, and bailiff of the iſles of Lango, Lerro and Calamo, finding them deſolate and in a miſerable condition, ſurrendered the government of them to the order, who, in a general chapter, deſired the grand maſter to undertake the repeopling of them. And to prevent the like ſurpriſes, the ſame chapter ordered that fifty knights ſhould reſide conſtantly in the caſtle of St. Peter; that five and twenty ſhould be kept in the iſle of Lango; that forty other knights ſhould be put on board the guard galley which was always kept in the port of Rhodes; and the grand maſter himſelf took care to have a fort built in the town of Archangel for the ſecurity of the inhabitants.

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THESE precautions were the more neceſſary, inaſmuch as beſides the war which the order was engaged in againſt the Turks, they were on the point of coming to a rupture with the ſoldan of Egypt, a neighbouring potentate, no leſs formidable than Mahomet. The grand maſter had juſt received a preſſing letter from Louis of Savoy king of the iſle of Cyprus, in right of queen Charlotte of Luſignan his wife, in which he begged the order's ſuccour and protection againſt the enterpriſes of a baſtard of the houſe of Luſignan, who by help of the credit that he had at the ſoldan's court, pretended to make himſelf maſter of the kingdom.

'TIS well known that the order poſſeſſed great eſtates, and even ſome towns and conſiderable fortreſſes in that place: ſo that nothing could paſs in a civil war between the queen and the baſtard, but the grand maſter muſt be obliged to concern himſelf in it.

A retrospect

IN order to have a right notion of theſe reciprocal pretenſions, we muſt obſerve, that John de Luſignan the laſt king of Cyprus left no heir to his dominions but a young princeſs called Charlotte, which he had by Helena Paleologus his ſecond wife. He was an effeminate prince, of a weak conſtitution, almoſt an idiot, incapable of governing, and the meaneſt man in the nation was better verſed in the affairs of his kingdom than himſelf. The whole authority remained in the perſon of the queen, who her ſelf was governed by her nurſe's ſon, an abſolute miniſter that diſpoſed of the government as he pleaſed, and made the moſt he could of all the poſts, dignities and revenues of the crown.

A PERIOD was put to this unjuſt adminiſtration by the princeſs's marriage with John of Portugal duke of Coimbra. This prince being, in right of his wife, preſumptive heir of the crown, was for entring upon the exerciſe of the rights which the king his father-in-law had neglected; the imperious miniſter oppoſed it, but the prince's party got the better, and the miniſter fearing his reſentment, took refuge at Famaguſta, which had long been in the poſſeſſion of the Genoeſe. His mother, to revenge the baniſhment of her ſon, got the Portugueſe prince poiſoned; and by his death the miniſter returned to court and reſumed his former authority in that place.

HE reſumed at the ſame time all his pride, and whether a thirſt of revenge or the haughtineſs of his temper was the motive; or elſe, as it generally happens to men of his ſtamp, his head was turned with the too exalted height of his fortune, he kept no meaſures with the widow of the duke of Coimbra: he even ſought induſtriouſly all occaſions of doing her ill offices with the queen her mother. The princeſs, enraged at his haughty and inſolent conduct, complained of it to James de Luſignan, her baſtard brother, who was nominated to the archbiſhoprick of Nicoſia, the capital of the iſland, though not yet in holy orders. He was a man that had abandoned himſelf to ambition, one who never boggled at any crime to gain his ends, naturally cloſe, cruel in cold blood, and wherever his intereſt was concerned, capable of a premeditated aſſaſſination.

THIS baſtard, during the life of the duke of Coimbra, whoſe courage and capacity he feared, never intermeddled in publick affairs, confining himſelf entirely to the buſineſs of his character; but the death of the Portugueſe prince gave new life to his ambition, and he fancied it not impoſſible for him to make his way to the throne, or at leaſt to get into the miniſtry: in order to this it was neceſſary to remove the nurſe's ſon from the direction of affairs.

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James, under pretence of revenging the inſults offered to the princeſs, ſtabbed him with his own hand: he was in hopes of ſucceeding him in his employment, but the queen's wrath would not allow him to appear at court. He fled privately to the houſe of a noble Venetian, his particular friend, called Mark Cornaro, a rich and powerful man who had conſiderable poſſeſſions in the iſland; but not thinking himſelf ſafe enough in that place againſt the reſentment of an offended queen, he went to Rhodes, and wrote from thence to the pope to deſire a confirmation of his dignity of Archbiſhop.

The queen, who was afraid of his ſubtle and crafty genius, traverſed his deſigns at Rome. The baſtard, incenſed at her oppoſition, carried things to the utmoſt lengths, and laying aſide all thoughts of the archbiſhoprick, got together a parcel of banditti, returned into the iſle of Cyprus, arrived at Nicoſia, formed a ſtrong party, deſtroyed his enemies, and all that could pretend to the miniſtry and government, and ſeized, in ſpite of the queen, upon the forces and revenue of the kingdom. That princeſs prudently diſſembled an uſurpation which ſhe was not at that time able to oppoſe: ſhe had no remedy left but in a ſecond marriage of her daughter: ſhe contracted her to Lewis ſon to the duke of Savoy, who arrived ſoon after in the iſle of Cyprus with a fleet and a body of land forces on board; all the baſtard had now to do was to make the beſt of his way out of the iſland, and he fled for refuge to Grand Cairo and the court of the ſoldan.

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In the mean time the king and queen dying within a few days of one another, the prince of Savoy and the princeſs his wife were proclaimed king and queen of Cyprus, and as ſuch were crowned with great ſolemnity. The baſtard of Luſignan, as ſoon as he received the news, diſpatched away one of his creatures to Conſtantinople to deſire Mahomet's intereſt with the ſoldan: and as uſurpers ſtick at nothing, his agent offered in his name to pay the grand ſeignior the ſame tribute that was paid the Egyptian prince out of Cyprus. The baſtard found means at the ſame time by great preſents to engage the ſoldan's ſon and three of his principal miniſters in his intereſt, who did not fail repreſenting to him, that if he would grant the inveſtiture of the kingdom to the baſtard, he would double the tribute which his father uſed to pay in his life-time.

This intrigue, of which king Lewis had notice from his embaſſador at grand Cairo, was the occaſion of his writing immediately to the Grand maſter, to deſire his advice and aſſiſtance in ſuch an important juncture: the order had for a long time before been as a protector to all the princes of the houſe of Luſignan. The grand maſter, as ſoon as he received the king's letters, ſent brother John Delphin, commander of Niſſara, to Grand Cairo, to traverſe the baſtard's pretenſions and intrigues.

Dolfin

This embaſſador having an audience of the ſultan repreſented to him, that the iſle of Cyprus being a feudatory of his crown, he was obliged in juſtice to ſupport the lawful rights of the late king's heirs, againſt an ambitious man that was offering to invade them; that theſe heirs, as being his vaſſals, would be exact in paying the tribute laid upon the iſland, and obſerve an inviolable fidelity to him, for which the whole order would freely be reſponſible. The embaſſador's dexterity, and ſome preſents properly diſtributed among thoſe barbarians, began to incline them to the juſter ſide, when an embaſſador arrived from Mahomet, who repreſented to the ſoldan that it was the intereſt of all true Muſulmen to hinder the prince of Savoy, and any Latin prince whatever, from ſettling in the Levant.

vant. He urged further, that he ſhould look upon all that favoured them as his enemies; that in caſe he granted the inveſtiture of Cyprus to a Latin prince, he ought to be afraid of raiſing an inſurrection in his own dominions; and if he was not ſtrong enough to drive the duke of Savoy's ſon out of the iſland, he offered him the aſſiſtance of his own forces, and would even allow him with pleaſure to make uſe of them to clear the iſle of Rhodes of the knights, who were all Latins by extraction, and irreconcileable enemies to their prophet.

The Egyptian yielded to remonſtrances, which had all the air of a threat, and came from a prince whoſe arms and reſentment no body at that time cared to draw upon himſelf. The inveſtiture was granted to the baſtard of Luſignan, and the ſultan, to ſettle him on the throne, ſent him back with a ſtrong army. With this ſuccour he made himſelf in a little time maſter of the whole kingdom: the king and queen had now nothing left but the fortreſs of Cyrene, into which they threw themſelves for refuge: the baſtard immediately inveſted and formed the ſiege of the place. The Genoeſe in this revolution ſtill kept the town of Famaguſta, and the knights maintained themſelves in the caſtle of Colos, a ſtrong place, which belonged to the order, and made part of the great commandry of Cyprus.

Queen Charlotte de Luſignan not finding her ſelf ſafe in Cyrene, quitted the iſle of Cyprus, and retired to that of Rhodes, under the protection of the grand maſter. The illuſtrious family from whence that young princeſs was deſcended, her royal dignity, her misfortunes, and above all, that natural empire which beauty gives, made moſt of the knights become her zealous partiſans; and it was likewiſe obſerved, that either out of pure generoſity, or ſecret inclination, the commander d'Aubuſſon was particularly devoted to her intereſts. The uſurper on his ſide, in order to gain the ſupport of the republick of Venice, married afterwards Catherine Cornaro, under the ſpecious title of a daughter of St. Mark. Purſuant to this title, thoſe ſubtle republicans, in order to create themſelves a ſort of right over the iſland, gave young Cornaro a portion of an hundred thouſand ducats; and the republick engaged by a ſolemn treaty to protect the new king againſt his enemies, meaning thereby the knights of Rhodes, who had taken queen Charlotte under their protection. But the uſurper was not long before he found by experience that it is rare to find fidelity and honour in treaties that are founded on injuſtice. The uncles of the Venetian lady were ſuſpected of having poiſoned the new king, in order to get a ſhare in the government of the kingdom. 'Tis at leaſt certain, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel, that the republick alone reaped all the benefit of theſe ſeveral uſurpations.

The grand maſter in the mean time found himſelf in a very difficult ſituation between Mahomet and the ſultan of Egypt, who alike threatened Rhodes with a ſiege. The ſultan too, to have his revenge for the protection which the order gave the queen of Cyprus, had, contrary to the law of nations, ſeized on the embaſſador Delphin, and all the merchant ſhips of Rhodes that were trading in Egypt. The wiſe grand maſter, in order to find how the Turks ſtood affected, ſent a Greek prelate, Demetrius Nomphylacus by name, to the port, to deſire a ſafe conduct of Mahomet for the commander de Saconnay, who was impowered to make him propoſals of peace: but he was not heard at that time. The knights were the more alarmed at it, inaſmuch as at the ſame time that they were drained both of money and ammunition, they were yet to defend themſelves not only againſt the Saracens and Turks, but alſo the Venetians, who

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on ſome trifling pretence relating to trade, made a deſcent in the iſle of Rhodes, and committed greater ravages and cruelties there, than thoſe barbarians had ever done. They returned thither again a little time afterwards with a fleet of 42 gallies, which blocked up the port of Rhodes, and threatened the town with a ſiege.

THE occaſion of this enterprize aroſe from the grand maſter's having by way of repriſal, and in order to procure the liberty of his embaſſador and ſubjects, detained by the ſoldan, cauſed two Venetian gallies, laden with merchandize for the accompt of ſome Saracen merchants, to be ſtopped, and had ſeized at the ſame time a good number of the ſoldan's ſubjects that were on board the gallies. The infidels were made galley-ſlaves, their merchandize was confiſcated, and as for the gallies and the Venetian crew they were diſmiſſed, and allowed to purſue their courſe: all this was done agreeable to the ordinary rules of war, which authorize the confiſcating of a friend's moveables that are found in the ſame bottom with thoſe of an enemy. But the republick, which was in ſtrict alliance with the Saracens for the ſake of its commerce, demanded in high terms the reſtitution of the effects that had been ſeized; moſt of the young knights, eſpecially the Spaniſh, were for giving no other anſwer to ſuch unreaſonable and imperious propoſitions, but that of cannon ſhot: the grand maſter however was of a different opinion. He had received advice that if the order did not readily releaſe the Saracen priſoners and their merchandize, the commander of the fleet had private orders to ravage all the iſles belonging to the order, to carry off the peaſants and inhabitants of the open country, and then deliver them up to the ſultan as hoſtages for the Saracens that had been ſeized at Rhodes. “I don't doubt, with the aſſiſtance of your valour, ſays the grand maſter in full council, but that I ſhall be able to defend this place againſt all the forces of the republick, but I cannot prevent their gallies from ſurprizing our ſubjects in the open country; and I believe it is more adviſable to give up a few Saracens, rather than expoſe whole families to the danger of being made ſlaves to the Infidels, and perhaps of being forced by torments to change their religion.” The whole council acquieſced to ſo prudent an opinion, the Saracens were delivered up to the Venetian admiral, and charity prevailed over the juſt reſentment of ſo crying an injuſtice.

The order, in the midſt of ſo many enemies with which it was beſet, to make its difficulties ſtill greater, was unhappily diſtracted with diviſions flowing from ambition and vanity. The procurators of the languages of Spain, Italy, England and Germany complained in a general chapter, that the principal dignities of the order, and particularly the poſt of captain general of the iſland, was annexed to the languages of France, to the prejudice of the other nations; and they maintained that in a well regulated republick, and in a ſtate compoſed of the nobility and gentry of all Europe, no diſtinction ought to be made but that of ſeniority and merit. The French in anſwer alledged that the order owed its foundation entirely to their anceſtors; that if in the ſeries of time other nations had been admitted into it, ſtill it was the French alone that adopted them; that the other languages ought always to conſider them as their firſt parents, and that it would be a great injuſtice now to deprive their ſucceſſors of thoſe marks of honour which they had acquired or preſerved at the expence of their blood, and as a juſt recompence of the ſervices which they had done the order.

As to the poſt of captain general, the commander d'Aubuſſon, who acted in that quality in the abſence of the marſhal of the order, replied,

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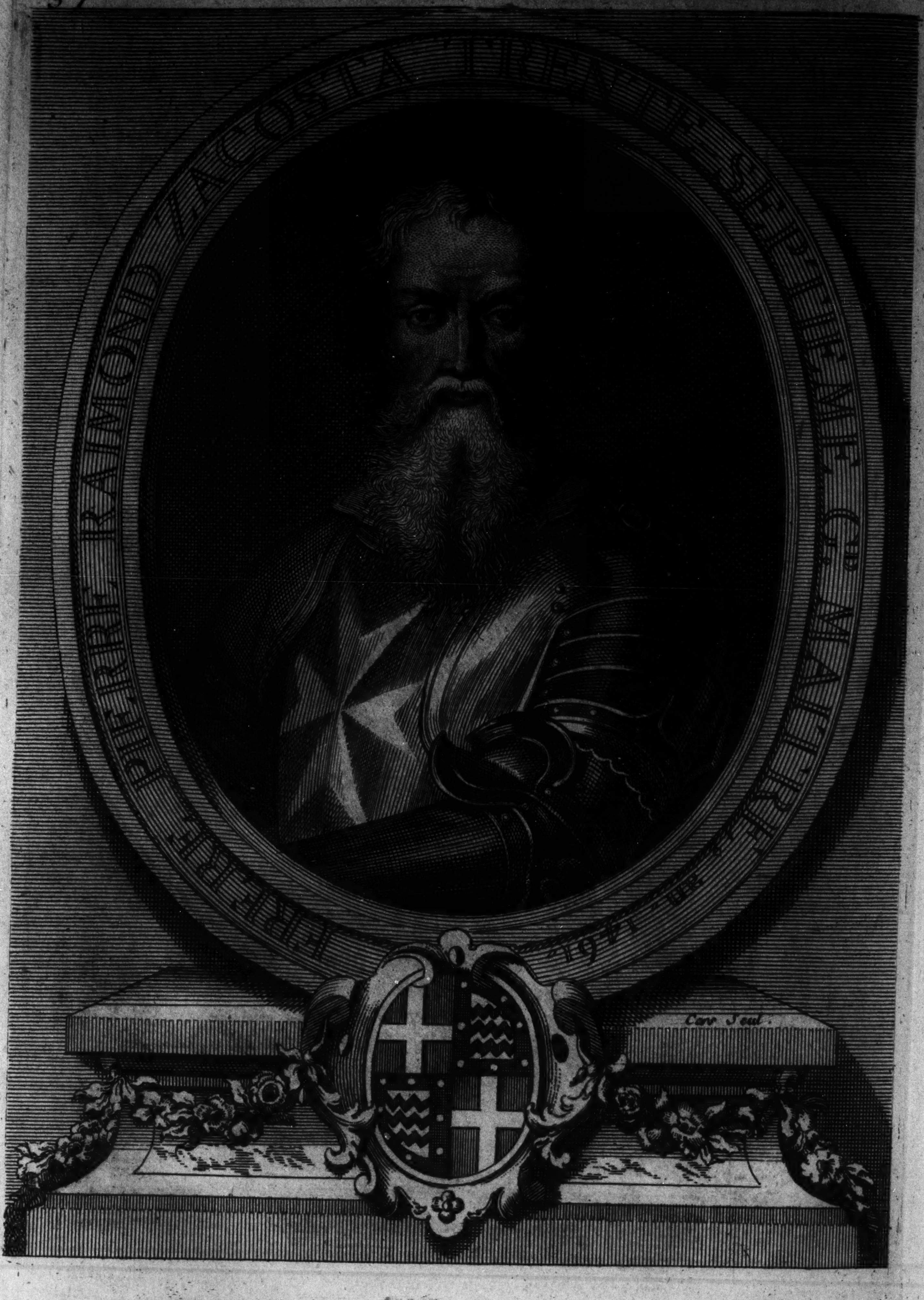
FRERE PIERRE RAIMOND ZACOSTA TRENTE SEPTIEME Gᴰ MAITRE . Aᴺ. 1461.
Cav Scul.

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that that poſt belonged ſolely to the language of Auvergne, of which the marſhal was the chief; that after all there was no language in the order but had ſome particular dignity annexed to it; and as the French did not intrude into the functions of the admiral, the great conſervator, the turcopilier and the grand bailiff, dignities which had a ſeat in the council annexed to them, and were appropriated to the languages of Italy, Arragon, England and Germany, it was very ſurprizing that the knights of thoſe languages ſhould envy thoſe of Provence, Auvergne and France the poſts of great commander, great marſhal, and great hoſpitaller, which had been exerciſed by French knights ever ſince the foundation of the order. Notwithſtanding this judicious and modeſt anſwer, the malecontents perſiſted in their pretenſions: but as they were ſenſible that their party was not ſtrong enough to carry their point, the procurator of the language of Arragon threw an appeal drawn up in form to the holy ſee before the grand maſter, and withdrew with the other procurators out of the chapter in a ſeditious manner, and alſo went out of the city. The council was of opinion that they ſhould be proſecuted, but the grand maſter being of a mild temper let this firſt fire ſpend itſelf. Some of the old knights interpoſed for an accommodation, when the warmeſt of the diſcontented party came back to the city, without making the leaſt innovation on this head at that time, and returned to their duty. But the grand maſter dying ſoon after of the gout in his ſtomach, they renewed their pretenſions under the maſterſhip of brother PETER RAIMOND ZACOSTA, caſtellan of Empoſta, a Caſtilian by birth and ſucceſſor to Milly. 'Twas impoſſible for them to terminate this great affair, but by creating a new language in favour of the Caſtilians and Portugueſe, who were ſevered from the Arragoneſe, Navarreſe and Catalans. They annexed the dignity of great chancellor to this new language, ſo that by this augmentation there were afterwards eight languages in the order.

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WE have ſeen a little before, that Mahomet, impatient to fall upon the iſle of Rhodes, had refuſed to grant a ſafe conduct to the commander de Saconnay, who had a commiſſion from the grand maſter de Milly, to treat of a peace between the order and the port. We muſt obſerve further, that the cauſe of ſuch an harſh refuſal aroſe from the order's reſolution not to hear the leaſt mention of a tribute; other deſigns, and of a much greater importance, made Mahomet diſſemble ſo reſolute a refuſal, ſo that they were not a little aſtoniſhed to ſee the ſafe conduct brought to Rhodes at a time when they leaſt expected it. The ſurprize of the knights was the greater, becauſe that prince was then making extraordinary preparations by ſea and land; which made them ſuſpect that he talked to them of peace only to lull them aſleep and amuſe them by means of a treaty which he was going to break.

THE grand maſter, without diſcovering his juſt diffidence, and in order to pierce into the deſigns of the infidels, ſent brother William Mareſchal, commander of Villefranche, to Conſtantinople, accompanied by two Greeks of the iſle of Rhodes, the one called Arro Gentille, and the other Conſtance Collace. The negotiation was not ſpun out to any length; there was no mention made at all of tribute, or at leaſt the miniſters of the port did not much inſiſt on that article. Mahomet, who did not care to be interrupted in his projects by the diverſions uſually made by the knights, ſigned a truce for two years, and the embaſſador returned to Rhodes without being able to diſcover on what ſide the ſultan would turn his arms. They were as ignorant of it at the port, even the very favourites of that prince; and the cadileſcher, or lord chief juſtice of

Conſtantinople, ſeeing the campaign ready to open, and having had the boldneſs to aſk him where the ſtorm would fall, “ If one hair of my “ beard, ſays Mahomet to him in a paſſion, knew my ſecret, I would “ tear it out this moment and throw it into the fire:” an anſwer which that miniſter could not apply without putting himſelf into a terrible fright. At laſt the ſecret of this campaign, which kept Europe and Aſia in ſuſpence, declared itſelf; the Turks entered Penderacia, called anciently Paphlagonia, and ſeized on Sinople and Caſtamone, two of the moſt conſiderable towns in the province, and which, though ſubject to a mahometan prince, ſerved for a barrier to the imperial city of Trebiſond, ſubject to a chriſtian prince. 'Twas this capital that Mahomet aimed at. That prince, who ever weighed his affairs, always extended his conqueſts gradually, advancing from one territory to the next adjoining: and having ſecured himſelf on the ſide of the Perſians by a treaty of peace with Uſum-Caſſan, he marched ſtraight to Trebiſond, and inveſted it at the ſame time both by ſea and land.

THIS city is ſituated upon the Black ſea, and was formerly part of the ancient Colchis. In the revolution which happened at Conſtantinople, when the pſeudo-emperor Alexis Comnenus loſt his life, prince Iſaac of the ſame houſe fled for refuge to Trebiſond: he made it the capital of a new empire, or rather, according to the genius of the Greeks, who after gave pompous names to trifling places, he gave the ſhining title of empire to a ſtate that conſiſted only of two or three little provinces. His ſucceſſors maintained themſelves with tranquility enough in that place till the reign of another Alexis, who lived in the time of Amurath II. The ſons of that Greek prince, impatient of ſucceeding him, rebelled, took up arms againſt the emperor their father, and at laſt againſt one another; and the old emperor loſt his life in theſe civil wars. John, one of theſe unnatural princes, was at laſt left ſole maſter of the empire, reaped the fruit of his numberleſs crimes, and was proclaimed emperor. But he did not long enjoy this dignity, for death bereaved him of the crown, the object of his ambition. David Comnenus the youngeſt of his brothers was appointed regent and tutor to a young prince whom he left an infant, ſcarce entered into the fourth year of his age. The tutor, who was as perfidious as his brothers, deprived his nephew and his pupil of his life and crown. He afterwards married a princeſs of the houſe of the Cantacuzeni, called Helena, by whom he had eight ſons and two daughters. He beheld theſe children with pleaſure as the ſupport of the throne he had uſurped; but the divine juſtice, which often in this life makes uſurpers feel the weight of its avenging hand, raiſed up Mahomet, who at the head of two formidable armies came to beſiege him in his capital both by ſea and land: The ſiege laſted thirty days. The Greek prince fearing the place would be taken by ſtorm, entered into a negotiation, and conſented to deliver up the empire and his capital to Mahomet, on condition of receiving another province in exchange. The ſultan agreed to it, the gates of Trebiſond were opened to him, he put a garriſon in it, and in the other places that belonged to Comnenus. This prince followed him to Conſtantinople; but inſtead of executing the treaty, he only left him the
1461 choice of either dying or renouncing his religion. The Greek emperor ſummoning up his old religious ſentiments which ambition had ſtifled in him, preferred death to apoſtacy: ſeven of his male children in imitation of their father choſe rather to loſe their lives than embrace the mahometan religion. The infancy of the laſt, who was not three years old, exempted him

him from martyrdom. Happy if the bloody ſultan had not made him afterwards a renegado!

NOT that this prince was any way affected with the merit of making proſelytes; his ſhameful indifference for all religions is well enough known; but having taken up the barbarous reſolution to let no chriſtian prince live whoſe dominions he had conquered, he made uſe of that pretext to get rid of them; and if he found any of them weak enough to be overcome by his threats, he ſoon found another pretence to make them away: and beſides, this change of religion made them ſo odious and contemptible to the Chriſtians their old ſubjects, that they had much rather be ſubject to a natural Muſulman, than to a deſerter and an apoſtate.

WHILST the ſultan was employed in theſe wars, the grand maſter conſidering the great uſe that a new fort would be of for the defence of the city and port of Rhodes, cauſed one to be built during the truce, upon ſome rocks that ran out a good way into the ſea, ſparing for nothing to make the work ſubſtantial. Philip duke of Burgundy, whom he acquainted with his deſign, furniſhed him with 12000 crowns of gold towards it. The knights by way of acknowledgment put his coat of arms on the ſides of the fortreſs, that was called the tower of St. Nicholas, from a chapel dedicated to that Saint, which was encloſed within the circuit of this fort.

THOUGH there was at that time a ſort of truce between the ſultan and the knights, yet that prince's veſſels and ſome Turkiſh corſairs, whenever they found a favourable opportunity, made deſcents upon the iſles of the order, and carried off all the inhabitants of them that they could ſurprize. The grand maſter ſent complaints of it to the grand ſeignior, but his embaſſador not being heard, the knights by way of repriſal fell upon the coaſts of Turky. Mahomet, the haughtieſt prince on earth, could not bear that the knights ſhould dare to treat with him on a foot of equality: he fell into a rage at the bare name of repriſals. To be revenged, he reſolved to drive the knights out of Rhodes and out of all Aſia; but before he engaged in that war, he thought proper to begin with the conqueſt of Leſbos, and ſome other iſlands of the Archipelago, from whence the order might draw any ſuccour.

LESBOS is an iſland ſituated in the eaſtern part of the Ægean ſea; a Greek prince of the houſe of Gattiluſio was then in poſſeſſion, and claimed the ſovereignty of it. Mahomet paſſed into the iſle with the troops he had appointed for this conqueſt, and immediately beſieged Mitylene, the capital of the iſland. The pretext that he made uſe of for this war was, that the prince of Leſbos allowed the liberty of his ports to the knights of Rhodes, and to the Genoeſe and Catalan privateers that diſturbed the navigation, and deſtroyed the commerce of the Turks.

THE grand maſter, who was in a ſtrict alliance with the prince of Leſbos, immediately ſent him a conſiderable body of knights, who threw themſelves into the place. He left the defence of it to them and to the Genoeſe and Catalan privateers that were in the port. Lucio Gattiluſio his couſin ſhared the government and defence of the place with the archbiſhop of Mitylene, whilſt that petty ſovereign, a prince of no very warlike conſtitution, and greatly averſe to dangers, ſhut up, or rather hid himſelf in the caſtle, as in the ſtrongeſt place, and that which was leaſt expoſed. The beſiegers as well as the beſieged, in the attack and defence of the place, gave the moſt ſignal proofs of their courage. The Turks, who had been uſed to paſs from one conqueſt to another, could not bear to have a petty prince preſuming to ſtop the progreſs of the arms of their

RAIMOND ZACOSTA.

invincible emperor. They marched deſperately on to all the attacks, and great numbers of them loſt their lives. Mahomet here found by experience the difference there was between a knight of Rhodes and a Turkiſh ſoldier. The knights did not give him a moment's reſt; and by the torrents of blood which they made ſtream down in all their ſallies, they made the viſier, who commanded at the ſiege under Mahomet, afraid, leſt that prince who was exceeding brave, and who often expoſed his perſon, ſhould loſe his own life before the place. As nothing was dearer to the general than his maſter's preſervation, the prudent miniſter engaged him, under colour of giving his orders for new ſuccours, to paſs back again to the continent, whither he ſent him every day an exact relation of what paſſed at the ſiege.

THE vigorous reſiſtance of the knights and the chriſtian privateers not giving him room to flatter himſelf with a ſpeedy ſucceſs, he had recourſe to bribery, in which he ſucceeded better than by his arms. He applied himſelf to the governor of the town, who was of the ſame name and family as the prince, and promiſed him, in Mahomet's name, to leave him the ſovereignty of the iſland, if he would facilitate the taking of Mitylene, and engage never to ſuffer any knights or chriſtian privateers in the ports of the iſland.

LUCIO GATTILUSIO could not poſſibly be ignorant that Mahomet owed moſt of his conqueſts entirely to the pledging of his faith, and that he ſcarce ever kept it; but the weak Greek, dazzled with the luſtre of a crown, let himſelf be ſeduced by the viſier's ſpecious promiſes. In conſequence of which the traitor opened to him a gate which he was appointed to defend; the Turks entered in at it in crouds, and maſſacred the knights, who, though deſerted by the Greeks, died all with their weapons in their hands: ſeveral privateers met with a like fate; others, in hopes of life which was promiſed them, ſurrendered themſelves priſoners. The traitor in the midſt of the tumult ran to the caſtle, and with an affected terror, repreſented to the prince that he was going to be taken by ſtorm, if he did not prevent it by a capitulation; and the weak prince of Lesbos committed the whole management of that affair into his hands. Mahomet, who was not far off, haſtened upon the advice he received from the viſier to reap the glory and benefit of his negotiation: the treaty was agreed on; he promiſed the prince other lands in Greece in exchange for his iſland; and it was ſtipulated, that he ſhould come to Conſtantinople to treat about this exchange. The prince of Lesbos repaired thither with his kinſman, whoſe treachery he was not aware of.

MAHOMET treated them exactly as he had done the emperor of Trebiſond. As a preliminary to the negotiation, he left them only the choice of changing their religion, or of ſuffering immediate death. The two Gattiluſio's were baſe and cowardly enough to abjure the faith; they flattered themſelves at leaſt with the hopes of having preſerved their lives by their apoſtacy; but Mahomet looked out for ſome other pretext to get rid of them. That prince, whoſe barbarous politicks made him put every body to death that had any juſt claim to the countries he had conquered, took advantage of the two Gattiluſio's walking abroad, charged it upon them as done with a deſign to make their eſcape, and get out of his dominions without his leave, and thereupon ordered them both to be beheaded. He was ſtill more cruel in his treatment of the chriſtian privateers that had defended Mitylene, and ſurrendered to the Infidels upon the viſier's aſſuring them that their lives ſhould be ſaved. The ſultan, notwithſtanding his viſier's promiſe, and to intimidate their companions, cauſed them to be ſeized, and afterwards ſawed in two, and ordered their limbs to be expoſed to dogs and other voracious animals.

THE grand maſter looked upon theſe cruel executions as forerunners of a war, which Mahomet would carry on the next campaign in the iſle of Rhodes. And in order to prepare himſelf for it, he ſent a general ſummons into Europe directed to all the knights, with particular orders to the receivers to repair to Rhodes to aſſiſt at a chapter which he had called, and to bring thither the annates and reſponſions, for which they were accountable to the common treaſury.

THOSE officers, purſuant to theſe orders of their ſuperior, preſſed ſeveral commanders to ſatisfy and diſcharge what they owed; but the greateſt part of them, eſpecially thoſe of Italy and Arragon, endeavoured by various pretences to elude the payment of what was ſo juſtly required of them. Some pretended that they were taxed at an exceſſive rate; others complained of the grand maſter as an old man that was continually terrified at the leaſt motions of Mahomet, and under the notion of an imaginary war, was always haraſſing them with long and tedious voyages, and inventing one pretence or other to drain them by the exorbitant taxes which he laid upon them. Theſe complaints were laid before pope Paul II. and ſeconded by the kings of Naples and Arragon, and by the doge of Venice.

THE king of Arragon in particular preſſed the ſovereign pontiff to ſummon him to Rome to anſwer for his conduct. Here follows the motive of that prince's animoſity: the grand maſter ſtill keeping in his hands the caſtellany of Emposta, which he enjoyed when he came to the maſterſhip, had demanded of that prince to give back ſeveral manors which had belonged formerly to that great commandry, and which the king had ſeized on by a right of convenience. All theſe princes, actuated by different motives, prevailed with the pope to order the general chapter which was ſummoned to Rhodes to be held at Rome. This was a kind of ſurrendring up the grand maſter to his enemies; and what was worſe, by this new citation and change in affairs they expoſed the iſle of Rhodes to the enterpriſes of Mahomet. The grand maſter might have made uſe of ſo juſt a reaſon to excuſe himſelf from the voyage, and could have alledged the neceſſity he was under of defending in perſon the dominions, the ſovereignty of which the order had intruſted him with: but the venerable old man, eager to prove his innocence on ſo publick a theatre as the court of Rome, repaired thither immediately, and the chapter was opened ſoon after. The grand maſter, who had the oldeſt commanders and beſt good men of the order appearing in his favour, ſoon convinced the pope that the complaints brought him had no manner of foundation, but were owing only to the libertiniſm of ſome profligate knights, who, though they had great eſtates, did not yet find them ſufficient to ſupport their exceſſive luxury: and to ſhew his diſintereſtedneſs, and take away from the king of Arragon all ſubject of complaint, he at the ſame time made a reſignation of the caſtellany of Emposta to the order and chapter, having kept it in his hands after his election to the grand maſterſhip, with the view only of enabling him to go on with building the fortreſs of St. Nicholas.

SUCH teſtimonies of his diſintereſtedneſs covered his enemies with confuſion: the pope himſelf was aſhamed of having liſtened to them, and ſuffering himſelf to be impoſed upon by them; and in order to repair the injury he had done the grand maſter, gave him the higheſt teſtimonies of his eſteem in private, and affected to diſtinguiſh him in publick by all the marks of reſpect that were ſo juſtly due to his merit, and the rank he held among chriſtian princes. The chapter made alſo ſeveral ſevere regulations againſt the diſobedient, which were approved by the holy ſee. The grand maſter was preparing to carry them himſelf to Rhodes, when a pleuriſy that ſeized him at Rome put an end to his life: the common opinion being that the uneaſineſs and fatigues which the wicked religious occaſioned him, had haſtened his end. The pope cauſed him to be buried in the church of St. Peter, and omitted no kind of pious magnificence that was proper to adorn his funeral obſequies; and by a decree of the chapter, they obſerved in the epitaph of this grand maſter, that he was equally diſtinguiſhed by his piety, his charity and his capacity for the arts of government.

JOHN BAPT. URSINI.
1467.

THE general chapter then proceeded to a new election: the votes were divided between brother Raimond Ricard of the language of Provence, grand prior of St. Giles, and brother JOHN BAPTISTA URSINI prior of Rome, and of ſo illuſtrious a family, that his very name, abſtracted from his perſonal merit and qualities, might alone ſerve for a title, and procure him a preference to any competitor. Yet he carried it by one voice only: a circumſtance which may make one preſume, that the plurality of votes would hardly have been on his ſide in any other place but Rome.

THE new grand maſter taking leave of the pope made all the haſte he could to Rhodes, where Mahomet's ambition and forces made them always apprehenſive of ſome ſurpriſe. He ſent a particular ſummons to the braveſt and moſt experienced knights of each language to repair thither. Nor was it long before there arrived brother Bertrand de Cluys grand prior of France; brother John de Bourbon commander of Boncourt; brother John de Sailly commander of Fieſſes; brother John Wulner commander of Oiſon; and brother Peter d'Aubuſſon, one of the greateſt captains of the order, and particularly verſed in that branch of military skill that relates to fortifications, on which account the grand maſter made him ſurveyor of thoſe of the iſland. 'Twas by his advice and direction that they made the town ditches deeper and wider, and raiſed a wall ſix hundred foot long, thirty ſix broad, and ſix thick, on that ſide that lay towards the ſea.

THIS precaution was the more neceſſary, inaſmuch as they were afterwards informed the ſultan would have opened the campaign with the ſiege of Rhodes, if he had not been detained at Conſtantinople by a dangerous illneſs. And the plague breaking out at the ſame time in that capital of the Turkiſh empire, he was obliged to put off that enterpriſe for ſome time. However, not to allow the knights any reſpite, he put to ſea thirty gallies with a body of foot on board, giving the commander orders to make deſcents in the weakeſt places of the iſland, to carry off the inhabitants, and deſtroy all before him with fire and ſword. The grand maſter having advice of this armament, defeated the deſign of it by his prudent conduct and the valour of the knights. There were then ſeveral caſtles in the iſland ſituated at certain diſtances from one another, which in time of war ſerved for a retreat to the inhabitants of the country. Among theſe ſtrong places were the caſtles of Lindo, Feracle, Villeneuve, Catauda, Archangel and Tiranda. The peaſants had orders to retire thither with their cattle; and the knights dividing themſelves into different bodies of cavalry, and ſuffering the Turks to land, fell upon ſuch as advanced into the country, killed a great number of them, took ſeveral pri-

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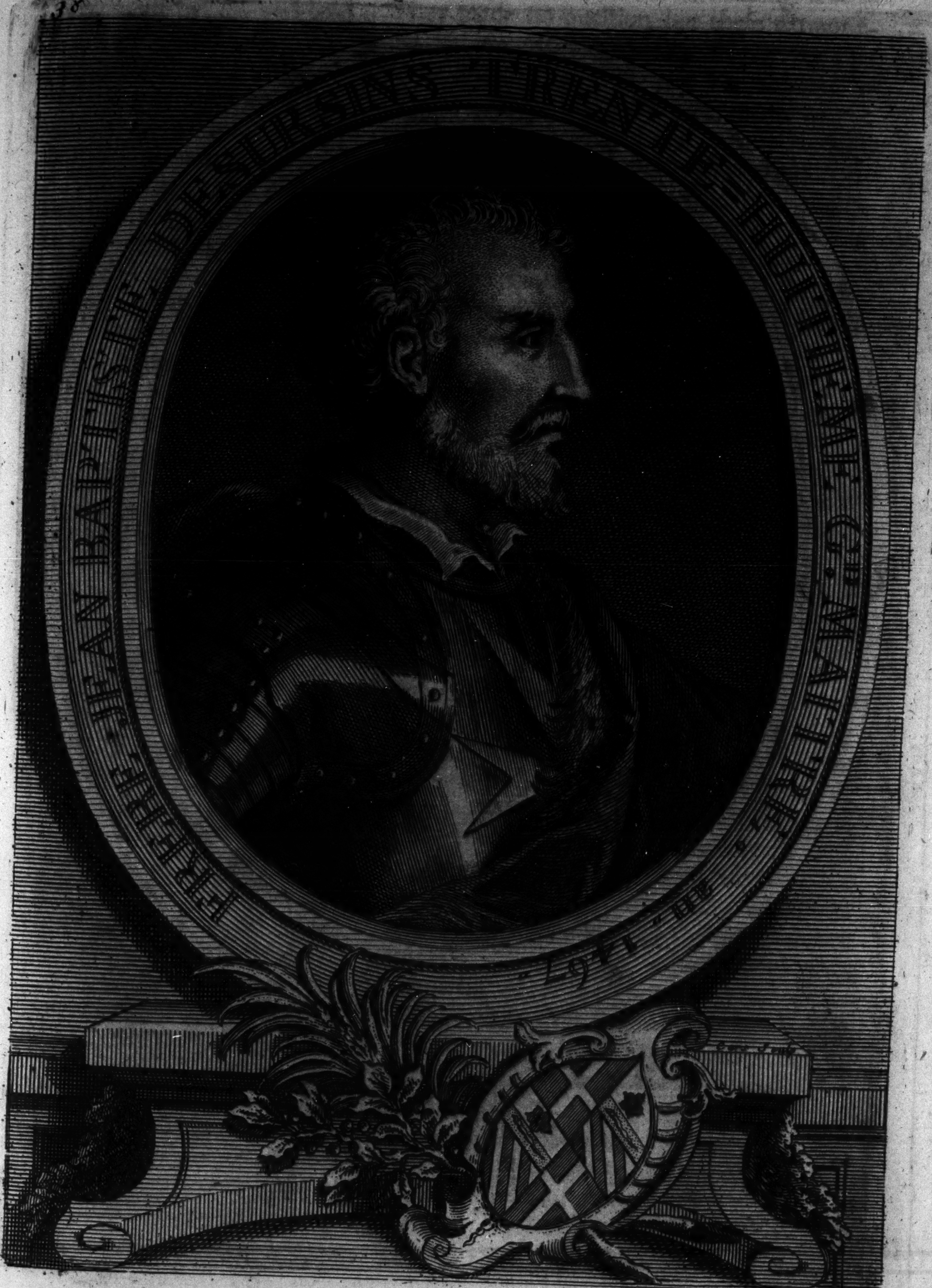

FRERE JEAN BAPTISTE DESURSINS TRENTE HUITIEME Gd MAITRE · ao · 1467 ·

ſoners, and forced the reſt to fly for their lives and get on board their fleet.

MAHOMET, whoſe whole life was a kind of a continual campaign, provoked at this defeat, gave out ſtrict orders immediately for the making a new armament by ſea and land. They made no queſtion but theſe extraordinary preparations were deſigned either againſt the iſle of Rhodes or that of Negrepont, which was then ſubject to the Venetians. In this uncertainty thoſe politick republicans, in order to make their advantage of the aſſiſtance of the order, ſent embaſſadors to the grand maſter and council, to propoſe a league with them both offenſive and defenſive againſt their common enemy. Nothing in outward appearance could be more convenient for both; but when they came to examine into the conditions of the treaty, the knights were ſtrangely ſurpriſed to find the Venetians demanded as a preliminary, that the order ſhould put it ſelf under the protection of their republick, and ſubmit to a dependence on it, and ſhould for the future undertake nothing without their orders. The grand maſter rejected the project of a league with a juſt indignation, which, under the name of an alliance, would have reduced the order into a ſtate of downright vaſſalage; and if this particular had not been expreſly mentioned by ſome celebrated hiſtorians, one could hardly imagine that ſo wiſe a body as the ſenate of Venice could have been capable of making ſo odious a propoſal, to an order compoſed of the moſt illuſtrious and valiant nobility and gentry of Chriſtendom, which by its ſingle forces had ſo long made head againſt thoſe of the Saracens and Turks. But tho' this particular league proved ineffectual, yet as ſoon as they heard at Rhodes that Mahomet's troops had inveſted the iſle and town of Negrepont, the grand maſter, in a ſenſe of what his profeſſion obliged him to, viz. to defend all the dominions of chriſtian princes, ſent immediately a ſquadron of gallies well provided to the ſuccour of the Venetians. The chevalier de Cardonne commanded this ſquadron, and the commander d'Aubuſſon, greatly skilled in the attack and defence of any ſtrong hold, was put at the head of a body of brave knights, who had orders to try to land in the iſland, and throw themſelves into the town which was beſieged.

THE iſle of Negrepont was antiently called Eubæa: it is about three hundred and ſixty miles in circumference; its greateſt breadth is forty, and its leaſt twenty miles: and it has a communication with the main land of Bœotia by a bridge over the Euripus. The capital of it was called Calchis by the Athenians; but it has ſince taken the general name of the iſland. John Bondumiero and Lewis Calbo his lieutenant, both noble Venetians, commanded in it for the republick; and Paul Erizzo, another noble Venetian, who had juſt before exerciſed the office of proveditor there, ſeeing the enemy draw near to beſiege it, generouſly reſolved to ſtay in the place, though the time of his ſervice was expired. Mahomet, before he attacked the iſle of Rhodes reſolved to reduce that of Negrepont, from whence the knights might otherwiſe obtain ſuccours.

THIS warlike prince, followed by an army of an hundred and twenty 1470. thouſand men, arrived on the bank of the Euripus, which he croſſed on a bridge of boats that he cauſed to be built; at the ſame time that his fleet, conſiſting of three hundred ſail, and commanded by the viſier Machmut was advancing forwards. There were three principal attacks in the ſiege, in which the Turks at firſt loſt a great number of men: but a traitor diſcovering a place of the walls which they had overlooked, the fortifications of which were old and ruinous, they played upon it with their artillery, and beat down a great pannel of the wall. The beſieged ſent advice of the danger they were in to general Canalé who commanded the fleet of the republick. The gallies of the order had joined it; the chriſtian fleet came up immediately in ſight of the enemy; they had the wind and current on their ſide, and had reſolved in a council of war to attack the bridge over the Epirus, in order to cut off the communication which the Turks had with the main land, and thereby deprive them of the convoys which they received from thence. All the fleet was eager for an engagement and demanded it with great ſhouts; and particularly the knights de Cardone and d'Aubuſſon preſſed Canalé to advance. But that admiral caſting his eyes by chance on his only ſon, who looked frighted at the danger, after reflecting for ſome time whether he ſhould engage the enemy or retreat, at laſt ſhamefully tacked about, ſailed away from the Infidels and abandoned the beſieged, who were then left without any hopes of ſuccour.

The ſultan took advantage of their conſternation: his troops mounted the next day to the aſſault, and ſtormed that part of the wall that his artillery had beaten down. They did not enter however till after a gallant defence had been made over the bodies of Bondumiero, Calbo, and the principal officers of the garriſon who died bravely on the breach.

The proveditor Erizzo diſputed every inch of ground, making a ſtand at every intrenchment thrown up in the ſtreets; but ſeeing himſelf forced on all ſides, he made his way to the caſtle, where he held out for ſome time with great bravery: but at laſt wanting proviſions and ammunition, and moſt of his ſoldiers being wounded, he was forced to capitulate. He would not however deliver up the caſtle till he had the ſultan's expreſs word for the ſecurity of his life. That prince ſwore by his own head that Erizzo's ſhould not be touched, but when he had him in his power, he ordered him to ſawed in two; and mixing raillery with cruelty, and meanly playing with a deceitful and ambiguous oath, he ſaid, that he had indeed given Erizzo aſſurance for his head, but that he had never meant to ſpare his ſides.

That gallant Venetian had with him Anne Erizzo his daughter, a young lady of ſurpriſing beauty. Her father fearing ſhe would be afterwards expoſed to the brutiſh luſt of the ſoldiers, begged of the executioners to put her to death before they diſpatched him; but they replied, that ſhe was reſerved for the ſultan's pleaſures. They led her to that prince, who was charmed with her beauty, and offered her both his heart and his empire. The diſcreet lady anſwered with a modeſt intrepidity, that ſhe was a Chriſtian and a virgin, and that ſhe did not ſo much fear death as ſhe abhorred the debauchery of his ſeraglio, and the poiſonous flattery of his promiſes. Mahomet tried all ways to ſeduce her but in vain: they preſented her with fine cloaths and jewels in his name, but ſhe refuſed them with a noble diſdain. Mahomet, naturally more proud than ſenſual, enraged at her refuſal, changed his love into hatred, and in one of his furious fits cut off her head with his ſcymetar at one blow; thus fulfilling the wiſhes of that heroine, who by the ſacrifice of a ſhort tranſitory life, and a frail beauty, acquired immortal glory and felicity. 1470.

'Twould be a difficult taſk to deſcribe the cruelties exerciſed at the taking of Negrepont. The iſland was ſoon covered over with ſlaughter and horror; the Turkiſh ſoldiers, following the example, and acting under the eyes of their ſovereign, valued themſelves for their fury and extravagance: they were particularly careful not to give any quarter to the Latin Chriſtians; and the ſultan enraged that he had found the gallies of the order in the Venetian fleet, ſent to Rhodes to denounce mortal war againſt them, ſwearing that he would kill the grand maſter with his own hand, and deſtroy all the knights that came within his power.

THESE menaces did not deter the order from continuing their generous ſuccours to the Venetians. The fleet of that republick was at that time commanded by the famous Mocenigo, who was placed in the room of the cowardly Canalé. The gallies of the order having joined him, they ſailed by concert to beſiege Attalia, a famous town on the coaſt of Pamphilia, called at preſent Satalia. The proveditor Sorano was immediately ordered to break the chain that ſhut up the port, which he executed with great courage and ſucceſs. The chriſtian fleet entered the harbour, and afterwards ſacked the ſuburbs of the two encloſures with which the town was fortified. They carried the firſt, but the walls of the ſecond being too high for the ladders which they had prepared to ſcale them, and the general of the gallies of the order with ſeveral brave knights being killed in the attack, the Venetian general gave it over, notwithſtanding the cries of an old chriſtian woman, a ſlave in Satalia, who called out to the Chriſtians from the wall, and told them the ſmall number and weakneſs of the beſieged. They ſay that ſhe was ſeized with ſo much grief at hearing the retreat ſounded, that ſhe threw herſelf headlong from the top of the rampart into the ditch, whence the Venetians took her, bruiſed to pieces with her fall, and gave her decent interment.

THE Chriſtians after this repulſe went to wreak their anger upon the open country, and after the uſual waſte and havock made in an enemy's territories, came to an anchor at Rhodes. There they found an embaſſador of Uſum-Caſſan, king of Perſia, called Azimamet, who beſides his ſervants, was accompanied with above an hundred Perſian gentlemen.

IN order to have a juſt notion of the negotiation on which he was ſent to the grand maſter and other chriſtian princes, who were enemies to Mahomet, we muſt obſerve, that after the loſs of Negrepont, the Venetians had formed a ſtrong league againſt the Turk; into which pope Paul II. had entered, together with the King of Arragon, Ferdinand king of Naples, the order of St. John of Jeruſalem, and the republick of Florence. Beſides theſe ſuccours, the Venetians in the view of raiſing up enemies againſt the ſultan on every ſide, had ſent an embaſſador, Catherini Zeno by name, into Perſia to ſollicite Uſum-Caſſan to make a diverſion that might be ſtrong enough to ſtop the arms of an ambitious prince who threatened to enſlave all the eaſt. There was no need of making that prince ſenſible of his own intereſts, and he had for a long time been uneaſy at the conqueſts of Mahomet. We have ſaid that he had already made a league with ſeveral chriſtian princes againſt the Turk; but the fatal diſcords of the confederates, and the impetuoſity of Mahomet, had till then always defeated the benefit of thoſe pompous alliances which were more ſhewy than ſolid. However, he readily hearkened to the propoſals made him by the Venetian embaſſador.

ASSUN CASSAN, or Uzun-Haſſan, i. e. Uzun the long, ſo called from his great ſtature, was the ſixth prince of the Turcomans, of the dynaſty of Akconjonlu, or of the white ſheep. He began his conqueſts with uſurping the dominions of his brother Gehanghir, whom he diſpatched, and the ſame year ſeized upon thoſe of Gehanſchah, a prince of the dynaſty of the black ſheep, whom he put to death with all his family: nor did he give better quarter to Abouſaid, grandſon to Tamerlane, from whom he took all Perſia.

John Bapt. Ursini.

Though this prince was a profeſſed Muſulman, yet whether he had diſcovered the impoſture of that, or that the intereſt of his kingdom was his firſt principle of religion, he made no ſcruple to enter into an alliance with the princes of Chriſtendom: he ſent his miniſter only to view the forces of his allies. The embaſſador was received by the grand maſter with all the honours and magnificence due to his character: they loaded him with civilities and preſents. The Perſian gentry that attended him were every day entertained by the principal knights of the order; and to give him a good opinion of the forces of the league, they ſhewed him their naval and land forces one after another, drawn up in order of battle, and their manner of fighting in a real engagement.

Azimamet, in an audience which he had of the grand maſter and the principal captains of the league, told them, that the king his maſter had taken from Mahomet the ſtrong place of Torata in the leſſer Armenia; that he was preparing to carry on his conqueſts; that the Perſians were indeed invincible by their cavalry, which were the beſt in the world; that he did not want either men, or horſes, or lances, or ſabres; but that the uſe of fire arms was altogether unknown in his country, and that the king his maſter had ſent him with orders to deſire the chriſtian princes to ſend him ſome skilful founders and able gunners to ſerve him againſt the Turks: this was promiſed him, and the grand maſter ſending a ſquadron of gallies to eſcort him, he was conducted to Venice, where the treaty was concluded; and at his return the ſenate ſent an hundred officers of artillery, as alſo ſeveral excellent founders and gunſmiths along with him, who afterwards ſupplied the Perſian armies with a compleat train of artillery, and an infinite number of harquebuſſes, or hand-guns.

'Twas ſcarce poſſible for ſo pompous an embaſſy to be concealed from Mahomet. This prince ſoon gueſſed at the motives of it, and in order to make the negotiation miſcarry, he diſpatched an embaſſador to the king of Perſia, who was ordered to repreſent to him what a blemiſh it would be to his honour, to make an alliance with Infidels againſt a prince of his own religion. But the Perſian, who was not to be caught with ſuch ſcruples, paid but little regard to Mahomet's reproaches; but finding his intereſt in the league, perſiſted in it with vigour, nor could even ill ſucceſs diſengage him from it. Mahomet exaſperated at the fixed reſolution of that prince, declared war againſt him, and went in perſon at the head of an army of 190000 men to attack him in the heart of his dominions.

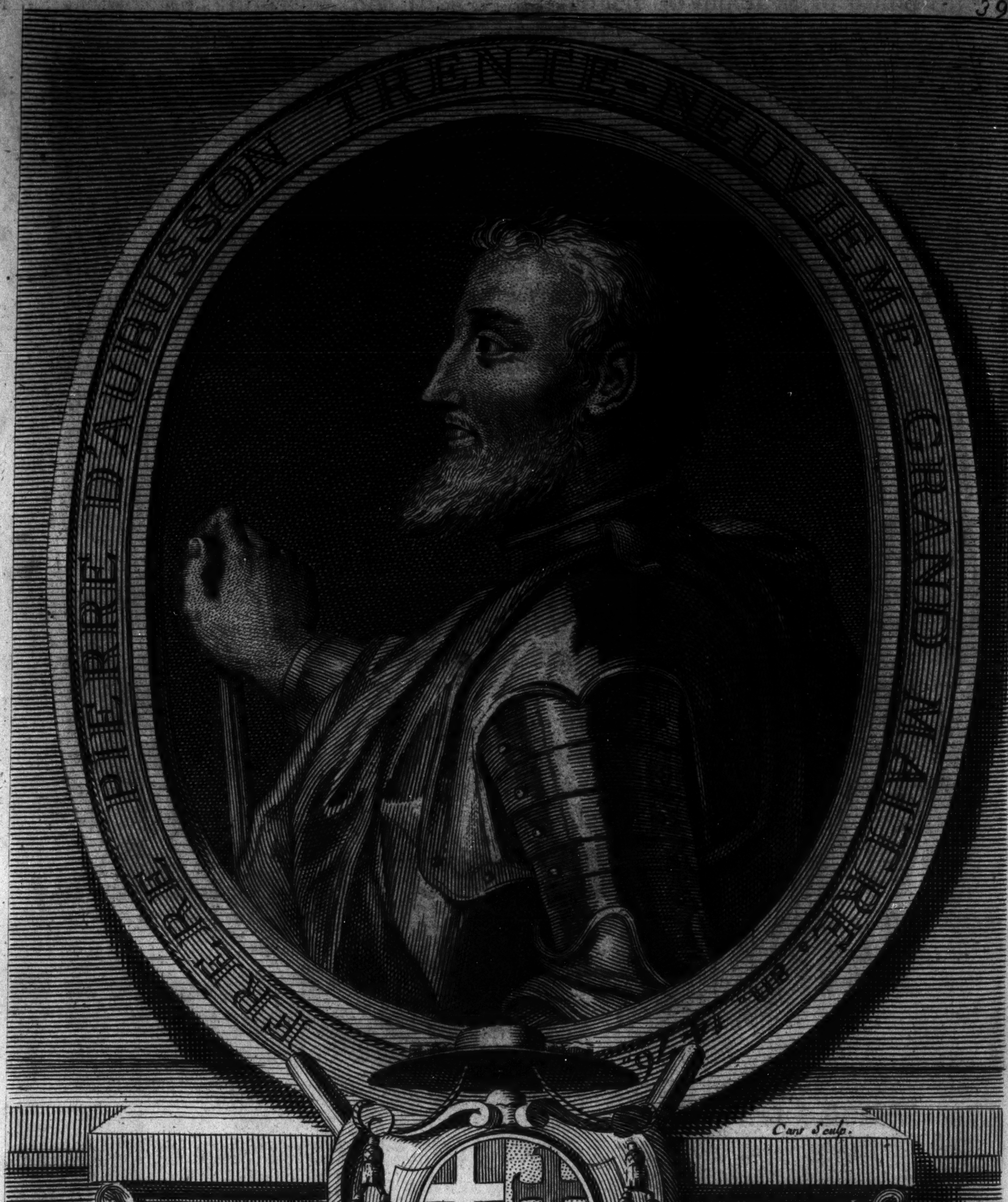
Before he ſet out from Conſtantinople he left prince Zizim, the youngeſt of his ſons, in that city, with a good council, to take care of the government, but as he paſſed through Amaſia, took Bajazet, a brother of that young prince, along with him; and Muſtapha, the eldeſt of them all, who commanded on the frontiers of Caramania, came to join him with the troops of his government. This young prince had the year before routed an army of Uſſun-Caſſan in a pitched battle: Mahomet to improve this victory, and take advantage of the conſternation of the Perſians, advanced as far as the banks of the Euphrates. His deſign was to paſs that river and advance forward into Perſia; but he ſaw Uſſun-Caſſan on the other ſide, who attended by the three princes his ſons, and at the head of a great body of cavalry, conſiſting of 40000 horſe, was ready to diſpute the paſſage of it. Never was a more glorious ſtrife ſeen between two royal houſes. The Euphrates, oppoſite to the place where the two armies were poſted, divided itſelf into ſeveral branches: ſome of them were fordable. The Turks throw themſelves into the river to get to them, but the continual march of horſes putting the ſand in motion, the ford is turned into a whirlpool that ſwallows up every thing. To make the misfortune ſtill greater, ſuch as can get near the banks of the river find them cut ſteep and ſhelving by the precaution of the king of Perſia. So that ſpent with fatigue, and finding no ſure footing on the quick-ſands to fight on, they lie expoſed as a mark to the Perſian arrows, without being able to revenge their deaths. A great many are drowned, and others are carried away with the ſtreams. Above 12000 men periſhed in this enterprize, and the furious Mahomet raging at his ill ſucceſs, is at laſt forced to ſound a retreat.

As the Perſians had carried off all the proviſions and forage of thoſe quarters, the Turks were obliged to make the beſt of their way to their own frontiers. The Perſian had done enough for glory, and could he have been content with this advantage, nothing had been wanting to compleat it. But perſuaded by the daring counſels of the young princes his ſons, he paſſed the Euphrates, and purſued his enemy, whom he found ſtrongly intrenched. They ſoon came to an engagement, both armies cloſe together, and the prince has as much his ſhare in the battle as the ſoldier. Victory changed ſides more than once, but Muſtapha, Mahomet's eldeſt ſon, at laſt fixed it on that of the ſultan. He routed a great body of Perſians commanded by prince Zeinel, Uſſun-Caſſan's ſon, who was killed at the ſame time. Whilſt Muſtapha was purſuing the runaways, he ſent the Perſian prince's head to Mahomet, as an earneſt of the victory, which after the death of Zeinel declared itſelf abſolutely againſt the Perſians; their whole army was diſperſed, and fled for life to the neighbouring mountains. In the midſt of Mahomet's joy for his glorious ſucceſs, news was brought him that they did not know what was become of prince Muſtapha. The ſultan on this occaſion felt all the tender emotions of a father; and was curſing the fatal victory, when the ſhouts of the ſoldiers gave him notice a little after of the young prince's return. In the firſt tranſports of his joy he runs with eagerneſs to meet him, and embraces him tenderly, covered over as he was with blood and duſt. He would even preſent him with a cup of ſorbec with his own hand; but Muſtapha found by agreeable experience on this occaſion, that of all refreſhments, none is more proper to wipe off the ſweat and fatigues of a battle, than a victory juſt gained.

YET this young prince, the partner of the fatigues and glory of his father, the ſupport of the throne, and the hopes of his ſubjects, in the midſt of all his triumphs, was within a year afterwards ſtruck as it were with a clap of thunder. Achmet Geduc, one of the principal baſha's of the port, had a wife of extraordinary beauty. The young ſultan had the misfortune to meet her as ſhe was going to the bath, and notwithſtanding the ſevere injunction laid on the women of that nation of never appearing in publick but in veils, ſhe yet could not reſiſt the ſecret pleaſure of letting him have a glimpſe of her face, in order to diſcover how amiable ſhe was. She let fall a corner of her veil, but took it up again immediately; and ſhewed her ſelf with that reſerved air, only to make her ſelf be viewed with more curioſity. The courtiers, a ſervile ſet of men, did not fail to applaud the criminal deſires of the young prince, who fancied himſelf above all laws, after having performed ſo many great actions in war. He follows her to the bath, makes his way in ſpite of the guards into a place forbidden to men; ſurprizes her in a circumſtance not over decent, and hurried away by his paſſion, obtains favours in which perhaps he did not meet with much reſiſtance. Achmet is ſoon informed of it, and enraged at the inſult, runs to the ſeraglio, throws himſelf at Mahomet's met's feet, tears his beard, his veſt and turbant, and by his cries and tears gives the ſultan to underſtand his wife's, or rather his own misfortune. Mahomet begun already to be uneaſy at the proud and haughty temper of his ſon; however, not to degrade himſelf ſo much as to blame this outrage before one of his ſubjects, he diſſembles his reſentment, and looking upon the baſha with an air of contempt, “Are not, ſays he to him, “thy wiſe and thee, both my ſlaves, and too much honoured with contributing to the ſatisfaction of my children?” He diſmiſſed him with this rough anſwer, but ſent at the ſame time for Muſtapha, and with that air at which the greateſt of his court would tremble, made him the moſt cruel reproaches, bid him be gone from his preſence; and hearing that the young prince expreſt the utmoſt indignation at his going out of the ſeraglio, and murmured at ſo harſh a treatment, he ſent orders three days after to have him ſtrangled. Notwithſtanding there was an interval of two years between theſe ſeveral incidents, I have nevertheleſs related them together by reaſon of the connexion there is between them, and for the convenience of the reader.

THE order of time ſhould make us reſume the narration in that part which relates to the league between the Perſian monarch and the grand maſter, and the other chriſtian princes: but as that affair does not come directly within the ſubject of our hiſtory, we ſhall only obſerve that the war between the two mighty princes who diſputed for the empire of Aſia, laſted for ſeveral years, and ſuſpended the enterprize that Mahomet had formed againſt Rhodes. The grand maſter during this interval renewed his precautions for the preſervation of the place and the whole iſland. By his orders, with the concurrence of the council, ſome ancient knights were ſent to viſit all the places and iſles that belonged to the order. 'Twas at this time that he held a general chapter at Rhodes, which is the ſureſt reſource for the maintenance or re-eſtabliſhment of the regular diſcipline. 'Twas in theſe numerous aſſemblies that proper meaſures were taken, and that without diſtinction of perſons, or deference to any body, for the reformation of manners; and we may affirm, that had it not been for the frequent meetings of their chapters, the order could never, in the midſt of the confuſion and hurry of war, have ſo long preſerved it ſelf in the firſt ſpirit of piety and diſintereſtedneſs which diſtinguiſhed it as much as its courage and extraordinary valour.

THOUGH the power of ſo many ſovereigns as had entered into the league kept Mahomet in ſome awe, yet that prince had ſuch numerous armies on foot, that the knights were continually on their guard for fear of being ſurprized. They added more new fortifications to the old ones, and built two towers cloſe by the ſea, on that ſide that lies towards Limonia, and a third facing the village of St. Martha. The commander d'Aubuſſon, made grand prior of Auvergne after the death of the chevalier Cottet, carried on thoſe works with an attention worthy of his zeal and capacity; nothing eſcaped his diligence. The grand maſter and the order were as attentive to his advices as if they had been ſo many laws: he was, as it were, the ſoul and primum mobile of the council, and was generally the only perſon made uſe of to execute the projects he himſelf had formed: all affairs, whether relating to war, to the revenue, or to the fortifications, paſſed through his hands. He was continually ſurrounded with warriors, artificers and workmen, without being embarraſſed either with the number or diverſity of affairs: his zeal for the ſervice of the order, and the extent and quickneſs of his genius, made him equal to all theſe different employments.


FRERE PIERRE D'AUBUSSON TRENTE-NEUVIEME GRAND MAITRE en 1476
Cars Sculp.

John Bapt. Ursini.

The grand maſter being very old, and always infirm, had great need of ſuch an aſſiſtant; he had been in a languiſhing condition for near a year together, when a dropſy at laſt carried him off. He died June 8. 1476, when they proceeded to the choice of a ſucceſſor. Brother Raimond de Ricard, grand prior of St. Giles, who was in the precedent election a competitor with the laſt grand maſter, was choſen to preſide at that of his ſucceſſor; and 'twas he who after the uſual ceremonies notified to the aſſembly that all the votes of the electors center'd unanimouſly in the perſon of brother Peter d'Aubusson, grand prior of Auvergne, deſcended from the ancient viſcounts of la Marche, and of one of the moſt illuſtrious houſes in France. It may be ſaid, that even before his election to the grand maſterſhip, he was already their chief in the good wiſhes of all the knights, as well as thoſe of the people, who upon the firſt news of it made bonefires and gave publick teſtimonies of that unfeigned and ſincere joy which flows from the heart, and which politicks and ſlavery can never counterfeit. So happy a choice inſpired the moſt timorous with bravery, and they were no longer afraid of Mahomet when they ſaw d'Aubuſſon at the head of affairs, with the reins of government in his hands.

Peter d'Aubusson. Proof I.

His conduct fully anſwered the favourable opinion they had conceived of him, and he employed his authority for the execution of all thoſe projects which he had before propoſed only as a ſimple member of the council. By his orders they made a great iron chain that ſerved to bar up the entrance of the port; and to prevent the deſcents and ravages of pyrates in other places of the iſland, he encreaſed the number of the towers and forts that had been built along the coaſt, and at certain diſtances from one another. He did not confine his views and cares to the preſervation of the iſle of Rhodes alone: he ſent ſtrong re-inforcements into the other iſles belonging to the order; and from the ſame zeal and attention he ſent engineers to the caſtle of St. Peter, who, purſuant to the memoirs and plan that he delivered them, hollowed the ditch to ſuch a depth that the ſea-water flowed into it, and the felucca's and brigantines of the order entered there without difficulty, and lay ſecured from the Turks and Corſairs. Whilſt this worthy ſovereign of the iſle of Rhodes was thus taken up entirely with its defence, Michael Salomon, envoy of Loredan, general of the Venetians, arrived in the iſland, with orders to reclaim a Cypriot, called Riccio Marini, one of the moſt zealous ſervants of Charlotte de Luſignan.

We have already taken notice that the crown of Cyprus, after continuing near three hundred years in the houſe of Luſignan, was uſurped from Charlotte de Luſignan by her baſtard brother; that the uſurper, to make ſure of the protection of the Venetians, had uſed ſollicitations to get a daughter of the family of Cornaro in marriage, and that the ſenate to create themſelves a right, or rather ſome pretenſions to the kingdom, had granted her to him, and had given her a portion as a daughter of St. Mark. 'Tis ſaid, that to come at this ſucceſſion the ſooner, the baſtard was made away by poyſon: a little child that he left ſucking at the breaſt did not ſurvive him long. The Venetians, under pretence of protectorſhip, ſent powerful ſuccours into the iſland, which they ſoon conquered in the name of the baſtard's widow, to whom they left nothing of queen but the bare name, and ſome inſignificant ornaments only.

1489.

Nevertheless Charlotte de Luſignan, the only and rightful heireſs of the crown, had always ſome ſecret adherents within the kingdom. Several ſchemes were formed to drive out the Venetians, but they miſcarried by reaſon of the experience and forces of the captains of that republick. The chiefs of queen Charlotte's party were obliged to quit the iſle; every body fled for refuge where he thought he could find protection, and live in the greateſt ſecurity. Riccio Marini, one of theſe chiefs, had retired to Rhodes; this was the occaſion of Salomon's embaſſy: he came to demand him back of the grand maſter, as a ſeditious perſon and a rebel; preſenting him at the ſame time, in the doge's name, a letter full of menaces: and Loredan's envoy added with no little arrogance, that as the moſt ſerene republick had adopted Catherine Cornaro, it would conſider all thoſe as her enemies as ſhould favour the partiſans of Charlotte de Luſignan.

THEY were not uſed at Rhodes to hear embaſſadors ſpeak with ſo much arrogance. Beſides the continual ſervices which the order was doing to the republick, the knights of Rhodes did not think themſelves inferior either in dignity or in forces to the gentlemen of Venice; and ſome of the moſt high ſpirited of this noble body of knights were for ſending back Loredan's agent without an anſwer.

IF the grand maſter had given way to thoſe firſt emotions of a ſecret inclination, which had attached him formerly to the perſon and intereſts of Charlotte de Luſignan, he would have anſwered the Venetian general's envoy with the ſame haughtineſs, and with a courage which were both ſo natural to him. But what might in a private knight be conſidered as generoſity, was not at all proper for a ſovereign, who ought to ſhape his conduct entirely to the intereſt of his ſtate: ſo that the grand maſter, in order not to bring new enemies upon his back when he was expecting to have all the forces of Mahomet fall upon the iſle of Rhodes, qualified his anſwer in ſuch a manner, that without either granting any thing to the envoy of the Venetians, or incenſing them by high words, he took care to maintain equally the rights of his dignity and the liberty of his territories. He told him, that the order, purſuant to its ſtatutes, never intermeddled in the differences and wars that aroſe between chriſtian princes; that he required him to tell his general, that at Rhodes they neither received ſeditious perſons or rebels, but, as was practiſed in every free and independent country; they did not likewiſe drive away ſuch whoſe private misfortunes obliged them to take refuge there, and who behaved like men of honour and good Chriſtians: with this anſwer he diſmiſſed the miniſter.

SCARCE was this envoy gone from Rhodes when another arrived, ſent by the ſoubachi or lieutenant to the governor of Lycia, a province in the neighbourhood, as we have ſaid, of the iſle of Rhodes. That infidel commander, whoſe cruelty had no reſtraint but what aroſe from his natural avarice, had actually a great many Chriſtians and ſubjects of the order in his priſons: and as he loſt ſome or other of them every day by the ſeverity and miſeries of the ſlavery they endured, he reſolved, contrary to the cuſtom of his nation, to treat for their liberty. There were however ſuſpicions that this envoy's voyage was only a pretext invented by Mahomet to get an opportunity for a perſon to view the fortifications of Rhodes. Nevertheleſs, as the grand maſter had nothing more at heart than the liberty of his brother knights, he readily entered into a negotiation: this was the occaſion of ſeveral voyages that the envoy made to Rhodes.

THE grand maſter, eager to recover thoſe knights, and deſirous at the ſame time to put an end to ſuch voyages, ſmoothed every difficulty. Beſides the ſums neceſſary for the ranſom of the ſlaves which he furniſhed out of his own purſe, he alſo ſent noble preſents to the ſoubachi; and

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when the negotiator brought the knights back, his recompence was not forgot. The grand maſter embraced them one after another; never did a tender mother, who after a long abſence ſees her only ſon in her arms again, diſcover more ſenſible demonſtrations of joy. The knights on their ſide kiſſed his hands, bathed them with their tears, embraced his feet, and by thoſe mute tranſports, which nevertheleſs affect the heart in the moſt ſenſible manner, endeavoured to expreſs their acknowledgments: they called him their father and their ſaviour. The grand maſter declined theſe titles with great modeſty. "'Tis to the order, my children, ſaid he to them, "that you owe theſe expreſſions of your acknowledgment; "and I hope you will make it an ample return by exerting your ordinary "valour againſt the enterpriſes of Mahomet, who daily threatens us with "a ſiege.

He had received advices to this purpoſe from ſeveral quarters. The order never had before a grand maſter who laid out ſuch conſiderable ſums, or employed them out ſo uſefully in ſpies: he kept ſome even within the very walls of the ſeraglio. By advices from them he learned that the Venetians were, without the knowledge of their allies, negotiating ſecretly a ſeparate peace with the port. He knew likewiſe from publick accounts that the king of Perſia, Uſſan-Caſſan, the moſt potent of Mahomet's enemies, being worn out with years and the fatigues of war, ſtood now only on the defenſive, without enterpriſing any thing againſt the Turks. He ſaw that the chriſtian princes, according to their conſtant cuſtom, were tearing one another to pieces; and that Matthias Corvinus king of Hungary was making a bloody war againſt the emperor Frederic: from whence he concluded that Mahomet would take advantage of theſe diviſions, and infallibly turn his arms the next year againſt the iſle of Rhodes.

The grand maſter, in order not to be taken unprepared, ſtored the magazines with ammunition and proviſions; and the iſle of Rhodes not having a ſufficient number of knights for its defence, he called a general chapter; and in the ſummons directed to the grand priors, he ordered all the knights to repair immediately to Rhodes with their arms, and in an equipage ſuitable to their profeſſion. We find a copy of this ſummons in Italian in Boſio's hiſtory; the original is ſtill preſerved in the archives of Malta, and we believe the reader will not be diſpleaſed to see an extract of it in this place.

My dearest brethren,

"In the midſt of the greateſt dangers with which Rhodes is threatened, "we have thought that no ſuccour was more to be depended on than a "general ſummons, and a ſpeedy aſſembly of all our brethren. The enemy is at our gates; the proud Mahomet ſets no bounds to his ambitious "projects; his power becomes more formidable every day: he has an innumerable multitude of ſoldiers, excellent captains and immenſe treaſures: all this is deſigned againſt us; he is bent upon our deſtruction; "I have the moſt certain advices of it. His troops are already in motion; the neighbouring provinces are filled with them; they are all filing "down towards Caria and Lycia: a prodigious number of veſſels and "gallies wait only for the ſpring and the return of fine weather to paſs "into our iſland. What do we wait for? Can you be inſenſible that "foreign ſuccours, which, are generally very weak, and always uncertain, "are at a diſtance from us? We have no reſource but in our own valour, "and

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" and we are ruined if we do not ſave our ſelves. The ſolemn vows " that ye have made, my brethren, oblige you to quit all to obey our " orders. 'Tis in virtue of thoſe holy promiſes made to the God of heaven before his altar, that I now ſummon you. Return without loſing a " moment into our dominions, or rather into your own: haſten with " equal zeal and courage to the ſuccour of the order. 'Tis your mother " that calls to you; 'tis a tender mother that has nurſed and brought you " up in her boſom that is now in danger. Is it poſſible there ſhould be " found one ſingle knight unnatural enough to abandon her to the fury " of the barbarians? No, my brethren, I have no apprehenſions of that " kind: ſentiments ſo mean and impious are not at all agreeable to the " nobleneſs of your extraction, and are ſtill more inconſiſtent with the " piety and valour that you profeſs.

THIS ſummons, diſperſed over all Europe, raiſed the zeal and ardour of the knights: they all ſet eagerly about preparing their equipages. To raiſe money with the greater expedition, they ſell their houſhold goods; they let and farm out their commandries at low rates; every one takes meaſures for his ſetting out and his paſſage; and the thing they all ſtand moſt in fear of is of their not arriving ſoon enough at Rhodes. Some ſovereigns, edified with their zeal, ſent ſeveral kinds of ſuccour thither; the moſt conſiderable came from France. Lewis XI. who was then on the throne, prevailed with pope Sixtus IV. to grant a jubilee and indulgences to all perſons who ſhould aſſiſt the knights. This jubilee raiſed conſiderable ſums in a very ſhort time, which were remitted immediately into the eaſt, and were, by the grand maſter's orders, employed in raiſing ſome new fortifications which he thought proper to make about the caſtle and bulwarks of the city of Rhodes.

MAHOMET heard with no little uneaſineſs that they had penetrated into his deſigns: and to hinder this diſcovery from putting the chriſtian princes in motion, and producing at laſt ſome formidable league againſt him, he tried, under colour of a negotiation of peace with the grand maſter, and by an embaſſy that ſhould make a noiſe in the world, to cool the zeal of ſuch as were preparing to take arms. But as he was the proudeſt of all men living, he would not expoſe himſelf to a refuſal from the knights, and therefore gave that commiſſion to prince Zem or Zizim one of his children, and Cheleby his nephew, whoſe governments lay near Rhodes, ordering them to employ in this negotiation a renegado Greek, Demetrius Sophian by name, being a perſon of whoſe addreſs and capacity he was thoroughly ſatisfied.

THE two Turkiſh princes, purſuant to the orders they had received from the grand ſeignior, ſent d'Aubuſſon a letter full of expreſſions of eſteem for his perſon, and for all the knights of his order. It was even ſtuffed with a ſet of flattering compliments, a ſtile very ſeldom uſed by thoſe barbarians; and the princes concluded it with inviting him to make a ſolid peace with his highneſs, for which they offered their mediation and credit at the port.

THE renegado Greek was entruſted with this letter and the negotiation, the ſecret of which, as they pretend, was confided to him only, and that even the two young princes themſelves knew nothing of it. He came to Rhodes, preſented his credentials to the grand maſter, and when they were entering upon the negotiation, he repreſented that the only thing the grand ſeignior inſiſted on, in order to make a ſolid and laſting peace between them, was a ſmall tribute. To engage him to come into

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it the more readily, he urged farther, that the ſenate of Venice to obtain the like treaty had made no difficulty to oblige themſelves to ſend eight thouſand ducats of gold every year to the port; but that he ſhould get off at a much cheaper rate, though, ſays he, there is no paying too dear for the friendſhip of ſo potent a prince that makes all others tremble.

THE grand maſter had already received advice of the renegado's embaſſy from the ſpies that he kept in Conſtantinople; and alſo that the deſign of it was only to lull him into a ſecurity and ſurpriſe him: ſo that to make his own advantage of it, and employ againſt Mahomet the very artifice he made uſe of to deceive him, he very prudently diſſembled his knowledge of it. He even ſhewed an entire confidence in the embaſſador's word, and told him, that he ſhould be greatly pleaſed if he could come to a ſolid peace with the grand ſeignior. But added, that his order being under the particular protection of the ſovereign pontiff of the Chriſtians, and poſſeſſed of great eſtates in the dominions of moſt of the princes of Europe, he could conclude nothing without their participation: however he did not believe that they would oppoſe a treaty which would eſtabliſh a ſolid peace between the two powers; that he was likewiſe perſuaded the council of the order would readily come into it; but in order to obtain the conſent of the knights, there muſt not be any mention made of a tribute, the very name of which was odious to them: that he was nevertheleſs going to write about it immediately to Rome, and to diſpatch embaſſadors into all the courts of Chriſtendom, and deſired only three months time to receive anſwers from thence.

THE grand maſter, who was a perſon of excellent abilities, was deſirous to obtain time enough, and a free paſſage for the knights, who were at a diſtance, to repair to Rhodes; and therefore added, with a ſpecious ſincerity, that in the favourable diſpoſition in which the grand ſeignior ſeemed of treating in good earneſt with the order, he fancied it would be for both their intereſts, and alſo prevent their exaſperating one another by any new enterpriſes, to make a ſuſpenſion of arms, and reſtore a liberty of commerce between their ſubjects, at leaſt for the three months which he demanded for the obtaining of anſwers from Europe.

THE grand maſter, after this conference, and not to keep a renegado whom he looked upon as a ſpy any longer in Rhodes, diſmiſſed him, giving him a letter for the two young Ottoman princes, wherein, after anſwering their civilities with all the politeneſs that was proper for him to make uſe of, he added, agreeably to what he had told their embaſſador, that he could not conclude a treaty of that importance without the participation of the pope, and moſt of the princes of Chriſtendom.

THE embaſſador, upon his return, gave the two Ottoman princes an account of his negotiation. He told them, that he found the grand maſter would willingly treat of peace, but made them ſenſible withall that that prince would never conſent to the payment of any tribute, and that he would be diſowned by his own order if he ſhould conſent to it. The two princes who thought they ſhould make their court to Mahomet by forwarding the negotiation, and indeed acted in it bona fide, ſent the embaſſador back with orders to alter the name of tribute to that of a preſent, the worth and value of which ſhould be ſettled by the knights themſelves. They gave him commiſſion at the ſame time to conclude a ſuſpenſion of arms for the time that the grand maſter inſiſted on. D'Aubuſſon being well informed that their only deſign was to amuſe him by theſe different propoſals, was very firm in rejecting the condition of a preſent, and of every thing that had the air of a tribute; and demanded only the neceſſary time to learn the intentions of the pope and the chriſtian princes, in hopes of getting ſuccours from Europe. The Greek, not able to get any thing more, concluded, in order to keep the negotiation ſtill on foot, the ſuſpenſion of arms and liberty of commerce with him; which was afterwards confirmed by a ſecond embaſſador ſent to Rhodes by Mahomet himſelf.

THOUGH this prince, preſuming upon his forces, uſually carried on his enterpriſes with an air of pomp and haughtineſs, he nevertheleſs thought proper on this occaſion to make uſe of ſuch artifices and this negotiation, in order that the news of it might paſs over into Europe, and that the noiſe of an approaching peace, which his emiſſaries took care to ſpread abroad, might cool the zeal of the chriſtian princes, and abate the eagerneſs of the knights: this was the end he propoſed by all his inſidious conduct. The grand maſter on his ſide appeared indeed ready to hear his propoſals, but did it only with a view of facilitating the paſſage of the knights, and to gain time to carry on other treaties that were full as important, and more to be depended on, and which were at that time actually negotiating at Rhodes.

THERE was in this city an envoy of the ſoldan of Egypt, Douan Diodar by name, and who at the ſame time was his favourite; he was come to renew the antient treaties of peace with the knights. The reader may have obſerved in the courſe of this hiſtory, that the order of St. John, from its firſt foundation, had had two ſorts of enemies to oppoſe, both of them Mahometans, and equally formidable. The firſt were the Arabians or Saracens of Egypt, who had taken from the Chriſtians, as has been ſeen, Paleſtine, Phœnicia, and part of Syria. The Turks of the Ottoman race, ever ſince the conqueſt of Rhodes by the knights, became likewiſe their profeſſed enemies: and ſometimes theſe two ſorts of enemies, though jealous of one another, had joined their forces againſt a military order, which with its fleets and gallies diſturbed the commerce of their merchants, and the enterpriſes of their corſairs. But the forces of the order not being ſufficient to reſiſt both theſe potentates at the ſame time, the grand maſters and the council had always carefully endeavoured to be at peace with one nation, whenever they were in war with the other; by this wiſe policy balancing their power and keeping their forces divided.

THE report that Rhodes was threatened with a ſiege being carried into Egypt, made the ſoldan fear leſt Mahomet ſhould ſucceed in his enterpriſe: were he to have choſen his neighbours, he had rather have the weaker; and therefore to leave the knights under no manner of apprehenſions from his quarter, he had ſent his favourite to Rhodes in order to renew the laſt treaties of peace with them. The grand maſter received the firſt overtures thereof with the more pleaſure, in that he plainly ſaw the ſoldan's own intereſt would be ſufficient to make the new treaty laſting.

THUS they entered upon buſineſs with a mutual confidence; and after ſome conferences, they agreed, that the veſſels of the order ſhould not for the future moleſt thoſe of Egypt in their commerce, and that the knights ſhould not ſuffer their ſubjects to ſerve for ſoldiers, pilots or guides to the ſoldan's enemies. The ſoldan, by a reciprocal ſtipulation, engaged to undertake nothing contrary to the intereſts of the grand maſter, and promiſed that the veſſels of the order ſhould be well received in his ports; that if they were purſued by their enemies, the Saracens ſhould be bound to defend them; that when the ſubjects of the grand maſter ſhould paſs through the ſoldan's territories in their way to the holy Land, they ſhould not exact any duty from them; that they ſhould not detain any chriſtian ſlave after he was ſet at liberty by his maſter or patron; and that with regard to other chriſtian ſlaves, they ſhould be exchanged for Saracens who were in ſlavery at Rhodes, by a Saracen for a Chriſtian.

THE grand maſter made a treaty with the king of Tunis, another Mahometan prince, almoſt on the ſame conditions, with this addition only, that the order might, whenever it had occaſion, take up in his dominions thirty thouſand * hogſheads of corn, without paying any duty of tranſportation or exportation.

DURING theſe ſeveral negotiations, a great number of knights from all parts of Chriſtendom arrived at Rhodes; but as they were ſtill expecting a greater number, the chapter was prorogued till the 28th of October, when the grand maſter opened it. "Generous knights, ſays he to them, "an occaſion has at laſt preſented it ſelf for you to ſhew your zeal and "courage againſt the enemies of the faith. In this holy war, Jeſus Chriſt "himſelf will be your leader; he will never, my brethren, abandon ſuch "as fight in his ſervice. In vain does Mahomet, that impious prince, "who acknowledges no deity but his own power, brag that he will extirpate our order. If he hath more numerous troops than we, they are "compoſed only of a vile ſet of ſlaves whom they are forced to drag into "dangers, and that expoſe themſelves to death only to avoid a death which "they are threatened with by their officers: whereas I ſee none in your "illuſtrious body but gentlemen of noble birth, educated in virtue, reſolute either to vanquiſh or die, and whoſe piety and valour are certain "pledges of victory.

THE knights that compoſed the aſſembly, made no other anſwer to this moving diſcourſe, than by declaring their reſolution to ſhed the laſt drop of their blood in defence of the order; and that the ſervice might not ſuffer or be retarded through the diverſity of the commanding officers, are the ſlowneſs of counſels, the whole chapter begged of the grand maſter to take upon himſelf alone the command of the forces and adminiſtration of the revenue, and to exerciſe both with an abſolute authority. This was a ſort of dictatorſhip which they thought fit to inveſt him with, till ſuch time as the ſtorm which Mahomet threatened the order with was blown over. The grand maſter would fain have declined ſo vaſt and unuſual a power out of modeſty, and repreſented to them, that thoſe different employments would be better filled, if divided between ſeveral knights: but the whole chapter had ſo entire a confidence in his capacity and the zeal he had ſhewn for the good of the order, and made him ſuch preſſing inſtances to accept it, that he found himſelf unable to reſiſt them.

THE firſt uſe he made of it was to name four general officers, which they called at that time auxiliary captains, or adjutant generals, who were each of them to command in the quarter aſſigned them. He choſe for theſe ſeveral employments, the hoſpitaller, the admiral, the chancellor and the treaſurer of the order: and the chevalier Rodolph de Wartemberg grand prior of Brandenburg was choſe general of the horſe: the grand maſter at the head of theſe prime officers was every day viſiting the fortifications and outworks of the place.

BY his orders they pulled down all the country houſes that ſtood too near it: they cut down the trees, and even demoliſhed the churches of St. Anthony and Notre Dame of Philerme, which would have been ſerviceable

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* The original is thirty thouſand muids, each of which is about five quarters, or a comb and a buſhel.

viceable to the enemy in the ſiege. The Rhodians could not ſee their country houſes, and the delicious gardens that lay all round the town deſtroyed without feeling a ſenſible concern; but the publick ſafety prevailed over all other conſiderations, ſo that nothing was ſpared; but before they deſtroyed the church of our lady of Philerme, they removed thence an image of the virgin which had been kept there from time immemorial, to whom they paid a religious worſhip, and carried it to the principal church of the city.

THE grand maſter, to leave no forage or paſture for the enemies cavalry, cauſed all the corn of the country to be cut down, and aſſigned the peaſants of each quarter particular forts, to which, upon the arrival of the Infidels, they might reſpectively retire. The ſame genius for providing againſt every thing that might happen, made him, as he ſurveyed the ſea-ſhore, examine together with his officers the places from whence they might beſt oppoſe the deſcents of the enemy; thoſe where it would be moſt proper for them to entrench themſelves, if they ſhould happen to be too hard preſſed; the cuts and intrenchments they might be obliged to make behind the walls, if they ſhould be beaten down by the force of the artillery. His views were too extenſive, and too juſt to overlook any thing: the fortifications, artillery, arms, proviſions, and revenue, every thing paſſed under his inſpection, and his care extended to the meaneſt of the inhabitants, to provide for their ſubſiſtence as well as for that of the knights and troops which compoſed the garriſon.

HAPPILY for his aſſiſtance in diſpatching ſo great a variety of buſineſs, that beſides a great number of knights of all nations already arrived at Rhodes, there alſo came thither Bertrand de Cluys grand prior of France, Charles de Montholon, and ſeveral other knights of the three languages of that kingdom. They were ſoon followed by brother John Daw great bailiff of Germany, who arrived at Rhodes with a good number of commanders and knights of his nation, and a body of troops who were more conſiderable for the choice and valour of the ſoldiers of which they were compoſed, than their number. Some noblemen and gentlemen of France, upon the firſt news they had of Rhodes being threatened with a ſiege haſted thither, out of a pure principle of generoſity, with a train of attendants ſuitable to their quality: in the liſt of theſe noble warriors are reckoned Anthony d'Aubuſſon, vicomte de Monteil the grand maſter's elder brother. Theſe lords deſcended by their father's ſide in the male line from Raimond ſeignior of Monteil-au-vicomte and la Feuillade, ſecond ſon of Renaud the ſeventh of the name, vicomte d'Aubuſſon, whoſe grand-father in the eighth degree of aſcent was Renaud d'Aubuſſon the firſt of that name, and elder brother of Turpin d'Aubuſſon, who in conſideration of his piety and his noble extraction, was elected biſhop of Limoges in the year 898, as Aimar de Chabanois relates in his chronicle. His mother was of the houſe of Combron, a moſt illuſtrious and very powerful family, and allied to ſeveral ſovereign princes.

THE vicomte d'Aubuſſon was accompanied by Lewis de Craon, a nobleman of one of the firſt families of Anjou, and by Benedict Scaliger or della Scala, whoſe anceſtors had been ſovereigns of Verona: and this lord brought ſeveral companies of foot with him from Italy at his own expence to the aſſiſtance of the order. Among theſe brave adventurers were likewiſe Lewis Sanguin of Paris, Claude Colomb of Bourdeaux, Matthew Brangelier of Perigord, and Charles le Roi of Dijon. The grand maſter, at the requeſt of all the council, gave the general direction of military affairs to the vicomte de Monteil, and aſſigned particular quarters ſor the other volunteers to deſend. An heroick emulation ſoon roſe up and prevailed between theſe ſecular knights and the knights of the order; and the ſame emulation broke out between the Greek and Latin inhabitants, and paſſed afterwards to the very women and children, who vied with one another in working at the intrenchments which the grand maſter had ordered to be made.

These knights and gallant volunteers, inflamed with a deſire of meeting with an opportunity to ſignalize themſelves, expected the arrival of the Infidels with impatience; but they did not wait for them long. Mahomet grew weary of diſſembling and acting a part ſo contrary to his natural pride; he gave over feigning, and declared openly the deſign he had formed of attacking the iſle of Rhodes, the conqueſt whereof he looked upon as a foundation for that of all Aſia, which his ambition graſped after, as what would give the finiſhing ſtroke to his glory.

He was ſtrongly confirmed in this deſign by the grand vizier, or firſt baſha, as he was ſtiled at that time, called Miſach Paleologus; this vizier was a Greek prince of the Imperial family, born a Chriſtian, but who upon the taking of Conſtantinople had turned Mahometan to prevent his being put to death, a puniſhment which Mahomet inflicted on all the heirs of the empire. His valour, his ſervices, his addreſs, and his entire complaiſance for all the ſultan's inclinations and humours raiſed him afterwards to the dignity of vizier; and that that prince might not have the leaſt ſuſpicion becauſe of his having changed his religion, he affected to ſhew himſelf an implacable enemy to all chriſtian princes, and eſpecially to the grand maſter and the knights of Rhodes.

In order to facilitate his maſter's conqueſt of that iſland, he brought to his court three famous renegadoes who had drawn the plan of it. The firſt Anthony Meligalle by name was of the city of Rhodes it ſelf and of a noble family; but having ſpent his patrimony and the inheritance of his father's in luxury and debauchery, he flattered himſelf, as his laſt ſhift, with the hopes of getting ſome advantages by the change of his religion. The ſecond was Demetrius Sophian, the ſame that Mahomet employed to carry ſultan Zizim's letters to Rhodes; a man of parts, and very fit for negotiations, but ſuſpected of dealing in magick, and of applying himſelf to the ſearch of thoſe parts of knowledge which ſome whimſical people call the occult ſciences. The third of theſe renegadoes was a German engineer, called George Frapan by name, but commonly called maſter George; a man of parts, a good geometrician, and particularly diſtinguiſhed by his talents in the management of the artillery. Mahomet, who ſpared for nothing to engage ſuch men in his ſervice as might be uſeful to him, gave him a conſiderable penſion. The German had by his orders ſurveyed moſt of the chriſtian ſtrong places upon which the ſultan could have any deſign, had drawn plans of them, and among other things had brought him a very exact one of the city of Rhodes and the adjacent parts.

The baſha, to flatter the inclinations of the ſultan, ſpake to him of theſe three renegadoes as of perſons very proper to give ſucceſs to his deſigns. Mahomet ſent for them, when upon their being introduced into his preſence, they, in order to make themſelves more agreeable in concert with the miniſter, told him, that the greateſt part of the walls of Rhodes were falling down; that there was a great ſcarcity of ammunition in the place, and that the pretended ſuccours from Europe, with the hopes of which the knights flattered themſelves, were very uncertain, by reaſon of the continual wars between the chriſtian princes. Each of the three renegadoes preſented him with a plan of the city of Rhodes: that of the

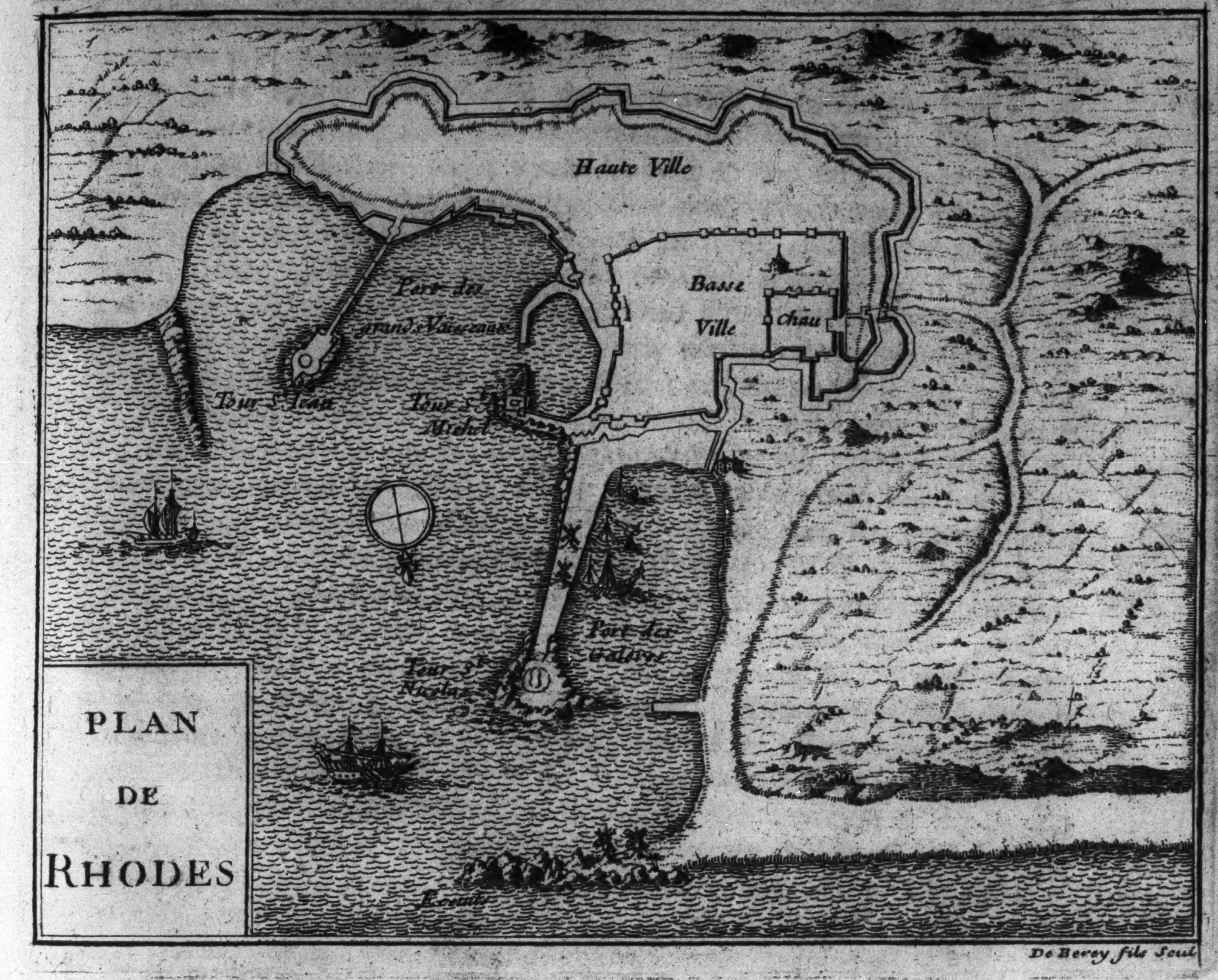
German was found to be the moſt regular; and it was upon this plan that the ſultan regulated the order of the attacks, and every thing that was to be executed in order to ſucceed in ſo important an enterpriſe.

THE ſultan, hurried away by his impatience, would needs have the baſha ſet out, and without waiting for the great army, go in perſon to reconnoitre the place. Upon which he commanded him to embark forthwith aboard ſome light frigates and veſſels of low decks, with ſome companies of janizaries and ſpahis: he was followed by the three renegadoes to whom that prince promiſed a noble reward, provided they could but contribute to make him maſter of Rhodes. In their paſſage the Rhodian Meligalle, who had been infirm for a long time, was ſeized with a loathſome illneſs: his fleſh was covered all over with ulcers and fell off piecemeal, and before he expired, he was in a manner buried in rottenneſs and corruption.

IN the mean time the baſha Paleologus was ſailing on, and ſoon appeared in ſight of the iſle of Rhodes, and on the fourth of December came to an anchor off of the fortreſs of Fano. He immediately landed ſome companies of ſpahi to reconnoitre, purſuant to his inſtructions, and ſee if he could make a deſcent in that place himſelf. The bailiff of Brandenburg, who commanded the light horſe of the order, ſuffered theſe ſcouts, who were thirſty of plunder, to advance up into the country, where he fell upon them, killed part of them, drove the reſt before him to the ſea ſide, and forced them to re-imbark. The baſha, after having taken them on board, put off to ſea; and that he might not lie idle with his maſter's troops, whilſt he waited for the coming up of the great fleet, he endeavoured at a deſcent on the iſle of Tilo which belonged to the order. The inhabitants of the open country took refuge in the fortreſs, where there was a ſtrong garriſon, conſiſting chiefly of knights.

PALEOLOGUS battered the place with all his artillery for eight days together; the breach appearing practicable, he ordered the ſpahi to alight, and led them on himſelf to the aſſault. He flattered himſelf that he ſhould carry the caſtle in a moment; but he had not yet tried the valour of the defendants. The knights that were in it made ſo vigorous a reſiſtance, that the baſha, after ſeeing the braveſt of his men drop at the foot of the walls, was obliged to ſound a retreat. He ſaw plainly from the courage of the beſieged, that if he ſhould perſiſt in his obſtinacy of carrying on the ſiege, he would be obliged to begin it in form with opening trenches, and proceed in the ordinary rules of war: but not having a body of troops ſufficient for ſuch an enterpriſe, and the weather not being favourable, he raiſed the ſiege with greater ſhame than loſs, reimbarked a ſecond time, and arrived at the port of Phiſco in Lycia, ſituated twenty two, others ſay eighteen miles from Rhodes. This was the rendezvous as well for the main fleet as for the land forces, which were quartered in that and the adjoining provinces, till the return of the ſpring.

'TWAS not till the latter end of April that the main fleet of the Infidels ſet ſail from Gallipoli, paſſed the Helleſpont, entered the river of Lycia, and came in ſight of the iſle of Rhodes. The guard poſted on the top of mount St. Stephen made the ſignal to give notice that it was in ſight. The grand maſter haſtened thither immediately with the principal ſea officers, who judged by its working that it was going to the port of Phiſco, there to take on board the troops that were in the adjacent parts. The event ſhewed that this conjecture was juſt and well founded, for 'twas in this port that the imbarkation was made. They reckoned in


PLAN
DE
RHODES
Haute Ville
Port des grands Vaisseaux
Basse Ville
Chau
Tour S. Jean
Tour S. Michel
Port des Galeres
Tour S. Nicolas
Ecueils

De Berey fils Sculp.

1480

this fleet an hundred and ſixty veſſels with high decks, beſides felucca's, galiots, flat-bottomed veſſels and tranſports: and ſpake of the land forces as making at leaſt an hundred thouſand men. This formidable armado arrived at laſt before Rhodes, on May 23. 1480.

We have already taken notice of the ſituation of this iſland, on occaſion of the conqueſt which the knights made of it under the maſterſhip of Fulk de Villaret: ſo that to give a clear notion of what follows, we need only remark, that the capital of the iſle, which bears the ſame name, is ſituated by the ſea ſide, upon the ſide of a hill, which at that time was planted with orange-trees, pomegranates, excellent muſcadine grapes, and vines of various ſorts. The place had a double wall about it, and was fortified with great towers at proper diſtances. Theſe walls and towers were ſuſtained on the inſide of the town by a rampart, and on the outſide there was a very broad and deep ditch. There were two ports belonging to it, of which the firſt that we meet with in coming to land there, ſerved to ſecure the gallies, and the mouth of it was defended by a platform, upon which there was a tower looking to the eaſt, and called Fort St. Elme. The great ſhips lay in the other port, which was fortified with two towers; the one called the tower of St. John, and the other St. Michael's tower. They pretend, that the two feet of the famous Coloſſus of braſs of which we have already ſpoken, and which paſſed for one of the ſeven wonders of the world, were formerly placed on the very ſpot where theſe two towers ſtand, on two rocks that are over-againſt one another. Near this port there are two little bays, one of them looking to the north and the other to the ſouth: that which looks to the north had its entrance commanded by a mole, which ran out above three hundred paces into the ſea; 'twas at the further end of this mole that the grand maſter Zacoſta built the fortreſs which was called the tower of St. Nicholas, from a chapel dedicated to that ſaint, and incloſed within the walls of the fort. At the extremity of the other bay, towards the ſouth, there is another tower, but not ſo conſiderable as the firſt: however it ſerved well enough on its ſide, to defend the entrance of the port. This tower hindered any veſſel from either going in or coming out of it. Two miles from the town was the mountain or hill of St. Stephen, and a little farther, but on another ſide, was mount Philerme, famous for the devotion of the people of the iſland, and other chriſtian people in the neighbourhood, who came in pilgrimage to viſit the church that was built there in honour of the holy virgin. Such was the ſituation of the city of Rhodes, and the parts adjacent, when it was beſieged by the baſha Paleologus.

The ſea near the ſhore was then covered with the fleet of the Turks, who made continual diſcharges of their artillery, in order to favour their deſcent. They were anſwered by the cannon of the city and the forts, and the knights, puſhed on by their valour, advanced ſword in hand in the water up to the middle, to prevent and ſtop the Turks from landing. Much blood was ſpilt on this firſt occaſion, but in ſpite of all the efforts of the Chriſtians, their bravery was forced to yield to the numberleſs multitudes of the Infidels. Thoſe barbarians divided their troops, and whilſt a part of them employed all the forces of the knights, the greater number landed in crowds in remote places, where there was leſs oppoſition. At length the whole army landed: they advanced to the mountain or hill of St. Stephen, where they immediately intrenched themſelves: and after landing their artillery ſent to ſummon the place, uſing both threats and promiſes, which were ſlighted alike.

SEVERAL detachments of Infidels appeared ſoon after in the plain: the principal commanders that were at their head, advanced to reconnoitre the fortifications of the place. There was no approaching them without danger, and the vigorous ſallies that were made, obliged them to take to their heels, and fly back to their camp. In one of theſe ſallies, wherein the vicomte de Monteil, the grand maſter's brother commanded, the renegado Demetrius loſt his life. His horſe was killed under him; he fell to the ground, and the weight of his armour hindering him from riſing, ſome ſquadrons that were in purſuit of the enemy, rode over him and cruſhed him to death. The order alſo, on this occaſion, loſt the chevalier de Murat, of the language of Auvergne, and of the illuſtrious houſe of la Tour, who puſhing the Infidels with more eagerneſs than prudence, was ſurrounded by a ſquadron of ſpahi, who cut off his head.

FROM theſe light ſkirmiſhes which were of no great moment on either ſide, it was neceſſary to come to more regular attacks. The German engineer, after having viewed all the out-works of the place, adviſed the baſha to make his firſt attack on the tower of St. Nicholas, flattering him with the hopes of being ſoon maſter of the port and city, provided he could once take that fortreſs. Paleologus following his advice, planted immediately a battery of three large pieces of cannon near the church of St. Anthony, which began to batter the tower. The grand maſter on his ſide ordered a counter-battery to be raiſed in the garden of the language of Auvergne, which made full as great a fire: and the gunners on both ſides did all they could to diſmount the cannon on the oppoſite batteries. This however was but a ſlight prelude to the terrible thunder that was heard, when the baſha had erected all his batteries, and planted on them that prodigious number of cannon of all ſizes which he had ordered to be brought into his camp.

Relation de Merry, de Dupuy Auteur contemporain. p. 17.

THE German engineer, to join artifice to open force, and find means to reconnoitre the weak places of the town, concerting the matter firſt with the Turkiſh general, preſented himſelf the next day as a deſerter on the edge of the ditch, and in a ſuppliant poſture, as if he was afraid of being taken, begged the guard to open him the wicket that moment. The grand maſter having notice of it, ordered him to be let in, and he was conducted ſtraight to his palace. He was a tall handſome man, had a good air, was ſubtle in his diſcourſe, and concealed under an ingenuous outſide all the addreſs of a cunning and deceitful villain.

THE grand maſter, who had the council of the order about him, asked him the reaſon why he had quitted the ſervice of ſo potent a prince as Mahomet, eſpecially when he expoſed himſelf, if the place was taken, to the cruel tortures and executions with which they puniſhed deſerters. The perfidious German, without changing colour, and with that air of ſincerity which peculiarly diſtinguiſhes his nation, diſſembled his change of religion, and anſwered that he was a Chriſtian; that greedineſs of gain and hope of reward had engaged him, as they had ſeveral other Chriſtians, to follow the grand ſeignior's ſtandard; but that ever ſince that prince's army was landed in the iſle of Rhodes he had felt ſuch a terrible remorſe of conſcience that he was not able to bear the reproaches of it any longer, and was therefore come cordially to offer him his ſervice, and to ſacrifice his life in the defence of Rhodes and the order.

THE grand maſter, though always on his guard againſt deſerters, did not diſcover the leaſt ſign of diffidence; on the contrary, he extolled the pious motives that had brought him back into the ſervice of chriſtian princes: and then asked him with all the ſhew and air of confidence imaginable, what might be the deſigns, and alſo the number of the forces of the baſha.

"The baſha, replied the German, hath but too plainly declared his "own deſigns, and thoſe of his maſter, by his attacks. As for his forces, "you your ſelf may have ſeen how numerous and formidable his fleet is. "The land forces conſiſt of above an hundred thouſand men, moſt of "them old ſoldiers, who have followed Amurath and Mahomet his ſon, "in all their conqueſts. But his artillery is what a beſieged town ought "to dread the moſt. Never had any general ſo vaſt a number of cannon in his army, and at the ſame time ſo well managed: and beſides "his ordinary cannon, he has ſince his arrival in the iſland cauſed ſixteen "great pieces of cannon to be caſt, called baſiliſks or double cannon, "eighteen foot long, and carrying ball of two or three feet diameter." He continued further to ſay, that his mortars were altogether as dreadful in their effects, and that they threw ſtones of a prodigious bigneſs. "You "will feel immediately, ſaid he, the fury of thoſe infernal machines, "againſt which you cannot take your precautions too ſoon." To gain the grand maſter's confidence, and make that confidence a ſtep to the treaſon he deſigned, he gave him ſeveral advices of great importance, for the defence of the place, and which in the event proved very uſeful.

Several lords of the council who heard him, thought the villain very ſincere in all he ſaid; others who remembred they had ſeen him formerly in that very city of Rhodes, told the maſter privately, that he had ever ſince that time been looked upon as an adventurer and a vagabond that had no religion, and was capable of doing and attempting any thing for money. This made an impreſſion, but what compleated to make him ſuſpected, was, that they ſhot at the ſame time into the town billets fixed to arrows, which had only theſe words wrote in them, "Beware of maſter George." Theſe were immediately carried to the grand maſter; and in the council, ſome in their plain way of thinking attributed theſe advices to the grand ſeignior's chriſtian ſubjects, whom he forced to ſerve in his armies. Others maintained that it might be an artifice of the baſha's own, who affected to diſcredit his ſpy in order to recommend him the more to the confidence of the knights. The grand maſter, that he might run no hazard, and at the ſame time make if poſſible an advantage of the talents of this engineer, ordered the officers of the artillery to get out of him whatever might be uſeful for the defence of the place, but at the ſame time to watch him as a ſpy. And in order to prevent his getting out of the city, or holding any correſpondence with the Turks, he ſet ſix ſoldiers as a guard over him, who never loſt ſight of him wherever he went. The German, purſuant to his orders, would fain have reconnoitred the weakeſt places of the town, but as ſoon as he came near a bulwark or a baſtion, he was always accoſted by ſome commander or other, who with a cold and ſevere air, asked him what he wanted: ſo that fearing to make himſelf at laſt ſuſpected, and to be treated as a ſpy, he kept himſelf retired in the lodging that was aſſigned him.

The baſha, whilſt he was waiting the ſucceſs of his treaſon, and their mutual intelligence, continued battering the tower of St. Nicholas with his biggeſt artillery: they fired above three hundred cannon-ſhot againſt it: the ſide towards the ſea, which was ſtrengthened with a rampart, bore the brunt of the artillery very well; but that part of the wall which was over againſt the town was entirely beaten down. The ſtones and rubbiſh by a lucky accident ſtopped at the foot of the wall, heaped

Caourſin. p. 3. versò.

one

one upon another, but in the form of a ſlope, ſo that it ſerved on the outſide as a ſecond wall.

THE grand maſter however, knowing that the ſafety of the town depended on the preſervation of this fort, ſent the flower of his knights into it under the conduct of the commander Caretto, of the language of Italy, a knight of approved valour, and conſidered as one of the firſt of the order. Theſe gallant knights worked night and day to intrench themſelves, and raiſed batteries to defend the breach. The grand maſter obſerving that in certain places the ſea was ſometimes ſo low that the Turks might ford it and get upon the mole, cauſed tables and planks thick ſet with nails and iron ſpikes to be thrown into the water to ſpoil the bottom. At the ſame time they fit out ſome fire-ſhips at the foot of the rocks that lay about the tower, to ſet fire to the enemy's gallies if they ſhould offer to approach too near. A body of French and Spaniſh knights poſt themſelves by his order in the town ditch, in order to defend the approaches, or upon the leaſt ſignal to throw themſelves into the fort, and re-inforce the garriſon. After all theſe precautions, the grand maſter not caring to leave the defence of ſo important a place to any body's care but his own, threw himſelf into it with the viſcount de Monteil his brother, and other volunteers, who would needs ſhare with him in the maniſeſt danger to which he was expoſing himſelf.

AND indeed the baſha orders the aſſault to be given the next day, which was the ninth of June; and two hours before day break his gallies and light veſſels, with a body of infantry aboard, advance towards the tower with a favourable wind. They ſoon reach the mole, their ſoldiers leap aſhore with great ſhouts, and advanced boldly to the aſſault in ſpite of all the fire made from ſeveral batteries that played upon them. The difficulty of mounting the breach obliged them to make uſe of ladders; they clapped them on with an air of intrepidity to that heap of ſtones which the cannon had beat down, and which ſerved as a fore-wall to the place, and mounted to the ſtorm ſword in hand, with a reſolution great enough to aſtoniſh any other men but the knights. The grand maſter was upon the breach, and performed the office of a captain and a ſoldier at one and the ſame time. His armour was pierced through in ſeveral places in this engagement, and a ſhard of ſtone having carried off his helmet without wounding him, he without any concern at all took off the hat of the firſt ſoldier that ſtood next him. The fear of other accidents ſtill more fatal, made the knights, who knew not what it was to tremble for themſelves, to be under the greateſt apprehenſions for the ſafety of the grand maſter: and the commander Caretto begging him with great reſpect, in the name of the whole order, to retire, and leave the care of defending the breach to his knights, "This, ſays he to him, "is the poſt of honour that belongs to your grand maſter:" And turning himſelf towards Caretto, "And if I am killed there, added he with an obliging ſmile, "you have more to hope than I have to fear:" giving him thereby to underſtand that his great valour made him think he merited to be his ſucceſſor.

THE knights following the example, and fighting in the preſence of the grand maſter, lined the breach, and for want of a wall made a rampart with their bodies. Some over-turn the ſcaling-ladders, others throw down maſſes of vaſt weight that cruſh the beſiegers to pieces in their fall; nor are there wanting ſome who throw fire-works and boiling oil on the aſſailants; every one has a ſhare in the attack, and all exert themſelves

ſelves in a reſiſtance that ſeems to be ſuperior to human ſtrength. The Turks don't appear any way daunted; not one of them draws back from danger. If the knights ſtrike any of them down from the ladders, their places are immediately ſupplied by others who preſs on to mount. Such as could not get to the poſts of danger at the foot of the wall, fired upon the breach with their muskets, annoyed the knights with their arrows, or elſe tried to lay hold of them with cramp-irons faſtened to cords, and ſo pull them down to the ground in order to cut them to pieces.

'Twould be impoſſible to relate all the actions of the moſt finiſhed valour that were performed by private perſons of each party: hiſtory has not preſerved the particulars of them. At length fire, whoſe ſtrength is greater and more terrible than that of men, determined the fate of this furious attack. The fireſhips of the order faſtening themſelves to ſeveral of the Turkiſh gallies ſet them on fire; the cannon of the city play'd upon the reſt, and the knights, whoſe force and courage ſeemed to redouble with the heat of the attack, made ſuch a dreadful fire with their ſmall ſhot, that the Infidels, after the loſs of their principal leaders, took to their heels, and in their precipitate retreat were drowned or killed in great numbers on the ſea-ſhore, as they were crowding to get aboard their veſſels.

This ill ſucceſs, inſtead of daunting the baſha, did but exaſperate him the more againſt the knights. But that he might not ſhew an unreaſonable obſtinacy in continuing the attack of a place whither the grand maſter ſeemed to have drawn all his forces, he turned all his efforts againſt the body of the place. By his orders two attacks were carried on at the ſame time, one againſt the quarter of the Jews, and the other towards the poſt of the Italian inn. But the latter was only a falſe attack; the true one was againſt the Jews wall: the baſha raiſed ſeveral batteries to beat it down; and though, as hiſtorians of that time relate, it was twenty eight foot thick, yet being old and not ſtrengthened by a rampart, the force of the artillery ſoon put it in a tottering condition. The grand maſter, in order to be provided for the Turks if they ſhould attempt a ſtorm, ordered ſeveral houſes to be pulled down, and dug a very broad and deep ditch on the ſpot where they ſtood, behind which they raiſed a new brick wall, ſuſtained by a thick rampart, a work which ſeems incredible conſidering the ſhort time employed in finiſhing it. But as they all ſaw the neceſſity of it, and the danger the town was expoſed to, every body worked at it with equal ardor. The grand maſter himſelf, and the moſt antient commanders by his example, performed the office of workmen and pioneers. All the inhabitants, without diſtinction of age, ſex, or condition, worked night and day: and the Greeks and Latins who had ſuch frequent diſputes in time of peace now laid all aſide, except that of a generous emulation in ſtriving who ſhould firſt finiſh the task they had taken upon themſelves. The Jewiſh women as well as the Chriſtian being threatened with an odious ſlavery, and dreading ſtill more the indignities they ſhould be expoſed to, if the city ſhould be taken by ſtorm, drudged at the work as well as the men. The very nuns came out of their convents and aſſiſted the workmen with an incredible zeal. Every body was then a ſoldier or pioneer: every one conſpired and united in the defence of their common country: and it was owing to this general zeal that the grand maſter was able in ſo ſhort a time to finiſh ſuch great works, which in any other juncture could not have been performed in ſeveral months.

Peter d'Aubusson.

In the mean time the artillery of the Infidels was continually battering the wall; nothing could reſiſt their baſilisks and great cannon: and the noiſe of them was heard from the iſle of Lango, which is an hundred miles weſt of Rhodes to the iſle of Chateauroux, which is the ſame diſtance from it to the eaſt. Their mortars at the ſame time threw ſtones of a prodigious ſize, which flying through the air by the force of powder fell into the city, and lighting upon houſes, broke through the roofs, made their way through the ſeveral ſtories, and cruſh'd to pieces all that they fell upon: no body was ſafe from them; and it was this kind of attack that gave the greateſt terror to the Rhodians.

The grand maſter, to lodge the women and children eſpecially in a place of ſecurity, ordered them to retire into a quarter of the city that lay fartheſt diſtant from the batteries, and was to the weſt between the houſes and ramparts. On this place they laid great beams by way of roof, and made it ſo ſubſtantial and thick, that there was no manner of danger from the great ſtones: and to pay the baſha in his own coin, the grand maſter, with the help of the moſt ſkilful engineers, ſet the carpenters of the town at work to make a wooden engine that would alſo throw quarries of ſtone of a prodigious bulk; and theſe ſtones not only cruſh'd all the ſoldiers to pieces that were within their reach, but their vaſt weight falling upon hollow ground, they broke through and killed the workmen in the bottom of their mines. The knights out of raillery called this machine THE TRIBUTE, alluding to that which Mahomet demanded of the order, and giving him withall to underſtand that he was to expect no other kind of payment.

Caourſin, p. 7.

In the mean time the general of the Infidels puſhed on his approaches with vigour; and his artillery having made great breaches, he ſent to reconnoitre them, in order to an aſſault. But he was ſtrangely ſurpriſed to learn that the knights had made a deep ditch, and raiſed a new wall behind the old one: he was likewiſe told by ſome deſerters, that by the grand maſter's care and vigilance, the women and children eſpecially had no occaſion to dread the terrible effect of the ſtones which now would only fall upon empty houſes.

The baſha, enraged to find in the grand maſter's ſingle perſon continual obſtacles to all his enterpriſes, reſolved to get rid of him at any rate, and to get him diſpatched by dagger or poiſon. For the execution of this baſe deſign, he pitched upon two deſerters of the garriſon, who ſince their deſertion had renounced the faith; the one a Dalmatian, and the other an Albanian. Theſe two renegadoes, tempted by the alluring promiſes of the baſha, and in concert with him, quitted his army and got back into the town, as if they had made their eſcape out of the hands of the Infidels after having been taken in a ſally. They received them into the place with joy, and without the leaſt diffidence. The villains were already beginning to rejoice for the ſucceſs which they expected in their undertaking; the Dalmatian, as they pretend, had actually bribed an inferior officer of his table, who only waited a favourable opportunity to execute the horrid conſpiracy. The Albanian, who was acquainted with the grand maſter's ſecretary, finding him diſcontented with that prince, was imprudent enough to open himſelf to him; and ſhewing him letters ſealed with the baſha's ſeal, promiſed him the firſt dignities of the empire, and immenſe wealth, if he would execute what the Albanian propoſed to him in his name. The ſecretary, who was a man of great honour, diſcovered it immediately to the grand maſter; upon which the Albanian was ſeized, and being put to the torture diſcovered his accomplice; but before they could be carried to the place of execution they were both torn to pieces by the people.

THE baſha, not diſcouraged at the ill ſucceſs of his ſhameful and abominable deſign, had again recourſe to open force, and without quitting the attack of the Jews quarter, he, by the advice of the principal officers of his army, reſumed the firſt project of the German, and reſolved to carry the tower of St. Nicholas.

A CANAL, which indeed was pretty narrow, ran between this tower and the place where the Infidels were encamped; and in order to attack it, it was neceſſary to croſs the canal, or that little arm of the ſea which is formed by one of the bays beforementioned. The general of the gallies, the commander of the troops of Anatolia, and Merla-Bey ſon-in-law to one of Mahomet's ſons, all officers of great experience and valour, undertook to make the attack and land the troops neceſſary for the execution of it upon the mole. For this purpoſe they framed a bridge which was to reach from St. Anthony's church to the tower; and for the guiding and placing one end of it upon the point of the mole of St. Nicholas, a Turkiſh engineer in the night time carried an anchor to the place, and fixed it to the foot of a rock which was covered with the ſea water; putting through the ring of the anchor a great cable which was fixed to the head of the bridge, and was to make it go forwards by means of the capſtan. But an Engliſh ſeaman, whoſe name hiſtory has not thought unworthy to be preſerved, called Gervaſe Rogers, being accidentally on the place, and having obſerved all that the Turkiſh engineer did without diſcovering himſelf, ſuffered him to go away at a diſtance, and then plunged into the ſea, privately looſ'd the cable which he left upon the ſtrand, carried off the anchor and brought it to the grand maſter, who gave him a very handſome reward. The Turks, when their bridge was got ready, endeavouring to make it go forwards by means of the cable, ſoon found by the eaſe which they had in pulling it to them, that their ſtratagem was diſcovered and diſappointed.

Dupuis, p. 47.

THE baſha, diſappointed in this expedient, got together a great number of boats to ſuſtain this floating bridge, and tow it in the night to the ſide of the mole where it was to be faſtened. The ſoldiers got upon the mole, and were filing continually one after another over the bridge, whilſt the galiots and other light veſſels at the ſame time landed ſeveral companies of the braveſt troops of the army on the other ſide. They all fed themſelves with hopes of ſurpriſing the Chriſtians; but d'Aubuſſon, who had foreſeen this ſecond attack, after having re-inforced the garriſon and lined the wall with a body of intrepid muſketeers and a good number of cannon, was expecting them reſolutely on the breach. At the noiſe which the Turks made in getting upon the mole, they, by his orders, made in the dark two ſuch furious diſcharges on all ſides, that abundance of the Infidels were killed.

THE baſha, who was in perſon at the head of this enterpriſe, not to expoſe his ſoldiers longer to the fire of the fortreſs, made them advance to the foot of the fort, on that ſide where his artillery had made great breaches. They ſoon came to blows, and without any other light than what came from firepots, granadoes, and vollies of fire arms, a long and obſtinate engagement enſued. The bridge and galiots ſupplied the Turks continually with freſh troops; never did thoſe Infidels ſhew ſo much valour and ſo reſolute a courage. Some of them by the help of their ladders mounted to the top of the breach, and ſcorning to retire, choſe rather to be killed than aſk quarter. Merla-Bey ſtood his ground almoſt alone upon the ruins of the tower; and making himſelf a rampart with the corpſe of dead ſoldiers, and covered all over with wounds, he killed ſeveral knights with his own hand, but at laſt ſtriking a ſoldier who had juſt wounded him with his ſabre, and whom he ſlew with the blow, he fell dead by his ſide. Nor was the combat upon the ſea leſs furious; the fireſhips which the grand maſter had prepared, grappled with the Turkiſh gallies that battered the fort and ſet them on fire. The cries of thoſe that crowded to get out of the fire that blazed about them; the ſmoke and roaring of the cannon; the groans of the wounded; the horror too of the darkneſs, all was not able to damp the courage of the combatants: they all ſeemed reſolved either to vanquiſh or die. The ſame valour and reſolution was conſpicuous on both ſides. How many heroick actions hath the darkneſs of the night concealed from our knowledge! In fine the day appeared, and diſcovered the loſs ſuſtained by the Infidels. The ſea was covered with floating carcaſſes, bows, arrows, turbants, and the hulks of their gallies ſtill in a ſmoke. To make their calamities ſtill greater, the gunners of the fort obſerving when day-light appeared the enemies bridge thronged with ſoldiers that were coming to the ſuccour of their comrades, levelled their cannon againſt it and beat the bridge to pieces: others pretend it was broke by the crowd of Infidels that were flying over it. Thoſe barbarians, not able any longer to bear up againſt the Chriſtians, gave over the attack, notwithſtanding the prayers and threats of their officers, and fled for their lives to the veſſels in which they firſt came.

Several knights at the head of the garriſon purſued and cut a good number of them to pieces. Merry or Mederic du Puis, whom I have followed in ſeveral places of this relation, tells us, that a Franciſcan friar, Anthony Fradin by name, was one of the hotteſt in this purſuit; that he ran with a ſabre in his hand into the ſea as high as his waſte to hinder the Infidels from re-embarking; that he killed ſeveral of them, and cut off their heads, and that the Infidels loſt in this engagement above two thouſand five hundred men: and we may reaſonably conclude, eſpecially in a combat that was chiefly fought during the darkneſs of the night, that this could not have happened without the order's likewiſe loſing ſeveral of its knights. 'Tis indeed generally allowed that they were almoſt all wounded; but they do not reckon above twelve killed, and who, with the loſs of their lives ſealed the profeſſion they made of defending the order to the laſt drop of their blood.

This ill ſucceſs threw the Turks into a conſternation, which was ſucceeded by a melancholy ſilence for three days together all over the camp; they ſunk into a kind of indolence; the general himſelf was infected with it, and could not tell what reſolution to take: but as he dreaded Mahomet's choler and indignation as much as he did the ſword of the knights, he at laſt came out of this lethargy, and raiſing his ſpirits, applied himſelf again to the ſiege, and renewed his attacks with as much fury as ever. He had no encouragement to go on with that of the tower; he therefore returned to the poſts of Italy and the Jews, which he battered again with all his artillery. But to conceal the place where he really deſigned his attack, he raiſed other batteries againſt different quarters of the walls. The relations of the ſiege tell us that there were three thouſand five hundred vollies made by theſe baſilisks and great cannon, which quite battered down a great part of the walls, towers and ravelins. Theſe infernal machines had dreadful effects, but they were not his only way of attacking: he had ſoldiers and pioneers continually at work, ſome of which carried earth and faſcines to fill up the ditch, whilſt others were digging under ground, carrying on galleries there, and preparing mines to blow up the fortifications that were left. The town was open on all ſides, but above all, the place of the low town and the Jews quarter ſeemed the moſt ruined and in the greateſt danger.

Dupuis, p. 60.

IN this extremity the knights that guarded the German engineer took him to the breach, ſhewed him the ruins of it, the works of the beſiegers, the condition of the ditch which was in a manner filled up, and deſired the aſſiſtance of his art againſt the danger they were in. At this ſight, whatever diſſimulation the traitor had practiſed ſince his being in the place, he yet could not help diſcovering an ill-natured ſatisfaction, when immediately recollecting himſelf he returned to the part he acted, and pretended to lament the misfortune of Rhodes and the knights: "What "ſuccour, ſays he to them, can you hope for in a place that is open on "all ſides, ſurrounded with a hundred thouſand men ready to ſtorm it, "and which muſt infallibly be carried at the firſt aſſault?" However, to keep on playing his old game, he declared himſelf of opinion that they ſhould change the place of their batteries, and by a new piece of treachery, which he had undoubtedly concerted with the baſha before they parted, he got them to raiſe batteries in the weakeſt places of the town, to ſignify to the Turks where they ſhould direct their own; and under pretence of making himſelf ſerviceable, he would needs point and fire the cannon himſelf: but they ſoon found that he not only ſhot at random, but occaſioned likewiſe freſh cannonadings to be made againſt the place that he fired from. Theſe different obſervations made him to be the more ſuſpected: he was brought before the council of war, and faltering ſeveral times in his anſwers to the queſtions which the judges put to him, he was, in order to have his contradictions laid open, put to the torture, when he at laſt owned that he was come into the place by the expreſs order of Mahomet, and that for no other end but to deliver it up, if he could, to the Infidels; that though he was watched by the guards whom the grand maſter ſet over him, he had nevertheleſs found means to convey very uſeful advices into their camp; that this was not the firſt place he had betrayed under pretence of a feigned repentance; and that he had himſelf been the ſole occaſion of the loſs of an infinite number of Chriſtians. His confeſſion was brought to the grand maſter, who immediately ordered the infamous villain to be executed.

BUT ſome Italian and Spaniſh knights did not fail to reflect upon what he had ſaid of the danger the city was in of being carried at the firſt aſſault: this was indeed but too viſible: they communicated to each other their mutual fright: the cabal grew ſtrong, and ſecret conferences were held, the reſult whereof was, that ſince there was no ſaving of Rhodes, it was not juſt to ſacrifice what knights were ſtill left to the deſperate humour of the grand maſter, a man who did not care to ſurvive the loſs of his principality; but that they, whatever he had reſolved to the contrary, ought to ſave the knights and inhabitants by an honourable compoſition. Theſe murmurs and ſcandalous projects ſoon reached the palace. The grand maſter had notice of them: he ſent for theſe knights, and as if he conſidered them no longer among the profeſſed members of the order, "Gentlemen, ſays he to them, if any of you think your ſelves not ſafe "in the place, the port is not yet ſo cloſely blocked up, but that you "may find means to get out." When aſſuming an air of majeſty, indignation and wrath, he added, "But if you think fit to ſtay with us, "ſpeak not a word more about a compoſition, for if you do, your lives "ſhall pay for it.

THESE terrible words filled thoſe knights with ſhame and confuſion: and they had a very happy effect, for they immediately called up in their minds all their brave and heroick ſentiments. They deteſted their own weakneſs, and all promiſed to make atonement for it by the ſacrifice of their own blood, or of that of the Infidels: and they were afterwards always the firſt to expoſe themſelves to the greateſt dangers. Nor would it have been poſſible for men of leſs reſolution to have reſiſted the continual attacks of the Turks. The baſha battered the city night and day without giving the beſieged the leaſt intermiſſion: but as his principal deſign was to make the aſſault on the ſide of the Jews wall, and the ditch was ſtill of a conſiderable depth, his ſoldiers, by his orders, and under the fire of his cannon, worked with ſo much ardor and ſucceſs, that they at laſt filled it up, ſo that a ſquadron of horſe might eaſily march over it into the town.

EVERY thing was ready for the aſſault: there were neither ditches, nor walls, nor towers to hinder the Turks in making it. But the baſha, who dreaded the heroick valour of the knights, more than he did the fortifications of art, and was for ſaving his troops, ſent to the grand maſter to propoſe a conference, in hopes of prevailing with him to ſurrender rather than wait the laſt extremities. The grand maſter, in order to gain time to make new retrenchments, was not averſe to the propoſal: the conference was held the next day by the ditch ſide. The baſha was not there in perſon, but ſent one of the principal officers of his army in his ſtead, and the grand maſter on his ſide deputed brother Anthony Gaultier caſtellan of Rhodes for that purpoſe. The Turkiſh officer laying aſide that proud air and haughty way which Mahomet's formidable power generally inſpired into his miniſters, preſſed the knights to prevent the calamities which uſually attend a place taken by ſtorm. He told the caſtellan that a gallant defence juſtly deſerved the eſteem and praiſes even of the enemy, if they had any proſpect of good ſucceſs, but that valour ought to have its bounds, and that it was not ſo much courage as a raſh madneſs to throw themſelves into perils out of which there was no poſſibility of eſcaping; that it was likewiſe a ſort of inhumanity to involve innocent people therein, under pretence of defending them; that the walls of the town were demoliſhed, the towers beaten down, the ditches filled up; that Rhodes in fine was no more, or at leaſt was only a confuſed maſs of rubbiſh and heap of aſhes, which the baſha could make himſelf maſter of in an aſſault of two hours continuance only. When putting on a ſoft and inſinuating air, he begged of him to prevail with the grand maſter and the council to come to a prudent compoſition, and prevent a general maſſacre of the knights and inhabitants, the diſhonour of the women and maidens, and all the horrors that are inſeparable always from a place taken by ſtorm and ſword in hand. Dupuis, p. 67.

THOUGH the grand maſter did not appear at this conference, he yet was not far off. He heard all the Turk's artful diſcourſe, and by his orders the caſtellan of Rhodes anſwered, that the baſha was very ill ſerved by his ſpies, who had not given him a true account of the condition and forces of the place; that if the Turks durſt make an aſſault, they would inſtead of a wall, find new ditches, works and intrenchments within, which would put them to the expence of a vaſt deal of blood before they could force them; but though they had not ſuch obſtacles to ſurmount, yet the city was ſtrong enough as long as it was defended by the knights, who Caourſin p. 10.

who had all but one heart and one mind, and no view in nature but the defence of the faith and the honour and glory of the order, and that men who were not afraid of death, were a much ſtronger fortification than walls and baſtions. Thus ended the conference; the Turkiſh envoy retired, and gave the baſha to underſtand that there was no depending on a compoſition, and that nothing but the force of arms could determine the fate of Rhodes.

THE baſha vexed and aſhamed that he had made ſuch a ſtep to no purpoſe, ſwore in the tranſports of his paſſion that he would put all to the ſword. They likewiſe ſharpened a great number of ſtakes by his order, for impaling the knights and inhabitants; he promiſed the plunder of the city to his ſoldiers, and commanded ladders and the neceſſary machines for an aſſault, to be carried to ſeveral places in order to oblige the knights to divide their forces. But the true attack and main effort of his forces were directed againſt the Jews quarter, which was the moſt ruined. There was not the leaſt footſteps of a wall to be ſeen in that place, as we have obſerved; the ditch was filled up, and to hinder the knights from making intrenchments, or even from appearing on the breaches, ſeveral batteries were kept firing a whole day and night without intermiſſion, and carried off every thing that appeared upon them. In fine, the day following, July 27. a little after ſun-riſing, the Turks advance in good order and with great ſilence, get without making any noiſe upon the ramparts, and make themſelves maſters of them without finding the leaſt reſiſtance. The Chriſtians who ſtood upon their guard, had, to avoid the fury of the cannon that played continually, poſted themſelves at the bottom of a ſlope which was made by the rubbiſh of the wall on their ſide, and moſt of them being worn out with watching and fatigues were unluckily aſleep. The Turks proud of this beginning of ſucceſs fix their colours and fortify themſelves in that poſt. The baſha agreeably ſurprized with this happy beginning, orders new troops to advance, ſo that the rampart was ſoon covered with them.

RHODES would have been loſt without an immediate ſuccour, but the grand maſter having notice of the danger the place was in, ordered the great ſtandard of the order to be immediately diſplayed, and turning himſelf towards the knights that he had kept about him, in order to march to the places which ſhould be moſt preſſed, "Let us go, my brethren, ſays he to them with a noble fortitude, "and fight for the faith and the de-" fence of Rhodes, or bury ourſelves in its ruins." He advances immediately in great haſte at the head of thoſe knights, and ſees with ſurprize five and twenty hundred Turks maſters of the breach, the rampart and all the platform about it. As the houſes and ſtreets were much lower, there was no going to them, or getting upon the rampart, but by two ſtair-caſes, which had been made formerly, but which were then covered with the rubbiſh of the wall. The grand maſter takes a ladder, claps it himſelf to that heap of ſtones, and without regarding thoſe that the enemies threw upon him, mounts firſt with an half-pike in his hand; the knights in imitation of his bravery, ſome with ladders, and others climbing up the rubbiſh, exert themſelves to the utmoſt in following him, and get to the top of the rampart.

Baptiſt Fulgoſius de dictis factiſque memorabilibus collectaneorum, l. 3. c. 2. particula penultima.

THERE was ſeen on this occaſion, contrary to what is generally practiſed in ſieges, the beſieged themſelves mounting to the aſſault, and the beſiegers ſtanding on the defenſive. The Infidels repulſe the Chriſtians with their muſket-ſhot and arrows, or elſe by rolling down great ſtones upon them. All the valour of theſe couragious knights could not force

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its way through ſo vigorous an oppoſition; ſeveral were cruſhed to death by the weight of the ſtones rolled down upon them. The grand maſter himſelf was twice thrown down; but in ſpite of impending death, and which preſented itſelf on all ſides, and without regarding two wounds he had juſt received, he gets up and bravely mounts again through a continual fire of muskets, and ſhowers of arrows and ſtones: and ſeconded by his gallant knights, leaps at laſt upon the rampart on which the Turks had poſted themſelves: the combat was then upon more equal terms; the knights fall ſword in hand upon the Infidels; they cloſe on both ſides in a moment, with a reciprocal fury; all are engaged, and ſeem reſolved to vanquiſh: one ſide to maintain its firſt advantage, and the other to regain a poſt on which the ſafety of the place depended. The grand maſter diſtinguiſhed himſelf more by his ſurpriſing valour than by his dignity: he killed ſeveral officers of the Turks with his own hand, and threw others of them down from the walls.

VICTORY began to declare itſelf in his favour; the Turks give way, their battalions open; the baſha, who perceived it, ordered a body of janizaries to advance immediately to their ſupport. He himſelf advanced alſo by their ſide with his ſabre in hand, either to encourage them, or to kill ſuch as ſhould retire back. He ſoon diſcovered the grand maſter, not ſo much by his gilt arms, as by the deadly blows he gave. As he had not been able to deſtroy him by poiſon, as has been already ſeen, he engaged ſeveral janizaries, by the hopes of a great reward, to attack him particularly, and by his death revenge the blood of their companions. Twelve of the moſt reſolute ſoldiers of that body devoted themſelves, as it were, to death, in order to diſpatch him. They ruſh headlong into the midſt of the engagement, charge the Chriſtians with vigour, pierce their ranks, open a way to the grand maſter, and in ſpite of the knights that ſurrounded his perſon, attack him, and give him five great wounds at once. The ardor with which he was enflamed in the heat of the combat, hindered him at firſt from feeling them: he fought on ſome time longer with his uſual valour. The knights ſeeing the blood that flowed from his wounds, begged of him to retire; but that great man, inſtead of complying with their affectionate intreaties, cried out, "Let us die in this place, "my dear brethren, rather than retire. Can we ever die more gloriouſly "than in the defence of our faith and religion?"

THESE heroick ſentiments, the wounds he had received, the blood that was ſtreaming from them, the deſire of revenging him animated the knights and chriſtian ſoldiers in ſuch a manner, that mad with vexation, and like men that were reſolved not to ſurvive their leaders, they throw themſelves like furies into the thickeſt of the enemies, and make an horrible ſlaughter of them. The Turks daunted at their blows which rage inſpired with an uncommon force, take them for other men, or for ſomething more than man. Terror ſeizes their ſpirits, they loſe all ſenſe and judgment with their courage, they all take to their heels, and in this diſorder and confuſion kill one another to make themſelves way. The knights make advantage of this conſternation, and not ſatisfied with having regained the breach, they ſally out and purſue the Turks. In vain does the baſha labour to make them take heart; in ſpite of his promiſes and threats the flight becomes general; they drag him along with them in the univerſal rout, and he was glad to get into his camp for refuge; he afterwards made the beſt of his way to his ſhips and gallies, and went on board with as much ſhame as vexation.

The grand maſter covered over with his own blood, with that of his enemies, but more with glory, was carried into his palace, where by the care of his knights, and the good wiſhes of all his people, he recovered his health in a little time. As ſoon as he was able to walk, he went to the church of St. John to return thanks to the God of hoſts for the victory he had won: and in order to leave ſome laſting monuments of his acknowledgements and piety, he built three churches in honour of the bleſſed virgin and the patron ſaints of the order. He made ſeveral foundations in theſe churches, to pray to God for ever for the ſouls of the knights that were killed in this bloody ſiege. The ſurviving knights that had ſignalized themſelves moſt were diſtinguiſhed by his favours, in which even the meaneſt ſoldiers had their ſhare; and to give ſome relief to the peaſants and inhabitants of the country, whoſe lands had been ravaged by the Infidels, he diſtributed corn among them for their ſubſiſtence till the next harveſt, and exempted them for ſome years from the taxes they uſed to pay before the ſiege.

If the grand maſter made all the inhabitants of Rhodes happy by his victory and liberality, Mahomet on the contrary, upon the firſt news he had of the raiſing of the ſiege, fell into a rage that made every body tremble; he was for ſtrangling his general and the principal officers of his army; no body durſt appear in his preſence. Paleologus thought himſelf happy with the loſs only of his dignity: Mahomet baniſhed him to Gallipoli. After the firſt violence of his paſſion was over, in order to conſole himſelf in ſome meaſure, he declared that his troops were never ſucceſsful but when under his own conduct, and he reſolved the next campaign to put himſelf at the head of his army.

The preparations which he made for that purpoſe were extraordinary: he muſtered no leſs than 300000 men, and the general rendezvous was in Bithynia, a province adjoining to Lycia, where they ſaid he was to embark, in order to paſs over to Rhodes. Others ſuſpected that this great armament was deſigned againſt the ſoldan of Egypt, and they founded their conjecture upon prince Zizim, one of his ſons, having already fallen into Syria by his orders. Be this as it will, Mahomet had paſſed the Helleſpont, and was marching with great diligence through Anatolia; when a blow from heaven put a ſtop to his enterprizes. A violent fit of the cholick carried him off at a little town of Bithynia, called Teggiar Tzair. He died on the third of May, A. D. 1481. They carried his body to Conſtantinople to interr it in a moſque of his own foundation: and though that prince had conquered two empires, twelve kingdoms, and above three hundred towns, yet the epitaph put over him, which indeed they pretend he drew up himſelf, makes no mention at all of thoſe great actions; as if he reckoned them for nothing in compariſon of his laſt projects. All they put over his tomb was nine or ten Turkiſh words only, the purport of which is as follows;

I DESIGNED TO CONQUER RHODES,
AND SUBDUE PROUD ITALY.

Mahomet by his death left the princes Bajazet and Zizim his ſons heirs to his vaſt empire. They found it however too narrow for their vaſt ambition: neither of them would hear a word of dividing it: both were for reigning alone. Caourſin, a cotemporary hiſtorian, and vice-chancellor of the order of St. John, pretends that Bajazet was the elder. Jaligni, another hiſtorian of the ſame time, gives the right of elderſhip to Zizim: a queſtion of no great conſequence in a warlike nation, where arms had almoſt always decided the poſſeſſion of the crown.

BAJAZET loved ſtudy more than war, and he loved wine yet better than ſtudy. The Turks aſcribe to him a tranſlation into their language of the works of Averroes, the famous Arabian philoſopher, the ornament of Cordova, where he was born. Zizim, leſs voluptuous than his brother, had always ſhewn a great impatience of following the example of his father, and acquiring glory by war. They pretend that theſe two brothers had never ſeen one another but once. Mahomet, who had an inſatiable thirſt after ſovereign power, had always kept them aſunder for fear they ſhould unite againſt him. At the time of that prince's death, Bajazet reſided at Amaſia, a city ſituated upon the Black ſea, in the fartheſt part of Cappadocia, and Zizim's reſidence was at Magneſia, a city of Caria.

IN this remote abſence of the two brothers, the baſha's and great officers of the crown were divided about the choice of an emperor. Every one eſpouſed the ſide that beſt ſuited his intereſt or inclination. Mahomet, then grand vizier or firſt baſha, who had ſucceeded Miſach Paleologus in that dignity, had moſt inclination to Zizim. But the baſſa Cherſec-Ogli, ſon in law to Bajazet, ſeizing on the treaſures of Mahomet, made uſe of them to gain the janizaries of the port. Achmet Geduc, another baſha, and the greateſt captain then among the Turks, being returned from Italy, where he had taken the town of Otranto, got the army he commanded to declare in favour of Bajazet.

THEY were ſurprized that this general, who was born a ſoldier and train'd up in war, and who beſides in Mahomet's life time had had very warm quarrels with Bajazet, ſhould prefer him to Zizim, a prince of extraordinary valour. But he did this probably from a political view, with regard to his own private intereſt, fancying that he ſhould be more neceſſary and conſiderable under an unwarlike prince, given up entirely to libertiniſm, than under the dominion of a ſultan who would command his troops in perſon. Whatever was his motive, Bajazet's party, by the dexterity and good conduct of thoſe that had the management of it, got the better, and that prince was proclaimed grand ſeignior at Conſtantinople: and in order not to leave the throne empty in his abſence, his partiſans ſet up in it in quality of his lieutenant one of his ſons, named Corcutus, a young prince, who though ſcarce eight years old, ſhewed a great unwillingneſs to quit it afterwards, when upon the arrival of the ſultan his father he was forced to deliver it up to him.

ZIZIM, who was at a greater diſtance from Conſtantinople, was later in receiving advice of Mahomet's death. He ſet out immediately on his way thither, but being informed that his brother had got the ſtart of him, and that that capital of the empire had declared in his favour, he returned back, put himſelf at the head of the army that he commanded in Syria, levied new troops, ſeized on Burſa and all Bithynia, and reſolved to wait the coming up of his enemy in that place.

BAJAZET, to hinder him from fortifying himſelf in Aſia, ordered his beſt troops to march immediately againſt him. This army was compoſed chiefly of janizaries and ſpahi's, i. e. the flower of the Turkiſh infantry and cavalry, which were re-inforced with a good body of European troops ſuperior in force and courage to the Aſiatick, who were moſt of them effeminated by the pleaſures and luxury of the country. What made this army ſtill more formidable was, that the valiant Achmet, the darling of the ſoldiery, was general of it, and Bajazet, who was indebted to him for the favour of the troops, by committing the general command of them to him, made him again the ſovereign diſpoſer of his fortune and empire.

ACHMET having paſſed the Boſphorus, entered Aſia, and advanced towards Burſa. Zizim did not think it proper to ſhut himſelf up in that place and ſtand a ſiege. He therefore marched out and advanced forward againſt his brother's forces. They ſoon came to an engagement; a great empire was to be the prize of the victorious. Zizim, in order to obtain it, was incredibly valiant: that prince with ſabre in hand charged all that ſtood before him: the combat was bloody and obſtinate on both ſides: they took no priſoners, and gave no quarter on either ſide, and it was ſome time before it could be diſtinguiſhed on what ſide the victory would fall. But Achmet, after letting the enemy ſpend all their fire, putting himſelf at the head of a body of reſerve and freſh troops that had not yet fought, made ſo furious a charge on the Aſiaticks, that their troops, conſiſting moſt of new levies, could no longer ſuſtain the ſhock of the Europeans. In vain did Zizim exert himſelf to renew and maintain the battle, rallying his cavalry ſeveral times, and returning to the charge. The braveſt of them, who never quitted him in the battle, fell almoſt all by his ſide. Achmet met with very little oppoſition from the infantry: moſt of them were cut to pieces, ſuch as eſcaped the ſword of the victorious fled for their lives, and the fear of falling into Bajazet's power, forced Zizim at laſt to do the ſame.

THE night coming on was favourable to his eſcape: he threw himſelf into the midſt of a foreſt. As the night concealed the greatneſs of his loſs from him, he fed himſelf with the hopes of rallying his troops the next day, and trying again the fortune of war. But not being able to get above forty horſemen together, and all the reſt being either killed or diſperſed, he had no other courſe to take, but to get away as faſt as poſſible from a place which had proved ſo unfortunate, and might very well be more fatal to him: he was however under a difficulty about reſolving on a place to take refuge in. Among thoſe that ſtill continued about him ſome of them propoſed Egypt to him, where Cait-Bei reigned as ſoldan, whilſt others were for his applying either to the prince of Caramania, or the grand maſter of Rhodes, all of them either open enemies of the Turks, or jealous of their power. Zizim determined in favour of the ſoldan, the ſtrongeſt potentate of the three. Paſſing always through by-roads, he got ſafe with his little troop into Syria, went on into Paleſtine, came to Jeruſalem, viſited the moſque, which they called the temple of Salomon, where he paid his devotions, and croſſing the deſarts of Arabia, arrived at Grand Cairo. He was received as a ſovereign prince, with all the honours and ceremonies due to his birth, but in reality with an indifference, ſuch as princes uſually diſcover for the unfortunate: Cait-Bei did not think proper to aſſociate himſelf with his ill fortune; and all his good offices ended in offering Zizim his mediation with his brother. That prince accepted it, rather out of complaiſance and not to expreſs a contempt of it, than out of any hopes of good ſucceſs from it. The ſoldan immediately diſpatched an emir to Conſtantinople. During his voyage, Zizim out of devotion made that of Meccha, and at his return brought his wife and children to Cairo. The ſoldan received them with great civility, and promiſed them his conſtant protection.

THE emir that Cait-Bei had ſent to Conſtantinople, began his negotiation as ſoon as he arrived. Bajazet, by the advice of Achmet his firſt miniſter, and in order to amuſe Zizim, propoſed to the ſoldan to give his brother a province in Aſia. Cait-Bei, to weaken the Turkiſh empire, could have wiſhed there had been a little more proportion in the ſhare allowed him; but as after all Bajazet was maſter of the whole empire, and pretended to preſcribe the terms of the treaty, the ſoldan being, as moſt mediators are, indifferent with reſpect to the intereſt of Zizim, was of opinion that he ought to accept his brother's propoſal, and repreſented to him that a great province in which he was to reign as abſolute ſovereign, was preferable to a war, the ſucceſs whereof was doubtful. Zizim, who aſpired to the empire, and whoſe courage and ambition made him think himſelf more worthy of it than his brother, rejected his offers with diſdain. He moreover ſaw plainly that they only ſought to involve him in a labyrinth of artifice, and an endleſs negotiation: ſo that he anſwered the ſoldan, that ſuch great pretenſions on both ſides, and a diſpute of ſuch importance, were only to be determined by force of arms and ſword in hand.

BUT not finding that prince diſpoſed to take up arms in his favour, he only recommended his wife and children to him, and then retired to the Caramanian prince of Cilicia, in whom he fancied he ſhould find more generoſity and reſolution, and who had indeed ſent to him in Egypt to offer him the aſſiſtance of his arms, and propoſe the joining their forces againſt Bajazet. Mahomet had taken from that prince all Cappadocia, and that part of Cilicia which borders upon mount Taurus. Zizim coming to his court, promiſed him by the moſt ſolemn oaths to reſtore him thoſe provinces in caſe he ſhould ever by the aſſiſtance of his troops recover his throne. The two princes in an interview ſwore an inviolable fidelity to one another; the Caramanian immediately made preparations for war, and ſent to his allies and neighbours to demand ſuccours. The grand maſter of Rhodes, who was one of that number, ſent him five gallies well equipped with ſoldiers and artillery, to keep the ſea, and defend the coaſts of his country; and the Caramanian at the ſame time had ſeveral re-inforcements ſent him from ſome petty Mahometan princes, who entered into the league againſt a power that ſeemed ready to ſwallow up all the reſt.

THESE princes having joined their troops before Achmet had drawn his out of their winter-quarters, advanced as far as the plains of Laranda in the furtheſt parts of Cappadocia. Bajazet was ſurprized to hear that his brother was returned out of Egypt to diſpute the empire with him again. His crown, and even his life were at ſtake, and depended upon oppoſing their meaſures. Achmet indeed was at the head of a great body of troops, able to fight the enemy; but a diſtruſt natural enough to weak men, made him apprehenſive that that general might poſſibly be bribed to go over to his brother: beſides, his miniſters who were jealous of the glory which the vizier had in this war, repreſented to that prince, that in a quarrel which was perſonal in reſpect to him, and of ſuch mighty importance, his ſoldiers would have an ill opinion of his valour, was he not to ſhew himſelf at the head of his army. Theſe conſiderations determined him to paſs the Boſphorus: he entered into Aſia. His army conſiſted of an hundred thouſand men: that of Achmet was near as numerous. After his having joined the ſultan, that prince would needs make a review of all his troops; Achmet appeared at their head, but inſtead of wearing his ſword or ſcymitar by his ſide, Bajazet obſerving that it was only tied to the pommel of his horſe's ſaddle, cried out, "My "protector, you have a great memory, forget the faults of my youth, put

“ your ſword again by your ſide, and employ it with your accuſtomed “ valour againſt our enemies.”

In order to the right underſtanding of this paſſage, it is neceſſary to call to mind what has been already obſerved relating to Mahomet the ſecond's war againſt Perſia. Bajazet, who was then young, followed him in that expedition, and had likewiſe a particular command over a body of troops. The ſultan his father, who had no great opinion either of his capacity or valour, ſome hours before the engagement began, ordered Achmet to viſit the line where Bajazet commanded, and ſee if his troops were drawn up in order of battle. But that officer finding them all in confuſion, could not help reproaching him in pretty harſh terms, “ Is it in this “ manner, Sir, ſays the old warrior to him, that a prince who has a mind “ to vanquiſh, ſhould draw up his ſoldiers?” Bajazet vexed at this reproach, told him, the time would come when he would make him repent his inſolence. “ And what will you do? replied the haughty Achmet, “ I ſwear by my father's ſoul, that if you ever come to the empire, I will “ never gird ſword to my ſide for your ſervice.

Such was the occaſion of Achmet's appearing at the review with his ſword tied to the pommel of his horſe's ſaddle. But Bajazet ſtood in too much need of his valour and experience, not to endeavour to make him forget that little quarrel. Peace was ſoon made between that prince and his general: they had now nothing more to think of but to go in queſt of the enemy. They pretend that Bajazet's general defeated Zizim in a ſecond battle: other authors ſay, that the allies being too weak to keep the field, retired into the ſtreights of mount Taurus upon the arrival of Bajazet.

Bajazet vexed that his brother had eſcaped him, ſent to make him other propoſals, with a view of ſurpriſing him: and beſides the offer he had before made him of the entire ſovereignty of a province, he made him a new one of a penſion of 200000 crowns of gold, a prodigious ſum at that time. “ I want an empire, replied Zizim in an haughty manner to his brother's envoy, “ and not money.” Beſides, this prince was not fool enough to be dazzled with theſe propoſitions, ſince he ſaw that at the ſame time that he expreſſed a deſire of adjuſting things with him in an amicable manner, Achmet was inſenſibly ſeizing on all the ſtreights of the mountains, and endeavouring to ſecure all the paſſes of them, to prevent his eſcape. The Caramanian prince told him the danger to which they were going to be expoſed, if they ſtayed any longer in that place; and both of them not having forces ſufficient to oppoſe thoſe of Bajazet, they agreed to diſperſe them till ſuch time as that prince ſhould return to Conſtantinople, their troops being of no other uſe than to make them be purſued; and both of them to retire to places where they might be in ſecurity either through the obſcurity of them, or by the power of the prince to whoſe court they ſhould retire.

Zizim's firſt ſcheme was to hide himſelf with a few perſons in the remoteſt corner of the mountains. The Caramanian was of a different opinion: he told him that he could never be ſafe enough in a cavern againſt the ſearch his brother was making after him; that it was his intereſt to preſerve his ſecret partiſans, that they ſhould believe him to be alive, and ſtill in a diſpoſition to return and diſpute the empire: and that further, his ſentiments were, that he ſhould apply himſelf to the grand maſter of Rhodes, in whoſe dominions he might be more ſecure, and live with greater dignity; and alſo might by means of the knights who roved

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over all the Aſiatick ſeas, be informed of every thing that paſſed at Conſtantinople, and over all the eaſt.

ZIZIM followed this advice, and diſpatched one of the noblemen that adhered to his perſon and fortune to the grand maſter, to deſire him to grant him protection in his territories. But this envoy was ſeiz'd by one of Bajazet's party, who ſaw by his brother's letters the deſign he had formed of retiring among the Chriſtians. Whereupon he immediately ſent ſome detachments to force the prince his brother in the faſtneſſes that he was retired to, and at the ſame time ordered others to ſecure all the paſſes that led to any port of Lycia. He flattered himſelf that he ſhould ſhut him up ſo cloſe, that it would be impoſſible for him to eſcape; but Zizim, not ſeeing his firſt agent return, diſpatched two others to Rhodes, with the ſame commiſſion to the grand maſter, to deſire of him a retreat in his dominions, together with a ſafe conduct, to aſſure him of a full liberty of coming in and going out of them at all times. The prince afterwards quitted mount Taurus, and the Caramanian ſerving him for a guide, he drew near the ſea coaſt to wait an anſwer from Rhodes. The grand maſter, in concert with the council, and after mature deliberations, thought it would be for the honour and even the intereſt of the order, not to refuſe an aſylum to ſo great a prince. Upon which a ſquadron of ſhips was immediately ordered to go to receive him, and don Alvares de Zuniga grand prior of Caſtile was intruſted with this commiſſion and the ſafe conduct, which was drawn up in the form that Zizim's embaſſadors had deſired it.

THIS commodore ſet ſail about the ſame time that Zizim and the Caramanian prince ſeeing themſelves purſued by the ſpahis reſolved to part, after having firſt embraced each other tenderly and ſwore an inviolable friendſhip. The Caramanian threw himſelf again into the mountains, from whence he made his way to ſome fortreſſes that were ſtill left him. The Turkiſh prince waited by the ſea ſide in expectation of news from Rhodes; but ſeeing a ſquadron of ſpahis coming up, he got into a bark, which the Caramanian prince for fear of a ſurpriſe had kept always in a readineſs, and lay concealed behind a rock.

SCARCE had Zizim put off from the ſhore when he ſaw the troop of ſpahis appear on the coaſt, who came but a few moments too late. The prince ſeeing himſelf out of danger lay by with his bark, and taking his bow, let fly an arrow with a letter tied to it directed to his brother, and expreſſed almoſt in theſe terms.

KING ZIZIM,

TO KING BAJAZET HIS INHUMAN BROTHER.

"GOD and our great prophet are witneſſes of the ſhameful neceſſity
" you reduce me to of taking refuge among the Chriſtians. After having deprived me of the juſt right I had to the empire, you purſue me
" ſtill from one country to another, and have not reſted till you have forced me, for the ſafety of my life, to ſeek an aſylum with the knights
" of Rhodes, the irreconcileable enemies of our auguſt houſe. If the
" ſultan our father could have foreſeen that you would have thus profaned
" the honourable name of the Ottomans, he would have ſtrangled you
" with his own hands, but I hope that ſince he is gone, heaven will avenge your cruelty, and I only wiſh to live to be a witneſs to your puniſhment.

THE commander of this troop of ſpahis took the letter, and vexed that he had miſſed his prey, carried it to Bajazet. 'Tis ſaid, that as he was reading it, he could not help ſhedding a few tears which nature forced from him againſt his inclinations. Zizim at the ſame time ſtood off to ſea and ſailed towards Rhodes, to ſee if he could have any news of the embaſſadors whom he had ſent to the grand maſter. The unfortunate prince, uncertain of his fate, was wandring up and down thoſe ſeas, as chance might direct his courſe, when he diſcovered a ſquadron that came full ſail, bending their courſe towards the coaſt of Lycia. The fear he was in leſt they ſhould be ſome ſhips that his brother had ſent to intercept his paſſage to Rhodes, made him order the pilot to get as faſt as he could to land and put him on ſhore again. But at a certain diſtance diſtinguiſhing the flag of Rhodes, and making the ſignals he had concerted with his embaſſadors, they came up to him in a ſhallop with a knight, whom Don Alvares de Zuniga ſent in company with the embaſſadors to aſſure him in the grand maſter's name that he ſhould be very welcome in the iſle of Rhodes. This knight told him that the commodore of the ſquadron, who was lieutenant-general to the grand maſter, was ſent on purpoſe to convoy him ſafe thither. Zuniga advanced afterwards to ſalute the prince, went into his bark and preſented him the grand maſter's letter and ſafe conduct. After the uſual complements and ceremonies were over, he put him on board a great ſhip that was under his command and ſailed for Rhodes, where he ſoon arrived. The grand maſter had no ſooner notice of it, but he ſent the oldeſt commanders of the order to receive him, and went himſelf out of his palace to meet him almoſt as far as the harbour: they joined hands at meeting. The grand maſter after having, by the aſſiſtance of an interpreter, repeated all the aſſurances that he had already given him by his ſafe conduct, waited upon him to the French inn which was aſſigned for his lodging: in their way thither he gave him the right hand, which Zizim perceiving was for giving it him, and told him, it did not become captives to take place of their patrons; "Sir, replied the grand maſter to him very obligingly, "captives of your quality have the "firſt rank every where, and would to God you had as much power in "Conſtantinople as you have in Rhodes.

THE grand maſter, after having conducted him to his apartment, left him to the care of ſome commanders and officers of his houſhold, who endeavoured by their politeneſs and noble entertainments to divert him from muſing on his misfortunes, which ſeemed to employ all his thoughts. Matthew Boſio a canon of Verona, who ſaw him ſome years afterwards, and obſerved him with great attention, repreſents him in one of his letters which has been tranſmitted to us, as a man who had all the air of a barbarian, and of a ſavage and cruel prince. His ſtature, ſays he, is a little above the middle ſize; his body thick and well ſet; he has broad ſhoulders, a prominent belly, ſtrong and nervous arms, a large head, ſquinting eyes, and a Roman noſe, ſo hooked at the end that it almoſt touches his upper lip, which is covered with a large whiſker. In a word, ſays this author, he is the exact picture of his father Mahomet; and ſuch indeed as he is repreſented in ſeveral of his medals that have fallen into my hands. PROOF II.

THE knights omitted nothing that might contribute to divert the prince; there were every day parties of hunting, turnaments, feaſts and conſorts of muſick; but this laſt kind of diverſion did not much affect the ſultan; and though they entertained him with excellent voices, he did not ſeem to take any pleaſure in that agreeable muſick. To pleaſe his

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goût they reſolved to ſend for a Turkiſh ſlave, who with an harſh and inharmonious voice, but accompanied at the ſame with wry faces and the moſt groteſque poſtures was the only perſon that had the knack of pleaſing him.

In the mean time the reſidence of a gueſt of ſuch conſequence gave no little uneaſineſs to the grand maſter. He did not queſtion but that Bajazet, as ſoon as he knew the place where he had fled for ſhelter, would do his utmoſt to oblige the order to deliver him into his hands. This they could not refuſe without bringing all the forces of the Ottoman empire a ſecond time into the iſland, and the grand maſter's word, his ſafe conduct, and even his natural generoſity, made him incapable of taking ſuch a ſtep and delivering him up to his cruel enemy.

Whilst d'Aubuſſon was in no little inquietude by reaſon of theſe various conſiderations, an envoy arrived from the governor of Lycia, a province, as we have obſerved, ſeparated from Rhodes only by a canal of about eighteen miles broad. This envoy, under pretence of propoſing a trading truce and liberty of commerce between the grand maſter's ſubjects and the people of his government, was come to ſee whether Zizim was retired to Rhodes, and in what manner the grand maſter treated him. The grand maſter received him handſomely, and did not ſeem at all averſe to the propoſals which they made him. But the envoy, who had other views, under pretence that he expected new orders from his maſter, ſpun out the negotiation; and they ſoon diſcovered the main deſign of his voyage. The grand maſter, in order to rid himſelf as ſoon as poſſible of a privileged ſpy, ſpeedily put an end to his treaty, and ſent him back to his maſter. But ſcarce had he parted with him when another arrived, who brought him a letter from the baſha Achmet. The grand ſeignior, not caring to expoſe himſelf to a refuſal, had enjoined him a new negotiation on foot with the grand maſter, as from himſelf. That miniſter, who by the important ſervices that he had lately done Bajazet, governed his empire at that time with an abſolute authority, wrote to the grand maſter, exhorting him to make a ſolid and laſting treaty of peace with the port; for which he offered his credit and good offices, in caſe he would ſend embaſſadors to Conſtantinople.

The grand maſter ſaw plainly through the artifice, and that theſe ſeveral negotiators had no deſign but only to get into Rhodes, and find out ſome means to diſpatch Zizim either by ſword or poiſon. Though the prince of Rhodes looked upon them as aſſaſſins, yet as they were inveſted, or rather masked with a publick character, no notice was taken of their deſigns. All that the law of nations and prudence allowed to be done on this occaſion was to diſmiſs theſe envoys as ſoon as poſſible; and all the anſwer that the grand maſter gave the baſha was, that provided they dropped all talk of tribute, he might poſſibly in ſome time ſend embaſſadors to the port to treat about a laſting peace. Several councils after this were held at Rhodes, to conſider of the conduct the order ought to obſerve in ſo nice an affair.

In all theſe preliminaries the leaſt mention was not made of Zizim, notwithſtanding which the grand maſter eaſily perceived that the deſign of the negotiation related always to the perſon of that prince, and that if his brother could not get him into his power by way of treaty, he would either take care to get him poiſoned, or would attack him by open force, ſo that they might ſoon ſee all the forces of the Ottomans over-running the iſle of Rhodes a ſecond time. They held ſeveral councils on this ſubject, and in order not to let a pledge of ſuch value go out of their hands, they reſolved both for the prince's own ſafety, and till ſuch time as they might ſee how affairs would go in the eaſt, to ſend him into France, to reſide upon ſome commandry of the order.

THE grand maſter, in order to reconcile him to this ſtep, repreſented to him that it was his intereſt to ſhelter himſelf for ſome time from his brother's eager purſuits; that whatever precautions the order ſhould take, his life could never be ſecure at Rhodes where ſo many renegado Greeks could eaſily get in by means of their language, and find means to diſpatch him by ſword or poiſon, notwithſtanding all the precautions that the order might take: whereas whilſt he was at a diſtance, the order, which was entring into a negotiation with the ſultan, might find opportunities to take care of his intereſts, and that he himſelf would undertake to give him a full account of all that paſſed at the port in relation to him.

THE Turkiſh prince ſeeing no remedy, conſented to every thing they propoſed to him. He likewiſe before his ſetting out left a full power with the grand maſter to treat with Bajazet in his name, upon ſuch terms as ſhould be moſt for his advantage and ſecurity. This was not the only inſtrument he ſigned; he executed another, wherein, after reciting all the obligations he had to the grand maſter and his order, he engaged himſelf in caſe he ever recovered the empire, or any conſiderable part of it, to maintain a conſtant peace with the knights, would give their fleets free entrance into all his ports, would ſet three hundred Chriſtians of both ſexes at liberty every year without ranſom, and pay a hundred and fifty thouſand crowns of gold into the treaſury of the order, to reimburſe them the expences they had been at on his account. This inſtrument ſigned with his own hand is ſtill kept in the archives of Malta, and is dated the fifth day of the month of Regeb, in the 887th year of the Hegira, which anſwers, 1482. according to our way of computation, to the 31ſt of Auguſt A.D. 1482. The prince went afterwards on board under the convoy of the chevalier de Blanchefort the grand maſter's nephew, who employed all the care and complaiſance imaginable, to divert the melancholy with which the prince was ſeiz'd at leaving his own country and paſſing into a foreign land.

WHILST he was ſailing towards France, the grand maſter, purſuant to the promiſe he had given Achmet, ſent the knights Guy de Mont-Arnaud and Duprat as his embaſſadors to Conſtantinople. Bajazet, who ſaw that his brother's fortune was entirely in the grand maſter's power, was exceedingly pleaſed at their arrival. They were received with great honours, and he appointed commiſſioners to treat of a peace, naming for that purpoſe the vizier Achmet and Miſach Paleologus, who, after Mahomet's death, having declared in favour of Bajazet, was on that account recalled to the port. The negotiation had like to have miſcarried at the very opening of the conference: Achmet inſiſted by way of preliminary, that the grand maſter ſhould acknowledge himſelf for a vaſſal of the grand ſeignior, and as ſuch ſhould pay him an annual tribute. This propoſition was rejected with a noble diſdain by the two embaſſadors. The vizier the proudeſt man living, told them, that his maſter would go in perſon at the head of an hundred thouſand men to levy the tribute himſelf: the embaſſadors upon theſe menaces were for breaking off the conference and retiring: but the baſha Paleologus telling the vizier in the Turkiſh language, that he ſhould conſider that the ſultan would have the treaty concluded at any rate, the negotiation was reſumed; and the two knights ſhewed the greater conſtancy and reſolution, becauſe Duprat, who underſtood the Turkiſh language, was thereby made acquainted with the grand ſeignior's intentions. Achmet did not inſiſt any longer on that demand;

but as he thought his maſter would diſhonour himſelf by ſuch a treaty, he left the management of it to Paleologus.

THEY were next to come to the principal point which the ſultan had moſt at heart. It related to the perſon of his brother, and his miniſters demanded that he ſhould be delivered up into his hands. The embaſſadors knew that this would be delivering him up to be executed, and therefore rejected ſuch an odious propoſal, with indignation. In fine, they agreed that the grand maſter ſhould engage to keep that prince always in his power under a good guard of knights, and ſhould not deliver him to any prince whatever, either Chriſtian or Infidel, that could make uſe of his name and pretenſions to diſturb the quiet of the empire; that for the maintenance and guard of the prince, the ſultan ſhould yearly remit thirty five thouſand Venetian ducats to the order; and beſides this ſum, he ſhould likewiſe pay the grand maſter ten thouſaud ducats more every year by way of ſatisfaction for the ravages that Mahomet's army had made in the iſle of Rhodes. Peace being ſettled on theſe conditions, the treaty was ſigned by the ſultan, who ſent one of his principal miniſters, called Capitain, to Rhodes, to receive the grand maſter's ratification.

THE vizier, who was naturally haughty, could not hear the leaſt mention of the penſions which the ſultan was obliged to pay every year, without the higheſt indignation. He complained publickly that they had proſtituted the honour of the empire by this ſcandalous treaty; and in his exclamations againſt it, he could not help dropping ſome ſharp invectives againſt the perſon of his maſter himſelf. The ſultan was ſoon informed of it: there is never wanting in all courts a ſet of men who make it their buſineſs to ruin their enemies, by giving the worſt conſtruction to their words, and miſrepreſenting them in the moſt artful manner. Achmet had a very dangerous one in the perſon of a baſha, Iſaac by name, whoſe daughter he had formerly married. She was the very Turkiſh lady that Mahomet's eldeſt ſon fell ſo deſperately in love with, and to whom her husband in the fury of his paſſion pretended he had offered violence. The reader may have obſerved in the beginning of this book, that Mahomet, who would allow no body to be a tyrant in his dominions but himſelf, had under pretence of doing Achmet juſtice, put that young prince to death, fearing that his paſſion might put him upon ſome attempt againſt his own perſon. Achmet, as Cæſar had acted formerly, without caring to examine into his wife's conduct, had divorced her; which his father-in-law reſented ſo heinouſly that he reſolved to be revenged. This baſha did not let ſlip the occaſion that Achmet's imprudence furniſhed him with: he informed the ſultan of the vizier's murmurings and invectives, and aggravated them with all the ill-natured turns that courtiers are laviſh enough in beſtowing; and under a feigned zeal for his prince's ſervice, he inſinuated to him, that as the vizier was ſo very powerful, and in a manner adored by the ſoldiers, he could not have uttered ſuch taunts and reflections without deſigning ſome inſurrection.

IN a caſe of this nature, eſpecially in a deſpotick government like that of the Turks, bare ſuſpicion is a crime. Bajazet, ever jealous and diffident, as all weak perſons are, reſolved to diſpatch the vizier, in order to prevent the deſigns with which they charged him from taking effect: beſides the daily ſight of a man, the greatneſs of whoſe ſervices exceeded all the recompences he could make him, was offenſive to his eyes. Orders were given to invite moſt of the grandees of the port to a magnificent entertainment that Bajazet was to give them: they there drank very copiouſly of wine, notwithſtanding the expreſs prohibition of their law. The ſultan, who had his private deſigns, and had a mind to make the vizier talk, brought up a diſcourſe relating to the peace he had juſt concluded with the grand maſter; and added, that ſince he had no more enemies to oppoſe, he thought to leſſen the pay of the ſoldiery, and break ſome officers as were not well affected to the government. Achmet, the father of the ſoldiery, and naturally haughty and paſſionate, immediately took fire, and elevated with the fumes of wine, told him plainly, that the affection of the ſoldiery was the ſureſt ſupport of the throne, and that thoſe who ſhould adviſe a ſultan, eſpecially one that had a brother ſtill living, to incenſe his troops, would be evil counſellors. They pretend that as ſoon as he had ſpoke theſe words, a mute who was poſted there on purpoſe, upon a ſign that the ſultan made him, ſtabbed him with a dagger to the heart. Other authors give a different account of what paſſed at the death of this miniſter, which they tell us was delayed for ſome time. According to theſe writers, Bajazet, before he diſmiſſed the baſhas, that he might end the magnificence of the feaſt with an act of liberality, preſented every one of them with a brocade veſt and a cup filled with pieces of gold; but that they put only a black robe before the vizier, who looked upon it as an ill omen of the fate that attended him: and he was confirmed in his ſentiments, when, as he was going out after the reſt, the ſultan ordered him to ſtay, pretending that he had an affair of importance to communicate to him. Achmet no longer doubting but he was going to be ſtrangled, cried out in a rage, “Cruel tyrant, ſince you reſolved to put me to death, “why did you firſt force me to offend God by drinking a forbidden li“quor?

By Bajazet's order, they began to load him with ſtripes, after which the mutes prepared to ſtrangle him. But the chief of the eunuchs, who was his particular friend, ſeeing his maſter drunk with wine and anger, threw himſelf at his feet. “Sir, ſaid he to him, be not ſo haſty to put “him to death: you know that he is the darling of the janizaries: wait “only till to morrow, to ſee how they will receive the news of his death, “and then diſpoſe of him as you pleaſe.

Fear, the ſtrongeſt principle of action in a weak and timorous prince, had its uſual effect on Bajazet. He put off Achmet's death, and ordered him to be thrown half naked and loaden with irons into a dungeon. His ſon, who waited at the gate of the ſeraglio, not ſeeing him come out, enquired of the other baſhas for him; but they were moſt of them ſo drunk, that all that he could get out of them was, that the grand ſeignior ſeemed to be angry with him. The young lord trembling for his life, runs to the guard-houſe of the janizaries, and the vaſt pile of building where they are quartered when not upon duty, when burſting out into tears, and directing his diſcourſe to the oldeſt of them, “My dear com“panions, ſaid he to them, the ſultan has juſt now cauſed my father to “be ſeized: will you, brave ſoldiers, ſuffer them to butcher your general “with whom you have eat bread and ſalt for ſo many years?

At this news the janizaries run to arms, gather into a body, march ſtraight to the ſeraglio, and with great cries demand the gates to be opened: the noiſe of the tumult ſoon paſſes into Bajazet's apartment. The prince, after conſidering what meaſures he ſhould take, fearing that the ſoldiers might dethrone him in their fury, appeared at a window with a bow in his hand, “What do you require, my companions, ſays he to them, “and what is the occaſion of this tumult?” “You ſhall know imme“diately, cried they. You drunken ſot, where is Achmet? we'll either “ſee him or find out a means of revenging his death.” The fearful

Chalcondile vie de Bajazet II.

ful ſultan ſeeing all the ſoldiery enraged and incenſed againſt him, "Achmet, ſays he to them, is in my ſeraglio, and alive; I have only kept "him with me to confer with him about ſome affairs of conſequence." The ſultan was ſo terrified at the looks and threats of the janizaries, that he ordered him to be brought out to them immediately. He appeared at the gate of the ſeraglio bare-headed, his legs uncovered, and without any cloaths on but a waſtecoat only, juſt like a man who was ordered for execution. The janizaries, provoked to ſee that great captain treated in ſo ſhameful a manner, ſnatched a turbant from one of the principal officers of the port and put it upon Achmet's head. They commanded at the ſame time a veſt to be brought him, and when he was dreſt they carried him to his palace with great acclamations, and as if they had gained ſome ſignal victory.

The vizier, either from a greatneſs of ſoul, or elſe out of apprehenſions that this affection of the ſoldiers would be imputed to him as a freſh crime, deſired them to uſe their advantages with more moderation. "Bajazet, ſays he to them, "is our ſovereign: and who knows but I have merited "his indignation by ſome fault I may have committed!" In fine, he at length by his entreaties prevailed to quiet the ſedition, but his own experience taught him, that there is no getting an advantage over one's ſovereign that does not prove fatal to its author in the end. Bajazet diſſembled his reſentment for ſome time; the vizier ſeem'd to be reſtored to his favour; but in a journey which the court made to Adrianople, at a time when all his apprehenſions ſeemed to be over, the ſultan cauſed him to be ſtrangled. Such was the fate of one of the greateſt captains of the Ottoman empire, who, by being thought too neceſſary, became ſuſpected to his maſter and odious to the other baſhas.

Whilst this tragical ſcene was acting at the port, Zizim arrived ſafe on the coaſts of Provence. The grand maſter had ſent an embaſſador before him to Lewis XI. who then ſat on the throne of France, to deſire leave for the prince to come into his dominions and reſide there for ſome time. The king, who did not concern himſelf in the affairs of the eaſt, readily conſented to it. Zizim, according to Jaligni a cotemporary hiſtorian, was firſt carried into the province of la Marche, to the caſtle of a lord of that province, called Boiſlami, the grand maſter's brother-in-law, whoſe ſiſter Souveraine d'Aubuſſon he had married. The prince, after making ſome ſtay in this place, retired to the commandry of Bourgneuf; and the knights, who under pretence of keeping him company, were in reality his guards, lodged him in a tower built purpoſely to ſecure him againſt the enterprizes of Bajazet, though perhaps it was deſigned likewiſe to prevent his getting out of their hands and making his eſcape, as ſome time after they had reaſon to ſuſpect.

In ſhort, this unfortunate prince, inſtead of the good reception and ſuccours which he had flattered himſelf he ſhould receive from the king of France, was uneaſy to find himſelf at a diſtance from his country and his friends; baniſhed into a foreign land, and confined in a ſort of priſon: and how careful ſoever the knights who guarded him might be to divert him, he yet could not help looking upon them as his goalers and the mortal enemies of his houſe. Theſe reflections threw him into a deep melancholy, which was ſoon followed by a dangerous illneſs, that made them fear his life was in danger.

One of the knights, whoſe buſineſs it was to guard him, being concerned for his misfortunes, and deſirous to expel, if poſſible, the deep melancholy that had ſpread it ſelf over his ſoul, adviſed him to deſire an interview

terview with the king of France; and encouraged him to hope that he might in a conference engage that prince to intereſt himſelf in his miſfortunes, and obtain from him a ſufficient number of forces that might enable him to try the fortune of war once more.

The prince, like all unfortunate perſons, was overjoyed at the firſt glimpſe of hope which they gave him, and ſignified to the king of France, that he deſired a conference with him. The king, who was entirely taken up with what paſſed in his neighbours territories, eſpecially among the Engliſh and at the duke of Burgundy's court, troubled himſelf very little about the affairs of the eaſt. However, to maintain his character of the moſt chriſtian king, he anſwered the prince, that he would really have been very glad to ſee him and to intereſt himſelf in his affairs as became a ſovereign, did not religion put an invincible obſtacle in the way; but that if he would turn Chriſtian and abjure the errors in which he had been unhappily educated, he would engage to ſend him back to his own dominions at the head of a mighty army, which ſhould not be inferior either in excellent officers, or in number of troops, to all the forces of the Ottoman empire; and in caſe he did not think proper of trying the fortune of war once more, France offered to give him lands and lordſhips within its ſelf, ſufficient to maintain him with a ſplendor and dignity ſuitable to his birth.

The Turkiſh prince ſoon diſcovered that this propoſal was no more than a polite pretence to excuſe himſelf from agreeing to the interview he had deſired, and granting the ſuccours which he had flattered himſelf he ſhould have. To omit the prejudices of education, was he only to conſider his intereſt according to the maxims of human policy, he could not quit the ſect of Mahomet, without being conſidered as a renegado among the Mahometans, and ſeeing himſelf abandoned by his beſt friends and all his partizans; ſo that the prince, without laying aſide all thoughts of ſuccour from France, turned all his hopes towards the eaſt, whence he expected news with the utmoſt impatience. He was not long without receiving ſome advices, but they were not very agreeable to him; for he heard with equal ſurpriſe and uneaſineſs, that the knights of Rhodes, the eternal enemies of the Ottomans, had, after ſeveral negotiations that had been treated at Conſtantinople and Rhodes, agreed at laſt on a treaty, the very baſis and purchaſe of which, unhappily for him, was the loſs of his liberty; that the grand maſter, forgetting his ſafe conduct and the promiſe he had ſolemnly given him, had engaged to keep him always at a diſtance, and under a guard of knights that ſhould be anſwerable for him ſo long as the Turks ſhould not violate the treaty; and that Bajazet on his ſide was obliged to pay five and forty thouſand ducats yearly to the grand maſter and the order. The treaty was varniſhed over by thoſe who drew it up, with all thoſe ſpecious pretences which princes are ſeldom at a loſs to invent, but which after all did not ſkreen the order from the reproach of having violated its ſafe conduct.

Bajazet payed this ſum very exactly, and indeed beforehand; and in hopes of gaining the grand maſter's friendſhip entirely, he ſent him a little after the right hand of St. John the Baptiſt patron of the order, which had been brought formerly from Antioch to Conſtantinople; upon the taking of which laſt city Mahomet had ordered it to be put into his treaſury, probably for the richneſs of the ſhrine, or in order to ſell the relick it ſelf to ſome chriſtian prince. Though the Turks look upon our veneration for the dead bodies of ſaints as idolatry, yet Bajazet ſent it with great ceremony to Rhodes: a manifeſt inſtance that religion hath much leſs the aſcendant over moſt ſovereigns, than intereſts of ſtate.

HOWEVER, as liberty is the firſt and moſt valuable bleſſing of mankind, it is no wonder that the unhappy Zizim ſhould be ſtruck with the moſt violent grief, when he found that his had been put to ſale, and that they had meanly bartered it for gold. The treaty threw him into a rage that can hardly be expreſſed: he wiſhed for death as the only period of ſo terrible a misfortune, and they were every moment afraid leſt he ſhould make away with himſelf in the fits of his paſſion. In vain did the knights ſet over him for his guard labour to comfort him, by repreſenting, that whatever had been tranſacted at Conſtantinople and Rhodes, was meant purely for his ſafety, and to prevent his falling into the hands of an implacable enemy. They repreſented to him, that his confinement would not be near ſo long as he imagined; that he ought to hope for great matters from time, and that ſome conjuncture would infallibly preſent itſelf, when the grand maſter might be able to reſtore him to his dominions with as much glory as ſafety. The unfortunate prince was not in a temper to take up with ſuch random and uncertain motives of conſolation: the terrible idea of a perpetual impriſonment was ever preſenting itſelf to his imagination, and all the arguments and civilities of his guards could not baniſh it a ſingle moment from his mind.

THE noiſe that his grief made, ſoon paſſed beyond the bounds of his priſon. Some perſons who were ill affected to the order, took occaſion from thence of blaming the grand maſter's conduct. They ſaid it was inhuman to ſell the liberty of a prince from whom at moſt they could have demanded but a ranſom. Others went further, and ſaid it was aſtoniſhing that ſo noble an order, and a ſet of knights who were eternal enemies to the Mahometans, ſhould for the lucre of a ſum of money, turn gaolers under Bajazet, and let ſlip ſo favourable an opportunity of kindling a war among thoſe Infidels, which all the enemies of the Ottomans might have made their advantage of.

CAOURSIN, vice-chancellor of the order, a cotemporary hiſtorian, and who was at Rhodes at this time, hath endeavoured to make an apology for the knights, by repreſenting the advantages which (ſays he) the chriſtian princes derived from the confinement of this Ottoman prince: and that author who was in all likelihood no very ſcrupulous perſon, in order to juſtify the grand maſter's breach of faith, maintains that it was a much leſs evil to act in that manner, than by obſerving ſtrictly the ſafe conduct to bring the arms of Bajazet upon the iſle of Rhodes, and the other ſtates of Chriſtendom. But if we follow Jaligni, another cotemporary hiſtorian, the grand maſter never gave any ſafe conduct, nor ſo much as his bare word. Zizim, as we may ſee in this hiſtorian, was a lawful priſoner, in conſequence of which, the grand maſter might diſpoſe of his liberty as he judged proper for the good of his order.

Guillaume de Jaligni, p. 62, 63, 65. Edit. du Louvre.

As theſe two cotemporary hiſtorians, one of them the grand maſter's miniſter and confident, the other ſecretary to Peter de Bourbon, contradict one another in the ſame fact, we have not met with matter ſufficient in either of the two writers to clear up the point, and determine on any ſide with certainty: ſo that we leave it to the reader's judgment, who will find in the appendix or book of proofs a diſſertation upon this ſubject, with a tranſcript of the paſſages of theſe two authors. But whether Zizim was a lawful priſoner of war, or whether the knights, under pretence of not incenſing ſo formidable a prince as the ſultan, broke their ſafe conduct, it cannot be denied, but that pope Sixtus IV. Ferdinand king of Caſtile, Arragon and Sicily, another Ferdinand of the ſame houſe, king of Naples, the Venetians, and above all the reſt Matthias Corvin, ſon to Huniades, and at that time king of Hungary, a great captain, and like his father, the terror of the Turks, uſed very preſſing inſtances with the grand maſter to put Zizim at the head of their forces, in hopes of making uſe of his name to raiſe up the ſecret partiſans he had in the Ottoman empire. Indeed moſt of theſe princes were divided; ſome were actually making war upon one another, and we muſt do this juſtice to the grand maſter, who was as great a politician as he was a captain, that he was afraid leſt if the war againſt the Turk ſhould not prove ſucceſsful, ſome might be found perfidious, or at leaſt weak enough to purchaſe their peace of Bajazet, by delivering up his brother and enemy to him. The grand maſter made a much more commendable uſe of the power he had over the perſon of Zizim: and meerly by the fear in which he kept the grand ſeignior, leſt he ſhould ſet that prince at the head of all the forces of the order, and producing him to the malecontents that were very numerous in his dominions, he tied up the hands of that mighty prince, kept his forces as it were in chains, and by this means prevented him, during his brother's life, from falling upon Italy, and turning his arms againſt the chriſtian princes.

THE pope impatient to ſee the chriſtian princes unite their arms againſt the Infidels, was perſuaded, that if he once had Zizim's perſon in his power, he might eaſily make all the powers of Europe join their forces againſt the Turks. This pontiff had juſt ſucceeded Sixtus IV. by the name of Innocent VIII. He was a Genoeſe by birth, of the illuſtrious houſe of Cibo, originally of the iſle of Rhodes, where his father was born. As ſoon as ever he was placed in St. Peter's chair, he notified it to the knights, whom he conſidered as the ſovereigns of his family, and ſent a nuncio on purpoſe to Rhodes, to aſſure them of the eſteem and affection he had for an order ſo illuſtrious, and withal ſo ſerviceable to the chriſtian world. But the nuncio declared at the ſame time to the grand maſter, that his holineſs, for the good of Chriſtendom, and to keep the Turk in awe, would be glad to have prince Zizim ſent to Rome, or at leaſt to ſome ſtrong hold in Italy.

1484.
Proof 3.

THE grand maſter repreſented to the nuncio, that they had reaſon to fear ſuch a ſtep might give great jealouſy to Bajazet; and that that prince, in order to revenge himſelf and prevent the pope's deſigns, might fall with all his forces upon Italy. Beſides, that by taking Zizim out of the hands of the knights, they might give the world occaſion to ſuſpect that they did not behave themſelves well towards him, which would be a great diſhonour to his order. The nuncio tranſmitted theſe reaſons to Rome; but the pope was inflexible, and made new inſtances that they would ſend orders immediately to the chevalier de Blanchefort, then grand prior of Auvergne, to conduct the Turkiſh prince himſelf to Rome. The grand maſter, to ſhew his deference to the pope's orders, named two embaſſadors to wait upon his holineſs, and choſe for that purpoſe Philip de Cluys, of the language of France, bailiff of Morea, and William Caourſin, vice-chancellor of the order, the perſon who has left us an hiſtory of all that paſſed at Rhodes in relation to prince Zizim.

WERE we to judge of their conduct in this negotiation by the advantages which they drew from thence, we muſt own that they were very able miniſters: for in exchange for the perſon only of Zizim, which they promiſed to deliver into the pope's hands, they obtained very important privileges. Innocent engaged ſolemnly by this treaty never to confer any

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commandries to the prejudice either of the ſeveral languages, or the right of ſeniority, even though they ſhould fall vacant in the court of Rome: and by an expreſs bull in the year 1489. he declared, that the effects and poſſeſſions of the order ſhould not be comprehended in the liſt of benefices that the popes had either reſerved to themſelves, or might afterwards reſerve; and in caſe Bajazet ſhould out of reſentment at this change, ſtop the payment of Zizim's penſion, he by another bull, to compenſate the loſs the knights of Rhodes would thereby ſuſtain, ſuppreſſed the orders of the holy ſepulchre, and St. Lazare, which he annexed to that of St. John, to prevent (as the pontiff ſays in his bull) a body of knights ſo neceſſary to Chriſtendom, from being over-powered by the formidable power of the Turks. The grand maſter's own intereſts were not forgot in this treaty, and the pope engaged, as ſoon as prince Zizim ſhould be delivered up to him, to ſend the grand maſter a cardinal's hat, a dignity of great eminence indeed, but not very proper for a warrior, and one eſpecially that was at the ſame time a ſovereign prince.

THE treaty being concluded to the ſatisfaction both of the pope and the grand maſter, they by concert ſent embaſſadors to king Charles VIII. the ſon and ſucceſſor of Lewis XI. to communicate it to him, and deſire his conſent. They met with no difficulty from that quarter, but whilſt theſe embaſſadors were ſtill in France, there came another miniſter of the port, diſpatched by Bajazet to the king. That ſultan, who was continually watching the behaviour of the knights with regard to his brother, was not long without having an account of the deſigns of the pope, and the negotiations of his miniſters. He loſt no time in diſpatching one of his principal officers to traverſe their negotiation. This embaſſador landing in Provence, notified his arrival immediately to the court, and ſet out on his road thither. But the king following his father's example, and ſcrupling to give audience to an Infidel, that miniſter ſtopped at Riez, purſuant to an order he received by an expreſs meſſenger, and was obliged to tranſact the affair by writing, and ſent the propoſals which he was authoriſed to make up to court.

BAJAZET in his letter deſired the king that ſultan Zizim might be delivered into the hands of the miniſter he ſent, or at leaſt that he would not ſuffer him to go out of his dominions: and in order to engage him to comply with his requeſt by ſomething more valuable than gold or precious ſtones, he offered him all the relicks that the emperor Mahomet his father had found at the taking of Conſtantinople, and in the whole extent of his empire. He added further, that he was actually in war with the ſoldan of Egypt; that he hoped to drive him ſoon out of Syria, Paleſtine, and the kingdom of Jeruſalem, and that if he ſucceeded in his attempt, he engaged to ſet the laſt of thoſe crowns upon his head, as being the moſt potent prince that followed the law of the Meſſias.

THOUGH the king was young, very couragious, and fond of glory, yet he did not ſuffer himſelf to be allured by this laſt propoſal. Moſt of the chriſtian princes had been long before that diſcouraged from making thoſe tedious voyages and pious expeditions which had coſt their anceſtors immenſe ſums, and the pureſt blood of their nobility. They had ſcarce a better opinion of the relicks that came from the eaſt after the plundering of Conſtantinople: and the Greeks had brought ſuch a vaſt number of ſpurious ones among the Latins, that the moſt ſuperſtitious had quite loſt all that eagerneſs and reſpect which is due to the true ones only: ſo that the miniſter of the port was ſent back, as Philip de Comines relates, without ſeeing the king, or being able to obtain any thing from him: But

Obſervations ſur l' hiſt. de Charles VIII. p. 586. edit. du Louvre.

on the other ſide, he ſignified to the agents ſent by the pope and the order, that they might go when they pleaſed; that he gave his conſent to their ſending prince Zizim into Italy, and ſhould be exceedingly pleaſed if the holy father could reap any conſiderable advantages from thence for the good of religion.

THIS prince however, who had a ſecret deſign of carrying his arms one day into the eaſt and falling upon the Turks, did not give his conſent but upon condition that Zizim ſhould be always kept under a guard of French knights, and that the pope ſhould oblige himſelf never to deliver him up to any other ſovereign, without his privity and conſent, under the forfeiture of ten thouſand ducats.

THE unfortunate Zizim, after having come from the eaſt into Europe, and from Rhodes into the midſt of Auvergne, was now delivered up to the pope's agents, who carried him into Italy, and arrived there without any obſtacle: and the better to diſguiſe this change of ſlavery, they received him with as much pomp and magnificence as they would have ſhewn at the entry of a chriſtian king. The cardinal of Angers, and Franciſquin Cibo, the pope's natural ſon, but got before he entered into holy orders, went to meet him two miles from Rome, and complimented him in the pope's name. Doria, captain of the pope's guards, waited for him at the gate of the town, where the cavalcade began. Some Turks that were Zizim's ſervants, and never would quit him, were the firſt that appeared. Next came the pope's guards, his light horſe, his gentlemen, with thoſe of the cardinals and nobility of Rome. The ſeignior de Faucon, embaſſador of France, heightned the ſplendor of the march by the pompouſneſs of his equipage, and a numerous train of attendants in rich liveries: the vicomte de Monteil, the grand maſter's brother, who had acquired ſo much glory at the ſiege of Rhodes, marched immediately after, abreaſt with Franciſquin Cibo; next advanced the Turkiſh prince, mounted on a prancing horſe, and followed by the grand prior of Auvergne, and the other knights appointed for his guard. The march was cloſed by the maſter of the pope's chamber, and a crowd of Italian prelates of the pope's court. The Turkiſh prince was conducted into an apartment of the vatican prepared for him; and the next day the embaſſador of France and the grand prior of Auvergne conducted him to an audience of the pope.

THAT prince, at his coming into the apartment where he was to have audience, ſaw the pope ſeated on his throne, attended by the cardinals and all his court. The prince ſaluted him after the Turkiſh manner, but all the entreaties the maſter of the ceremonies employed, could not prevail upon him to bow his knee, or embrace his feet, as Chriſtian princes do; the pope however did not receive him the leſs graciouſly upon that account; Zizim beſought his protection with as ſtately an air, as if the pontiff had ſtood in need of his. Innocent anſwered him with great mildneſs, and he was afterwards treated with abundance of reſpect, though ſtill guarded by the knights. But as he ſaw a great deal of company, and could eaſier receive news out of Aſia, he thought himſelf leſs unhappy at Rome, than in the tower of Bourgneuf.

THE king of France, for certain private reaſons, intereſted himſelf for the preſervation of Zizim. That prince, who was young, powerful and ambitious, aſpired to the title of emperor; he had a mind to make uſe one day of Zizim, to get Conſtantinople, Romania, and the Morea into his hands. Andrew Paleologus, nephew to the laſt emperor Conſtantine, had yielded up to him all his rights to that empire: and Albania, Greece, and Romania, which had been but lately conquered by Mahomet, and ſtill peopled by Chriſtians, begged and implored his aſſiſtance. The king, in order to fall upon thoſe great provinces, had need of ſome ports in Italy and in the kingdoms of the two Sicilies. His council made him ſenſible of the right he had to the crown of Naples: this right was founded on the will of Charles IV. king of Sicily and Jeruſalem, nephew to king René, of the houſe of Anjoy, who had left his couſin Lewis XI. heir to all his dominions and rights; and after him the dauphin his ſon, who was then upon the throne, and ſtiled Charles VIII. Here was a right clear enough indeed, which wanted nothing but a ſufficient force to render it valid. The king and his council reſolved before they made an expedition into Greece, to undertake firſt this enterprize. They were likewiſe encouraged to it by Lodowic Sforza, regent of the dutchy of Milan, and a ſecret enemy of the houſe of Arragon, a branch of which had reigned at Naples near ſixty years.

THE Italian war was reſolved on before any thing was to be undertaken on the ſide of Greece. However, as the king of France foreſaw that Zizim's perſon would be very neceſſary to him in this laſt expedition, he ſent embaſſadors to pope innocent; and we find by their inſtructions, that they were ordered to put the pope in mind of the engagements he had entered into with him in relation to the grand ſeignior's brother, that is, of his never diſpoſing of him without his privity and conſent: but theſe negotiations were interrupted by the pope's death, and Zizim, who during his pontificate had found ſome alleviation of his ill fortune, was upon his death oppreſſed with a new ſeries of calamities.

CARDINAL Roderigo de Borgia ſucceeded Innocent, by the name of Alexander VI. a pope, if we may call him by that name, that bought the triple crown, and the votes of ſeveral of his collegues with ready money, and who in order to re-imburſe himſelf the ſums he had laid out after his having got poſſeſſion of it, beſtowed no other reward upon thoſe ſimoniſts than by diſpatching them by ſword and poiſon, or ſending them into a tedious baniſhment. During his pontificate, biſhopricks, benefices, eccleſiaſtical dignities, diſpenſations, the very adminiſtration of the ſacraments, all was venal. He ſold by retail what he had bought by the great, and employed the produce of it in keeping his miſtreſſes: he was not aſhamed to put the purple ſo often dyed with the blood of martyrs, upon ſeveral of his baſtards that were polluted with all ſorts of crimes, and whom he had promoted to the dignity of cardinal.

THE unfortunate Zizim being by the preſent ſituation of his circumſtances, in his power, the tyrant in order to enable himſelf to diſpoſe of his liberty and life as he pleaſed, took him out of the hands of the knights, whom he diſmiſſed, ſhut him up in the caſtle of St. Angelo, and then ſent advice of it to the grand ſeignior, who through fear leſt he ſhould ſet him at liberty, engaged to pay him forty thouſand ducats annually: others ſay that Alexander got at leaſt ſixty thouſand a year from him.

IN the mean time, the king always fond of his firſt deſigns of conqueſt, made extraordinary levies: his army conſiſted of 3600 men of arms, 6000 archers, 6000 croſsbows, 8000 pikemen, and as many muſketeers, beſides a prodigious train of artillery. All Italy trembled at the news of this formidable armament. The pope, whom the cardinals in general deſired to have depoſed, was in a fright at the bare noiſe of the march of the French: but as he was an able man, and a great politician, he turned his views towards Conſtantinople, and flattered himſelf that if he was hard preſſed by his enemies, he ſhould be able, ſo long as he was maſter of

Zizim's perſon, to get ſtrong ſuccours from Bajazet both in money and troops, to ſuſtain the war againſt the French.

1494.
PROOF IV.

Egypt & Naples

'Twas with this view that he ſecretly diſpatched a nuncio to acquaint him with the deſigns and armament of Charles VIII. We ſee in the inſtructions given this nuncio, whoſe name was George Bozzarde, that he was directed to tell the grand ſeignior that the king of France was advancing at the head of a formidable army to take ſultan Gem or Zizim his brother out of his hands, in order to make uſe of his help to dethrone him; that as for himſelf, he was reſolved, in conjunction with the king of Naples his ally, to oppoſe his enterpriſe and hinder him particularly from advancing near Rome; but that he could not maintain war againſt ſo potent a prince without a ſpeedy ſuccour, and that therefore he would oblige him if he would pay him immediately the forty thouſand ducats that were due to him for the maintenance of the prince his brother. He adds, in this inſtruction to his embaſſador, that he ſhould acquaint the grand ſeignior, that the ſoldan of Egypt, with whom his highneſs was in war, had ſent an embaſſador to offer him immenſe ſums if he would deliver prince Zizim into his hands; but that he had rejected this propoſal, and that nothing ſhould be able to detach him from his intereſts.

The pope by this ſubtle turn, and acquainting him with the ſoldan of Egypt's offers, inſinuated to the grand ſeignior that his brother was expoſed to ſale, that the higheſt bidder would carry it, and that it depended on himſelf only to obtain the preference. Bajazet underſtood his meaning well enough, and as he had no intereſt ſo preſſing as that of getting rid of his brother, we ſee by his letters to the pope, that he begs him to diſpatch him out of hand, and by his death put an end to the uneaſineſs which would ſet upon his ſpirits as long as he ſhould be living, "Holy father, ſays he to him, Zizim, as he is impriſon'd, can't be ſaid to live; he does nothing but languiſh; he is already more than half dead. 'Twou'd be doing him a good office to diſpatch him outright, and ſend him to enjoy eternal reſt in another world." Thus did that tyrant explain himſelf in writing to another tyrant; and to make him abſolutely reſolve upon the murder he propoſed, he engages himſelf by his letter, that as ſoon as he ſhould have made away with his enemy, to remit him three hundred thouſand ducats, which, ſays he, he may employ in purchaſing conſiderable manors and lordſhips for his children. The pope, who never valued the life of a man in any affair wherein his intereſt was concerned, readily agreed to the conditions of the treaty. But as he got a tribute of forty thouſand ducats every year that Zizim lived, and alſo by that means kept Bajazet in awe, he thought proper to defer the execution of this treaty till he ſaw the ſucceſs of the enterprize of Charles VIII. and whether that prince would be powerful enough in Italy to take his priſoner from him.

But he was ſtrangely ſurpriſed to hear that that prince had already paſſed the Alps, and entered Italy without meeting with any obſtacle or oppoſition. And indeed every thing ſubmitted to him, ſo that there was no occaſion for ſieges or battles; moſt of the towns ſent at a great diſtance to meet him, to preſent him their keys; and it was commonly ſaid that he had leſs need of captains than harbingers for this great conqueſt, to go, as was uſual in France, and mark out with their chalk the lodging he was to lie at. Thus that young prince, who was a conqueror before he ſo much as drew his ſword, came on to Rome; and to compleat his good fortune, as if the gates of Rome were not large enough to afford him a ſuitable admittance into the city, the very night of his arrival there tumbled down at leaſt forty yards of the wall, which being very old fell of themſelves.

THE pope afraid of falling into the hands of that prince, and of being proſecuted as the chief of the ſacred college, ſolicited he might be ſhut up in the caſtle of St. Angelo. 'Twas here that his paſt iniquities preſented themſelves to his imagination with all their black train of horrors. His infamous debauches, his ſimony, his poiſonings, his murders and his aſſaſſinations pierced him to the quick. The cardinals, who were witneſſes as well as enemies of his vices, the citizens of Rome and the French ſoldiers, all cried out aloud, that it was their duty to purge both the earth and the church of ſuch a monſter. Tho' he found himſelf in this terrible ſituation, and abandoned by every body, yet he did not abandon himſelf; and as he was immenſely rich, and had as much dexterity as money he oppoſed the ſtorm; and whilſt his enemies looked upon him as an undone man, he by force of preſents and the promiſe of a cardinal's hat to Briconnet the king's miniſter, gains him over to his intereſt, and by his credit moſt of the young prince's favourites at the ſame time. So that this great affair was turned into a negotiation, and of a criminal was made a civil cauſe: no more mention was made of the crimes of Alexander; all that was now aimed at was to get him over from the party of the houſe of Arragon. He promiſed every thing they could deſire of him, reſolving to keep his promiſes no longer than a ſuperior power ſhould force him to it. Thus the treaty was ſoon concluded: he engaged to adhere inviolably for the future to the intereſts of France; and for a pledge of his word, gave his ſon the cardinal of Borgia or of Valence in hoſtage; the ſame who was afterwards called the duke of Valentinois, the hero of Machiavel, and who was the moſt profligate man then living, had his father not been alive. By this treaty he was obliged to follow the king to the war for four months, in quality of an hoſtage. And in order not to ſully the honour of the purple, his father inveſted him with the dignity of legate of the holy ſee: but what was ſtill a greater mortification to him than to ſee his ſon follow the banner of France, was his being obliged to deliver Zizim up to the king. PROOF V. We ſee by the treaty made on this occaſion, that that prince, after the expedition of Naples, had bound himſelf to ſend him back to Rome to the pope; and in the mean time the king was to get him a diſcharge from the grand maſter and council of the order, in the ſame manner as he had given them, when he received Zizim from them; he was likewiſe ſo long as the Turkiſh prince lived to have the forty thouſand ducats to himſelf, which the ſultan paid for his ſubſiſtence; all of them conditions which he ſtipulated with ſo much care with a view only of ſcreening his wicked intentions. For this bloody wretch, in order to keep his promiſe to the Turk, and elude that which he had given to the king, cauſed Zizim * to be poiſoned before he delivered him up: ſo that the unfortunate prince ended his days the moment he came up with the king at Terracina. The haſty flight of the pope's ſon by night, whom the darkneſs of it favoured to make his eſcape, pointed out the perfidious authors of this murder.

THE fatal news ſoon came to Rhodes, and it ſtruck the grand maſter with horror and aſtoniſhment. He reproached himſelf, and that perhaps juſtly too, for having delivered up to Innocent VIII. a prince that had

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* Perſtringunt nonnulli Venetos Turcico corruptos auro operam dediſſe, ut veneno Zizimus necaretur; alii autem Alexandrum pontificem carpunt, qui Zizimum lento tabo infectum gallo regi tradiderit. Rainaldi Annales Ecclesiaſt. anno 1495.

put himſelf into the hands of the order in confidence of their ſafe conduct, and who, though he had thrown himſelf as a captive into Rhodes, could never in that caſe have been treated otherwiſe than as a priſoner of war. That which encreaſed the grand maſter's grief was that he was obliged to diſſemble it, and was not allowed to take the vengeance due to ſo horrible a crime. In this great perplexity, the grand prior of Auvergne his nephew brought him letters from the king of France, deſiring him to come to him, that they might conſult together about the deſign he had formed of invading Greece, and falling upon the dominions of the grand ſeignior.

THIS young prince whom fortune ſeemed to conduct by the hand, had juſt made himſelf maſter of the kingdom of Naples, which young Ferdinand had abandoned to him. The eaſineſs he found in gaining conqueſts which no body diſputed with him, made him fancy he ſhould have the ſame ſucceſs againſt the Turks. This was the occaſion of his letter to the grand maſter, which was wrote in terms equally civil and urgent. The king told him in a very obliging manner, that he had made choice of him, as one of the greateſt captains of the age, to be his guide in that holy enterpriſe. But the grand maſter was not to be dazzled by theſe encomiums, much leſs by a project that was more pompous than ſolid. This venerable old man, though he reſided in his palace, kept nevertheleſs ſecret intelligences in all the courts of the chriſtian princes, and even in the ſeraglio of the grand ſeignior. He was aſſured that this prince, now free from the uneaſineſs that his brother had occaſioned him as long as he lived, was then making a powerful armament: and that it was by no means prudent for the grand maſter to leave Rhodes and the iſles of the order in ſuch a juncture. But what prevailed more than any thing elſe to prevent his going, was that he had certain advices from ſeveral places, that the king, far from being in a condition to paſs into the Levant, would be very happy if he could get back into France; that the army which he had led into Italy was conſiderably leſſened, by the garriſons he had been forced to put into different places, by ſickneſs, and eſpecially by the exceſſes which his ſoldiers had fallen into. That there was moreover a powerful league formed againſt that prince, the pope having been the principal inſtrument in promoting it; that Bajazet had at the pontiff's ſolicitation ſent an embaſſador to Venice to threaten thoſe republicans with a bloody war, if they did not declare themſelves immediately againſt the king of France; that they had entered the more freely into the league, becauſe they did not care to have ſo potent a prince for their neighbour; that their bailo was the very perſon who had given the grand ſeignior the firſt account of the death of the unfortunate Zizim; and that in order to gratify the Turks, they had cauſed the archbiſhop of Durazzo to be ſeized, who in order to facilitate the conqueſts of Charles the eighth, had held ſecret intelligences with the Greeks of Illyria, a people that had but lately been brought under the ſubjection of the port; and that thoſe republican politicians had ſent all the papers and writings of that prelate to the ſultan.

THESE advices informed him farther, that the emperor Maximilian I. Ferdinand king of Spain, Ferdinand the dethroned king of Naples, Lodowic the duke or uſurper of Milan, the marqueſs of Mantua, and ſeveral other petty princes of Italy, were actually treating at Venice, and they pretended that the league was ſigned the laſt day of March. The grand maſter ſent the chevalier de Blanchefort back to the king, to communicate theſe advices to him, which by the event ſhewed to be but too well founded.

PETER D'AUBUSSON.

founded. All theſe princes took up arms, and their army conſiſted of twenty thouſand foot and thirty four thouſand horſe.

THE king ſaw plainly that he muſt be forced on this occaſion to lay aſide the enterpriſe of the Levant: all his thoughts were bent on going to raiſe new forces in France: he marched that way with the remains of the army that he brought from thence. The enemy who made near ſixty thouſand men oppoſed his paſſage; they came to an engagement. The allies, though ſuperior in number, yet differing in opinion, and not being well united among themſelves, advanced indeed bravely to the battle; but after the firſt charge moſt of them wheeled about and retired. One would have thought that they were come only to make a turnament; and the ſtradiots, a body of light horſe in the Venetian ſervice, falling upon the baggage which was purpoſely left for them, as a bait to furniſh them with ſome employment, the king, at the head of his gentry and men of arms, opened himſelf a paſſage ſword in hand, and advanced forward with the loſs only of thirty or forty of his ſoldiers, after killing three thouſand five hundred of the enemy, in which number were Rodolph uncle to the marqueſs of Mantua, and three other princes of the name of Gonzaga, together with eighteen Italian lords.

CHARLES VIII. returned into his own dominions with more glory than advantage. He loſt the kingdom of Naples by his retreat; and as the grand maſter had foreſeen, there was no more talk in France of the voyage beyond ſea, or of the conqueſt of Conſtantinople. The pope delivered from his fear of the king's forces, and being no longer under apprehenſions of any proſecution from that prince, who was ſcandalized at his wicked life and infamous actions, kept no meaſures at all after the French army had repaſſed the mountains, but relapſed into his former diſorders.

THE knights of Rhodes were not ſafe from the oppreſſion of his government. This pontiff, without any regard to the privileges of the order, and though he could not but be ſenſible of the ſervices that the knights were continually doing to Chriſtendom, he yet pretended to be abſolute maſter of all the dignities and commandries of the order; and the priory of Catalonia with the commandry of Nouvelles falling vacant, he beſtowed them on Lewis Borgia his nephew, though the grand maſter had diſpoſed of them before to brother Francis Boſſolx, a Catalan by birth, and one of the moſt illuſtrious knights of the language of Arragon.

Such a notorious invaſion of their privileges occaſioned great complaints throughout the order; they wrote about it by their embaſſadors to Ferdinand at that time king of Arragon and Caſtile. This prince, who in his wars againſt the Moors of Granada had found no ſuccours ſo ſurely to be depended on as thoſe of the Spaniſh knights, entered into their juſt reſentments. He aſſured the grand maſter that he would openly ſupport the nomination he had made of the chevalier Boſſolx, and that ſo long as he lived, he would never ſuffer any commandry to be diſpoſed of to his prejudice and contrary to the rights of the order. This prince wrote at the ſame time to the pope, and repreſented to him, that there was no ſtate in all Chriſtendom but had the inſtitution and bravery of that noble order in ſingular veneration; that thoſe illuſtrious knights were the ſtanding protectors of all the chriſtian nations that ſailed in the Mediterranean; that ever ſince the foundation of the order, they had always ſerved as a convoy to pilgrims that went out of devotion to viſit the holy Land and the ſepulchre of the Saviour of mankind; that ſince the increaſe of their power by the conqueſt of the iſle of Rhodes, they made no uſe of their forces, as his holineſs well knew, but only to ſuccour chriſtian princes againſt the Infidels; that they ſpent their revenues, their blood and their lives in that ſervice; that the order was daily loſing ſome of its braveſt knights in thoſe holy wars, and that very few of them came off without wounds; that it was in conſideration and by way of acknowledgment for theſe important ſervices, that moſt of the ſovereigns of Chriſtendom had given ſo uſeful an order the eſtates of which the commandries were compoſed, and that there was not one of them but beheld with concern the attempts that were making to alter this diſpoſition; that they themſelves would not ſit tamely down, whilſt the poſſeſſions which their predeceſſors had acquired ſo juſtly and by ſo many dangers and fatigues were alienating from them, and were giving away to ſtrangers; and that after all there was no depriving them of their right, without damping their zeal, leſſening the forces that they kept at ſea, and abandoning all the Chriſtians that ſhould undertake any voyages by ſea, as a prey to barbarians and infidels.

The pope ſubmitted to the arguments, or rather authority of the king of Arragon and Caſtile. That pontiff was very ſenſible, that amidſt the complaints of the Spaniſh knights, ſome invectives had been dropped againſt his intimacy and his correſpondence with the great Turk. He was obliged in honour to wipe off the ſtains that the poiſoning of Zizim had thrown upon him. In order therefore to ſilence reports ſo very prejudicial to his reputation, he propoſed by his nuncios to moſt of the chriſtian princes the forming a powerful league againſt the Infidels. He declared publickly that he himſelf would be the head of it, and to impoſe on ſuch as might call in queſtion the ſincerity of his intentions, he named the grand maſter of Rhodes for generaliſſimo of the chriſtian army. Such a choice determined moſt of the ſovereigns of Europe to take up arms. The emperor Maximilian, Lewis XII. king of France, thoſe of Caſtile, Portugal and Hungary, the Venetians and moſt of the Italian princes entered into the league. The pope ſent the news of it to Rhodes: he required the order to maintain four gallies and four other veſſels well equipped for its quota during the war, promiſing at the ſame time to furniſh fifteen for his part, and took notice in a particular letter which he ſent to the grand maſter, that the biſhop of Tivoli his nuncio was actually fitting them out in the port of Venice.

However poſitive this promiſe might be, the grand maſter, who knew the pope's deceitful mind, was very loth to depend upon it, and was ſo thoroughly perſuaded of the certainty of his conjectures on this head, that he would have refuſed the poſt of general, if the council of the order had not repreſented to him, that there were certain conjunctures in which ſomething muſt neceſſarily be left to chance; that they had indeed but too much reaſon to apprehend that the pope, notwithſtanding this great oſtentation of zeal which he affected to ſhew, ſtill kept up ſecret intelligences with the port; but that in a cruſade and a general war undertaken againſt the Infidels, the order was not at liberty to lie by in a ſtate of indolence, which would caſt a ſtain on the bravery of the knights; and that they ought always to be the firſt to take up arms, and the laſt to lay them down.

The grand maſter was very ſenſible, that on ſuch occaſions there is no keeping exactly to the rules and dictates of prudence: and a very obliging letter which he received at the ſame time from Lewis XII. king of France determined him entirely. This prince, who was an excellent judge of merit, after giving juſt elogiums to the valour and experience of the grand maſter, told him, that he was ſending ſeveral veſſels well equipped, and provided with land forces on board into the Mediterranean; that Philip de Cleves-Raveſtein commanded this little fleet, and was expreſly enjoined by his inſtructions to obey him and do nothing without his orders. The grand maſter and the council, in order to anſwer in a ſuitable manner to the great expectations all Chriſtendom had from the order, made extraordinary efforts, and put to ſea a conſiderable fleet, compoſed of veſſels with high decks, gallies, galiots and barks well provided. All theſe veſſels lay at anchor and waited for the coming up of the pope's gallies and French veſſels under Raveſtein's command. But this officer, far from obſerving the king his maſter's inſtructions, and in hopes of getting the whole honour of the campaign to himſelf, went firſt, without conſulting the grand maſter, and beſieged the capital of the iſle of Mitylene.

THE Venetians were at ſea with thirty gallies: they were continually expecting thoſe of the pope, and Raveſtein flattered himſelf that with that ſuccour he ſhould have the glory of this conqueſt. But it was not long before he found that the enterpriſe exceeded his ſtrength. The place was fortified with ſtrong baſtions, and was defended by a numerous garriſon conſiſting chiefly of janizaries. Moreover the French general had not troops enough to inveſt it round, and the Turks were every moment throwing new ſuccours into it. Raveſtein, after loſing abundance of men in ſeveral attacks, was obliged to raiſe the ſiege; and pretending that the ſeaſon was too far advanced, he returned directly for the coaſts of France. The Venetian general wrote the grand maſter word, that the French had attempted and afterwards raiſed the ſiege of Mitylene without his privity and conſent; adding, that there was no depending on the fifteen gallies of the pope, that were ſo many caſtles in the air; that he knew only of two, which the duke of Valentinois his ſon was employing at that time againſt the prince of Piombino, and that they had no notion at all in Italy of the pontiff's taking up arms againſt the Turks. Nevertheleſs the league ſubſiſted ſome time longer, during which the Chriſtians took the iſlands of St. Maure from the Infidels, which was the only benefit they reaped from this union of the chriſtian princes. The war that broke out between the French and Spaniards in the kingdom of Naples deſtroyed it entirely; and the pope, inſtead of intervening to reconcile thoſe two powers, did all he could to foment their diviſions. The Venetians, deſerted by the principal of their allies, made a ſeparate peace with the Turk. Ladiſlaus king of Hungary entered into a like treaty with Bajazet, and none ſtood out but the knights of Rhodes, who, without having the leaſt ſuccour from the pope and the other princes of Europe, continued the war againſt the Turks with the ſingle forces of the order.

THEIR gallies were then at ſea, and met off the coaſts of Syria and Egypt a fleet of Turkiſh and Saracen ſhips, bound from Alexandria, where they had been richly laden with merchandize, to Conſtantinople. The chevalier de Villaragut caſtellan of Empoſta commanded this ſquadron: he attacked and beat the convoy of this rich fleet, which he ſeized on and brought into the port of Rhodes. The prize was indeed conſiderable, but not ſufficient to remove the grand maſter's concern for the indifference and negligence of his allies. He employed every method, and uſed the moſt preſſing inſtances, but to no purpoſe, in order to give new life to the league, and engage the pope to keep his word the following campaign. That pontiff, who had ſufficiently re-eſtabliſhed his reputation in having formed a league, employed his thoughts only on the making a great proviſion for Cæſar Borgia his favourite ſon. He was for making that baſtard a ſovereign prince, and raiſing his fortune upon the ruins of the firſt houſes of Italy.

THE other princes of the alliance were in like manner entirely taken up with their own private intereſts. The grand maſter ſeeing no room to expect any thing for the advantage of Chriſtendom under ſuch a pontificate, waited for a change, and in the mean time turned all his care to regulate the conſtitution of his ſtate, and the manners of his knights and people.

BY an edict of the council he baniſhed the Jews out of the iſle of Rhodes and all the territories of the order, in which they had been ſettled for ſeveral ages. The hereditary averſion of that people for the adorable perſon of Jeſus Chriſt, made them odious to the grand maſter. Beſides, they ruined the ſubjects of the order by their exceſſive uſury, and were accuſed likewiſe of a certain kind of traffick that was ſtill more baſe and infamous.

FROM the ſame motive of piety and the ſame ſpirit of religion the grand maſter made ſevere ordinances againſt blaſphemers, and extended them afterwards againſt the luxury of ſome knights that went too fine and gaudy in apparel. This worthy head of an order holy in its inſtitution, being as regular a religious as he was a great captain, ordered all his knights, agreeable to what had been always practiſed in the order, to wear no cloaths but what were plain, uniform, of one colour, and without any of thoſe vain embelliſhments, the reſult of pride and ambition; and if any one dared to infringe that ſtatute, he was condemned to undergo the diſcipline for two days and faſt for ſeven, and his cloaths were confiſcated for the benefit of the poor. All the old commanders and the moſt zealous among the knights highly commended the grand maſter for this wiſe regulation. From that moment there were no more to be ſeen any ſtuffs of different colours, embroideries, rich furs, or any ſort of vain equipage unſuitable to a ſet of religious perſons who had made the ſolemn vow of poverty at the altar. Indeed what could one think to ſee theſe religious dreſſed up like ſo many women, and perhaps with a view only of ſeducing them, and to have nothing of their profeſſion about them but a bare croſs, which they would not have worn neither, had it not ſerved for a title to the claim they laid to the revenues of the order? 'Twas a happy circumſtance indeed, that at the ſame time that they reſumed the modeſt habit of their profeſſion, they reſumed likewiſe the ſpirit of it; and the order again found a ſet of holy religious in the perſon of its brave knights.

WHILST the grand maſter was employing himſelf ſo worthily in maintaining a regular diſcipline in his order, one would have thought that the pope had conſpired its ruin. That Pontiff, ever greedy of wealth, and above all things fond of deſpotick power, beſtowed the richeſt dignities of the order upon his relations and ſecular perſons; and diſpoſed of them without the privity of the grand maſter, without the leaſt regard for the nature of the poſſeſſions which belonged to an independent and ſovereign body, and in violation of all the rights and privileges of the order. This unjuſt and violent proceeding afflicted the grand maſter in a very ſenſible manner: he wrote about it to the pope in very ſtrong terms, ſuch as a true zeal is apt to inſpire; but all the anſwer he had was a continuation of the ſame injuſtice; and he had an account, that even after his remonſtrances Alexander had promiſed the grand priory of Caſtile to Don Henry de Toledo. This news threw the grand maſter into a melancholy which ended at laſt in a ſickneſs that proved mortal to him. The generous old man, a ſincere lover of his order, of whoſe merit and uſefulneſs he was thoroughly perſuaded, could not get the better of his grief. His indiſpoſition became inſenſibly too ſtrong for all the remedies of phyſick. He ſunk under it without loſing any thing of his ordinary reſolution, and ſaw death ſteal upon his bed with the ſame intrepidity that he had ſo often ſtared it in the face in war amidſt the moſt terrible dangers. Thus died, at above eighty years of age, Peter d'Aubuſſon, grand maſter of the order of St. John of Jeruſalem, one of the greateſt captains of his age; a man rever'd by all the princes that lived in his time, the darling and delight of his knights, the father of the poor, the redeemer of Rhodes, the ſword and buckler of Chriſtendom, and as eminently diſtinguiſhed by his unfeigned piety as by his ſingular valour.

His birth was illuſtrious; he was ſprung of one of the moſt noble and moſt antient houſes of France, the original of which is not to be traced in the obſcurity of the firſt ages of that monarchy. About the year 887, as Aimar de Chabanois relates, a nobleman of the name of Aubuſſon was made a viſcount in the province of Limouſin by king Eudes. The ſame hiſtorian, who lived in 1029, in order to ſet off the birth of Turpin biſhop of Limoges, ſays, that he was uncle to Robert viſcount d'Aubuſſon. The reader will meet with a ſeries of proofs on this ſubject at the end of this volume, which we have taken the pains to collect out of none but known and cotemporary hiſtorians. But how illuſtrious ſoever the grand maſter's anceſtors were, he gloried chiefly in ſuch of them as had ſignalized themſelves in the wars of the holy Land. 'Twas to copy after their example that he devoted himſelf to the defence of Chriſtians by entering into the order and fighting under the banner of St. John; we have now ſeen in the hiſtory of his life that he was as ſerviceable to them as he was terrible to the Infidels. The order, after his death, inherited his eſtate; but we may ſay with juſtice, that the moſt valuable treaſure he left, was the remembrance of his glory and the example of his virtues.

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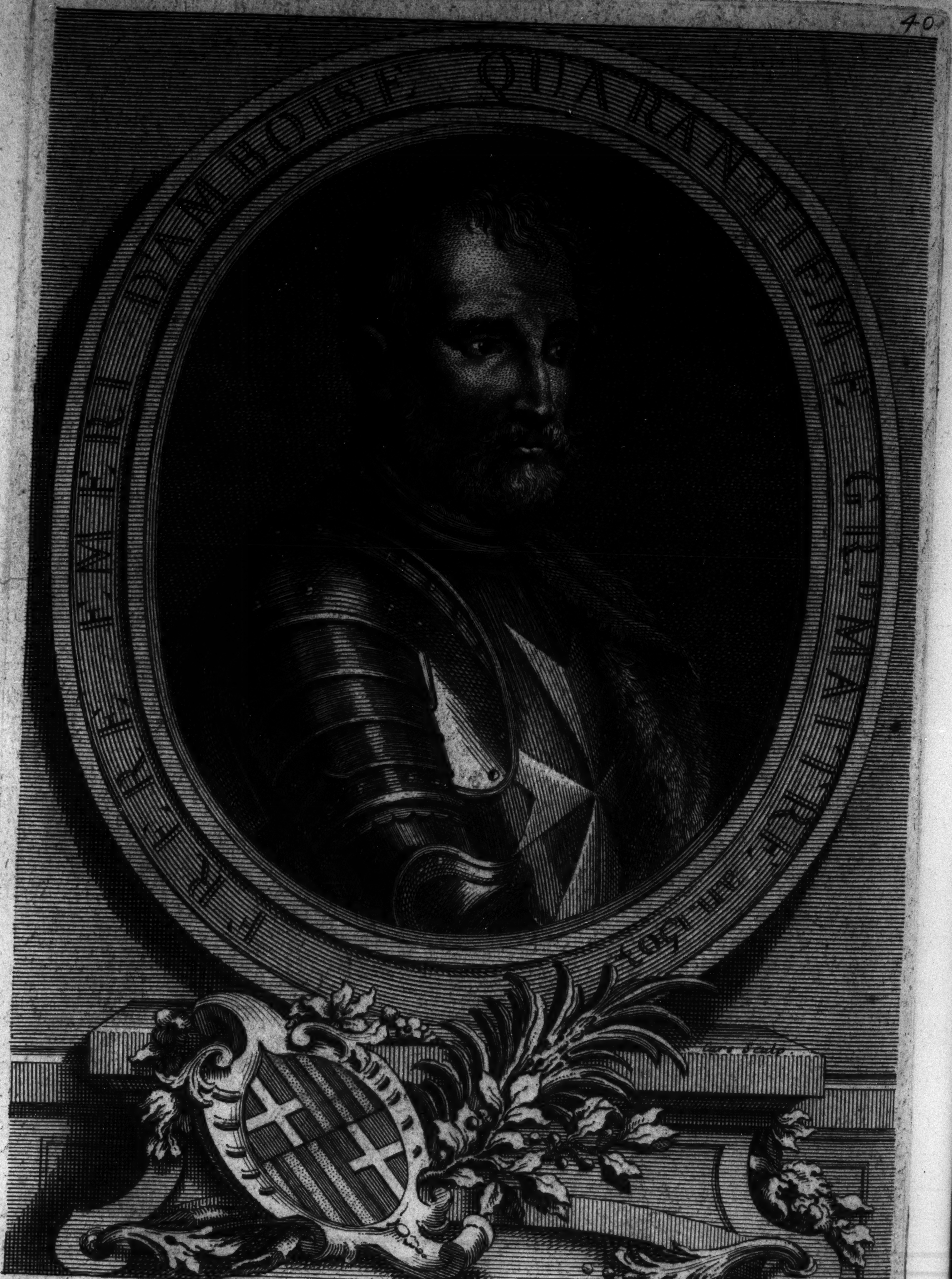
FRERE EMERI D'AMBOISE QUARANTIEME GR.D MAITRE. an 1503

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
Knights Hoſpitallers
OF
St. JOHN of JERUSALEM.
Called afterwards
The KNIGHTS of RHODES,
And at preſent,
The KNIGHTS of MALTA.

BOOK VIII.

Emeri d'Amboise.

THOUGH all grand maſters are mortal, we may ſay that the order of St. John is immortal, and that ſuch a kind of republican government, founded upon invariable laws, and always actuated by a wiſe council, may loſe its head, or ſome of its members, without loſing any thing of its ſolidity. Let whatever will happen, it is always the ſame ſpirit that reigns in it: the hiſtory of the grand maſter d'Aubuſſon furniſhes us a great example of it. The order was not ſenſible of his loſs, by reaſon of the wiſdom and zeal of his ſucceſſor. This ſucceſſor was brother EMERI D'AMBOISE, of an ancient and very noble houſe, which was at that time particularly famous by the famous George d'Amboiſe, brother to the grand maſter, archbiſhop of Rouen, cardinal and legate of the holy ſee, and firſt miniſter of France. 1503.

THE new grand maſter was in that kingdom, when the chevalier de Gaverſton, by order of the council, brought him the inſtrument of his election. This knight was ordered to repreſent to him what need the order had of the king of France's good offices with the pope, who continued contrary to their rights and privileges to put his creatures into all the commandries that fell vacant in the language of Italy. They complained likewiſe, that by his grant of expectative favours, he anticipated upon the vacant ones; and that for an inconſiderable ſum of money, he not only exempted the knights from their reſidence at Rhodes, which was ſo neceſſary at that time in order to acquire and preſerve a right of ſeniority; but alſo diſpenſed with ſeveral from taking on them the vows of the order, a practice which was entirely unprecedented. Every thing was venal in the court of this avaricious pope; no body, even in his own territories, could be rich with ſafety, and when he wanted pretences to ſeize on other people's eſtates, he kept a ſet of poiſoners in his pay, who by their abominable art, made the richeſt commandries and the firſt dignities of the church vacant whenever he pleaſed.

It ſeemed ſtrange that in ſo holy a poſt God ſhould ſo long ſuffer a monſter that diſhonoured it: but if his juſtice was ſlow, it was not the leſs ſevere upon that account: and this pontiff periſhed by the ordinary inſtrument of his cruelties; for his laſt crime proved fatal to himſelf.

The pope and his ſon had long hankered after, and graſped already in their hopes, the inheritance of the great eſtate of cardinal Adrian Cornetto, who paſſed for the richeſt of all the cardinals in ready money; but as the old man lived too long for their wiſhes, they reſolved to poiſon him. The pope invited him to an entertainment in a country houſe near Rome: the poiſon was prepared in a bottle of wine, which was to be filled out to no body but the cardinal. But the pope and the duke of Valentinois coming to the garden before him, and finding themſelves thirſty, called for drink, and the butler, who was let into the ſecret of the bottle, happening not to be there at that moment, another ſervant filled them wine out of the poiſoned bottle, which they drank off. Alexander being old, could not reſiſt the violence of the poiſon, what remedies ſoever they applied. Thus died pope Alexander VI. "whoſe publick debaucheries, ſays P. Daniel in his hiſtory of France, treacheries, boundleſs ambition, inſatiable avarice, cruelty and irreligion, made him the odium of all Europe, in a poſt to which none ought to be raiſed, but by the practice of virtues, the very oppoſite of his abominable vices." * 1 Edit. t. 2. p. 1721.

The duke of Valentinois being of a ſtronger conſtitution, eſcaped indeed by the help of various remedies, from dying outright, but ever after this terrible accident, he lived but in a ſtate of languiſhment; and afterwards loſt his life in attempting to reconnoitre a ſmall place that he had beſieged.

Thus were the church in general, and the order of St. John in particular, delivered from two tyrants, who by their wicked example, and their unjuſt government, ſeemed to have conſpired their ruin. The grand maſter hearing of their death, and thinking himſelf no longer neceſſary at the court of France, prepared to ſet out for Rhodes, whereupon he took leave of the king. That prince gave him the utmoſt demonſtrations of kindneſs, made him a preſent of a piece of the true croſs, and Proof 1. gave him at the ſame time, as a teſtimony of the eſteem he had of his valour, the ſword that king St. Lewis wore in his wars beyond ſea, a preſent very ſuitable to the head of an order who was animated with the ſame ſpirit as that holy king. The grand maſter, before his ſetting out, went to the parliament; the courts were then aſſembled in order to verify the bulls

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* Hiſtoria arcana; ſive de vita Alexandri VI. papæ; ſeu excerpta ex diario Johannis Burchardi Argentinenſis capellæ Alexandri VI. papæ clerici ceremoniarum magiſtri. Edita a Godefr. Guilielm. Leibnizio.

relating to the legatine faculties of cardinal d'Amboiſe his brother. He told that auguſt aſſembly that he would not ſet out for his own territories without taking leave of that court, to which he aſſured in general, as likewiſe to every particular member of it, that he would do them all the good offices that lay in his power.

The grand maſter had a proſperous voyage, and arrived without any obſtacle at Rhodes, and came to an anchor by the mole of St. Nicholas. He was received with all the uſual ceremonies on ſuch occaſions; and in order to get a true information of the condition of the whole body of the order, he called a general chapter. Several regulations were made in it for the ſupporting of diſcipline, and for ſettling a good order in the adminiſtration of the revenue: and it was highly neceſſary to take proper meaſures to prevent the ill deſigns of the Turks and Saracens. Bajazet and the ſoldan of Egypt being exaſperated againſt the knights who were maſters of the ſea in all parts of the Levant, had ſecretly made a league together to deſtroy a power which ruined the commerce of their ſubjects. The grand ſeignior being now freed from the inquietude that his brother's life had before given him, could not forgive the knights for receiving a ſon of that unfortunate prince into their iſland; he was called Amurath, who not fancying himſelf ſafe in the ſoldan's dominions, had taken refuge at Rhodes. Bajazet, by way of revenge, had given orders to all the corſairs that ſailed under his banner, to make deſcents in all the iſles that owned the grand maſter as their ſovereign. The ſoldan too had agreed to raiſe a ſtrong army to lay ſiege to Rhodes: but as there was no wood in his dominions to build ſhips, the grand ſeignior lent him four gallies well equipped, and allowed that prince's embaſſador to purchaſe ſeveral merchant ſhips in the port of Conſtantinople: theſe the embaſſador laded with timber, iron, ſails, and all other neceſſary rigging. Beſides this ſuccour, that miniſter obtained leave of the grand ſeignior for the ſoldan his maſter to cut down timber in the foreſts about mount Negro, and along the gulf of Ajazzo; this gulf is well known to Cilicia and Syria together. Theſe preparations were not intended only for the war of Rhodes. The ſoldan, whoſe name was Campſon Gauri, deſigned part of them againſt the Portugueſe, who were grown formidable along the coaſts of the Red ſea, and over all the eaſt. They were to carry this timber all ready framed to the port of Alexandria, from whence they tranſported it upon camels to Suez, a ſmall town ſeated on the edge of the Red ſea, near the place where the Iſraelites had formerly croſſed as on dry land, under the conduct of Moſes.

nonsense so far as a project of Rhodes was concerned

1505. Ozorius, l. 3. c. 4. Matt. l. 3. c. 2. hiſt. gen. de Portugal, par Lequian, tom. 2.

Emanuel, king of Portugal, one of the greateſt kings of that nation, was then making war upon Naubeadarin king of Calecut: the ſpice trade had drawn the Portugueſe into his territories, which lie along the coaſt of Malabar, in the peninſula on this ſide Ganges. This was the place where the Portugueſe landed when they diſcovered the Eaſt Indies. They were at firſt received by the people with great humanity, but afterwards abuſing their good nature, and attempting to make themſelves maſters of the country, they were driven out of it. The Portugueſe returned thither with powerful fleets: the king of the country not having forces enough to make head againſt theſe foreigners, applied to the ſoldan of Egypt for ſuccour. And in order to engage him in his defence, repreſented to him by his embaſſador, that the Portugueſe ſeemed to have a deſign to conquer the eaſt, and deſtroy the holy law of the prophet; and that thoſe Europeans were likely to extend their conqueſts as far as the places which true Muſulmen have in the greateſt veneration. And the better to excite the zeal and indignation of that prince, he engaged the king of Aden, who having the honour to be of the race of Mahomet, bears on that account a diſtinguiſhed rank among the kings of Arabia, to diſpatch likewiſe an embaſſador to him to make the ſame remonſtrances.

CAMPSON, who among other titles aſſumed that of protector of Mecca, aſſured them of ſtrong ſuccours; and was likewiſe ſollicited to it underhand by the Venetians, who were jealous of the commerce carried on by the Portugueſe in the eaſt, and had ſent an embaſſador to the ſoldan. This embaſſador brought ſeveral workmen along with him, ſome to caſt artillery, others to work in the building of veſſels: but who were particularly to be employed in building gallies, veſſels abſolutely neceſſary in the port of Suez, which had not a bottom ſafe enough for great veſſels to ride in.

THIS was the occaſion of Campſon's deſiring leave of Bajazet to ſupply himſelf with timber out of the foreſts of Cilicia. Whilſt his artificers were employed in theſe kinds of work, the grand ſeignior put to ſea a fleet conſiſting of a great number of galiots, flutes, and other ſorts of veſſels, with a body of land forces on board, under the command of a famous corſair, called Camali, to whom the reſt of the corſairs had joined themſelves in this expedition, and who had all of them orders, as we have ſaid, to make deſcents on the iſles belonging to the knights, and deſtroy all with fire and ſword. But they were prevented by the care and vigilance of the grand maſter: ſeveral detachments of cavalry, with the braveſt knights at their head, were poſted along the coaſt of the iſle of Rhodes to guard it; ſo that the corſairs attempting to make a deſcent, the troops which they put on ſhore were ſurrounded by the Rhodians as ſoon as they advanced into the country. The greateſt part of them were cut to pieces, and Camali gathering together as many as he could of thoſe that eſcaped the ſword of the knights, ſet ſail again and fell upon the iſles of Simia, Tilo and Niſſaro, but with no better ſucceſs than he had at Rhodes. He was in hopes however of repairing theſe miſcarriages by the conqueſt of the iſle of Lango; in this view he ſtood away for that coaſt, and was not far from it when he was informed that the grand maſter had put a conſiderable body of knights in it, under the command of brother Raimond de Balagner, an old knight, dreaded over all thoſe ſeas for his valour and experience.

ALL this expedition ended in a deſcent on the iſle of Lero, which does not ſo much deſerve the name of an iſland, as of a rock or ſhelf: Camali landed 500 Turks, that began to batter the caſtle with all the cannon of their veſſels.

1506. THE governor of this little place was an old knight, of the language of Italy, who being extremely ill at that time, left the care of defending it to a young knight of Piedmont, ſcarce eighteen years old, Paul Simeoni by name. This young knight having no garriſon nor ſoldiers, but only ſome poor inhabitants that cultivated the leaſt rocky places of the iſle, put a good face upon the matter, and fired briſkly on the Infidels that battered the place: but as their artillery had beat down a great pannel of the wall of his caſtle, he to intimidate the enemy, and prevent their making an aſſault, dreſſed the inhabitants of the iſland, and alſo their wives, in the habit of knights, with the white croſs: this new militia by his orders lined the breach in great numbers. The Turks taking them to be really knights, and imagining that they were a re-inforcement which had been ſent on the noiſe of their cannon, and landed in the iſle by night, raiſed the ſiege with precipitation, for fear of being ſurprized by the gallies of the order; which owed the preſervation of this fort to the reſolution and addreſs of young Simeoni.

THE ſoldan of Egypt, purſuant to the treaty which he had made with Bajazet, had ſent ſeven flutes into thoſe ſeas, which are a ſort of long veſſels with a low deck, and provided with oars as well as ſails. Theſe flutes had land forces on board, and the commodore's deſign was to make an attempt on the iſle of Lango. Two of theſe veſſels that were a ſort of van to the reſt, advancing a good way before them in order to reconnoitre, were diſcovered by the centinels of the caſtle. The governor immediately ordered two gallies to ſail out of the port, who after having put out to ſea, turned back upon the flutes, and cut off their retreat. The Saracens not thinking themſelves ſtrong enough to fight them, and not able to get back to their ſquadron, made for the coaſt of Lango, ran their ſhips aground, got on ſhore, fled and hid themſelves in the iſland. The knights knowing that they could not eſcape being taken, loſt no time in purſuing them, but towed off the two flutes, put chriſtian ſoldiers and ſeamen on board them, with two knights that got into the ſame courſe which the Infidels had held before. The other five flutes that came quietly on, ſeeing the two others that preceded them, came up with them without miſtruſting any thing; but they were ſtrangely ſurprized to ſee themſelves attacked: They were ſtill more ſo, when they ſaw the two gallies of the order appear from behind a cape of the iſland, and lay them aboard. The Infidels after a ſmart attack were forced to ſtrike, and were all made ſlaves in the gallies as well as thoſe that had fled to the iſland, where they were ſoon diſcovered and taken priſoners.

THIS little advantage was ſucceeded by an enterprize much more conſiderable, that was executed by one of the veſſels of the order. There went every year from Alexandria a great carack laden with ſilks, ſpices and all ſorts of merchandiſe, which the ſoldan's ſubjects brought from the Indies by the way of the Red ſea, and were carried in this veſſel from Egypt into Africa, and to Tunis, and up as far as Conſtantinople. This ſhip was of ſo extraordinary a bulk, that they ſay the top of the higheſt maſt of the largeſt gallies was not near the height of the prow of this prodigious machine. Six men were ſcarce able to claſp the maſt about. This veſſel had ſeven ſtories, two of which were lower than the ſurface of the water: it was able to carry, beſides its freight, and the merchants and ſeamen neceſſary for the working and ſailing of it, a thouſand ſoldiers for its defence; it was a ſort of floating-caſtle, mounted with above an hundred pieces of cannon: the Saracens called this carack the queen of the ſea: the knights, during the government of Aubuſſon, had attempted ſeveral times to come up with it and attack it, but never could carry their point. The order was more lucky under his ſucceſſor: advice being brought that it was at ſea, the grand maſter ordered the chevalier de Gaſtineau, commander of Limoges, to go on board the admiral galley of the order, and endeavour to meet the carack and engage it, but to make uſe of artifice rather than force in the taking of it, and to be particularly careful neither to burn nor ſink it. The commander, purſuant to his orders, ſet ſail, ſteering his courſe for Candia, and cruiſed a little beyond that iſland to wait the coming up of the prize. The carack ſoon appeared, and diſcovered the chriſtian caper; but the Saracens preſuming on their own force, and the ſuperiority of their fire and artillery, would not change their courſe: ſo far from that, they looked on their enemy with contempt, and thought it a raſhneſs in the Chriſtian to put himſelf

1507.

in their way, as if he had a mind to be taken, and ſurrender himſelf up into his hands.

THE knight however ſtill kept on his courſe, and ſeeing himſelf within cannon ſhot, ſent one of his officers in his long-boat to ſummon the captain of the carack to deliver up his ſhip. The Saracen replied, that the ſhip belonged to the ſoldan his maſter; that he had by his orders commanded her ſeveral years without having met with any enemy in thoſe ſeas daring enough to attack him, and required him to tell his commander that he had a number of brave Muſulmen on board, who would loſe their lives rather than loſe their honour and their liberty. The knight upon receiving this anſwer, and as if he had a mind to make up this affair by way of treaty, ſent his officer back to the Saracen, to repreſent to him that his ſuperiors had given him expreſs orders to attack him whether ſtrong or weak; that he could not help obeying them, and therefore could only offer them, if they would ſurrender, to give them good quarter, but that in caſe they would not, he would either burn or ſink them. By means of theſe parlies, the time which was ſpent in diſpatching the chriſtian officer backwards and forwards, the commander, who had no deſign but to amuſe them, was ſtill advancing forwards, and was come almoſt inſenſibly up cloſe to the carack; ſo that the Saracens having threatened the envoy to throw him into the ſea if he returned any more with ſuch propoſals, he was no ſooner got on board the galley of the order, but the commander let fly a broad-ſide of his cannon loaden with cartridges, which killed the Saracen captain, with moſt of the officers as well as ſoldiers and ſeamen that were upon the deck. The merchants, ſoldiers and ſeamen that were left in the carack, frighted at the terrible havock made by this volley, and ſeeing them preparing to fire a ſecond broad-ſide, ſtruck and offered to yield. The commander obliged the principal of them to come on board his galley, and at the ſame time ſent a party of his own officers and ſeamen on board their veſſel, to take the management of it. 'Twould be impoſſible to relate the immenſe wealth that was found in this prize, beſides vaſt ſums of money and precious ſtones belonging to the merchants.

THE ſoldan ſent ſeveral bales of pepper, ginger, cinnamon, cloves, and a great quantity of rich tapeſtry, camlets, and various ſorts of commodities of great value, for the ranſom of the merchants and his other ſubjects. The veſſels of the order took likewiſe, a few days after, near the coaſt of Cyprus, three ſhips of the Saracens, and ſent the merchandize on board them to be ſold in France, the produce of the ſale being laid out in cannon, arms, and ammunition, which the agents of the order ſent to Rhodes.

THE ſoldan incenſed at all theſe loſſes, reſolved to augment his naval force, and to have always a certain number of gallies in the Mediterranean and Red ſea. That prince ſent five and twenty veſſels of different bulk into the gulph of Ajazzo, to tranſport the timber which he had cauſed to be cut and ready framed there, and deſigned to make uſe of for the building of new veſſels. 1510.

THE grand maſter having certain advice of the arrival of this Egyptian fleet in the gulph, and that this new armament was deſigned againſt a Chriſtian prince, reſolved to oppoſe it. He propoſed the matter to the council. Several of the grand croſſes thought the enterprize dangerous by reaſon of the forces of the ſoldan: but as the order was ſtronger at ſea than that prince, and beſides, the council was perſuaded of the wiſdom and prudence of the grand maſter, his opinion prevailed, and they allowed him to draw out of the treaſury the money neceſſary for this expedition. He gave orders for equipping the great carack, and they fitted out at the ſame time four gallies of the order and eighteen veſſels of ſeveral ſizes. As the king of Portugal's intereſt was chiefly concerned in this war, the grand maſter gave the command of the gallies to Andrew d'Amaral a Portugueſe, of the language of Caſtile, commander of Vera Crux, a brave knight, and well ſkilled in naval affairs, but proud, conceited, and too much prepoſſeſſed in favour of his own valour and capacity.

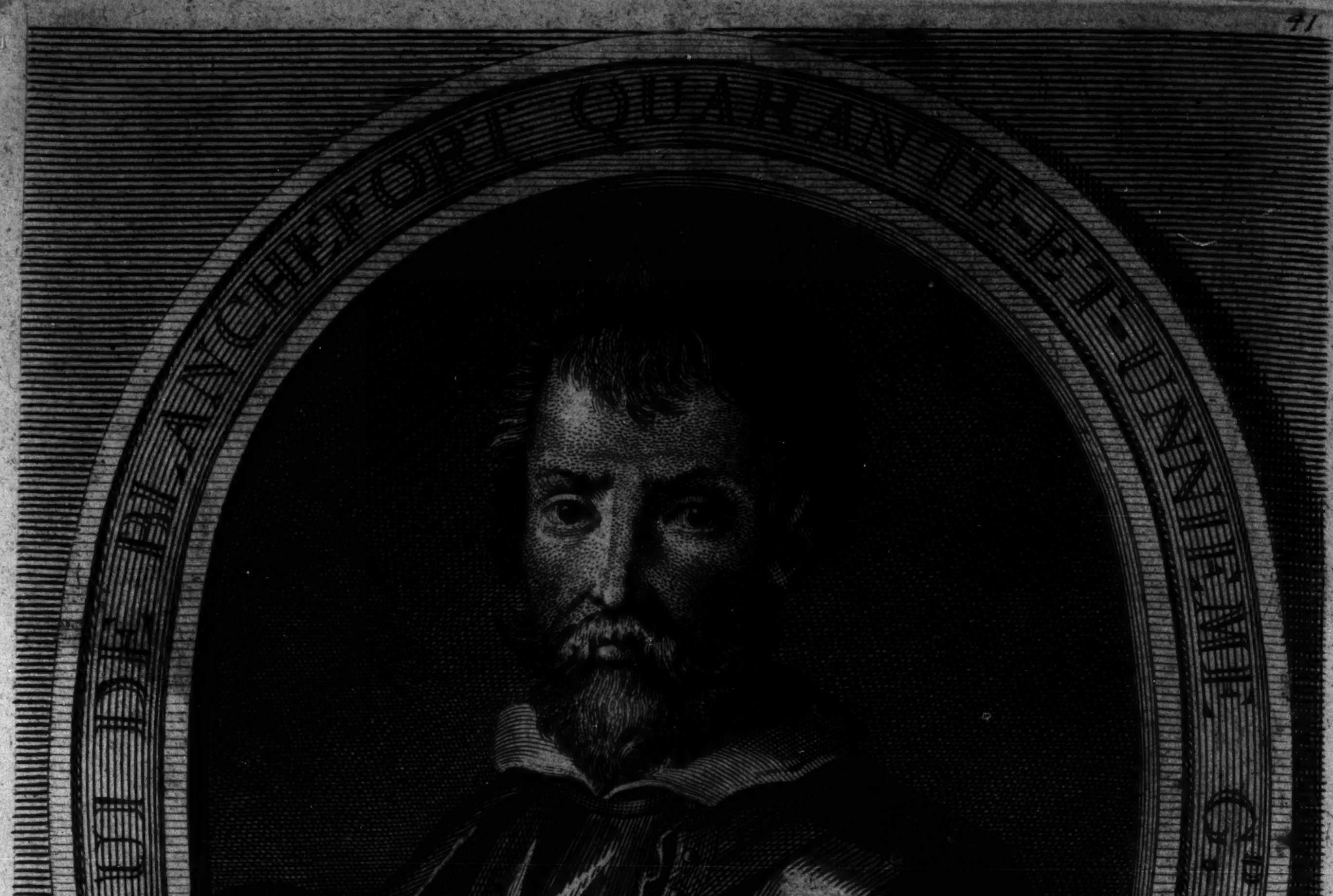
The ſhips were under the command of the chevalier de Villiers de l'Iſle-Adam: the grand maſter choſe him for this employment on account of the eſteem and reputation he had in the order, which he had merited by his valour and wiſe conduct in commanding.

The gallies ſailing out of the port of Rhodes came up to the iſle of Cyprus, and went coaſting up and down the iſland. But the commander de l'Iſle-Adam, to avoid being becalmed, kept out to ſea: and both, according to appointment, came by different ways to cape St. André, which is on the eaſt of the kingdom of Cyprus. When the whole fleet of the order was joined, they held a council of war upon the manner of their attacking the Infidels. The two chieftains, I mean d'Amaral and l'Iſle-Adam, were of different opinions. The Frenchman propoſed to wait and ſurpriſe the ſhips when they ſhould be at ſea with the timber on board; d'Amaral was for going to attack them in the bottom of the gulph, without conſidering that they might be defended by batteries erected on the ſhore; and pretended to make his opinion paſs for a law at the ſame time that he rejected that of l'Iſle-Adam with contempt. The debate grew very hot: the two generals were on the point of fighting; but the Frenchman having more moderation, and fearing that the quarrel might cauſe the enterpriſe to miſcarry, ſacrificed his reſentment to the common good of the order, and ſubmitted to d'Amaral's opinion. The whole fleet then diſcovered itſelf, and entered full ſail into the gulph. The commodore of the Saracens was the ſoldan's nephew: the young prince, who wanted no courage, ſeeing the Rhodian fleet, put what land forces he had on board his ſhip, weighed anchor, advanced to meet the knights and offered them battle. There were in the chriſtian fleet excellent pilots uſed to thoſe ſeas, who by working their ſhips got the wind of the enemy; the Infidels however were not daunted at it, but fought on with the ſame courage. The artillery was played equally well on both ſides, and the generals fought themſelves, and obliged their ſoldiers to fight like men that would not outlive their defeat. The continual fire of the cannon and ſmall arms, the craſh and havock of the ſhipping, the ſhooting down the maſts and ſinking of ſeveral veſſels; all this loſt abundance of men on both ſides, and after an obſtinate engagement for three hours together it was ſcarce diſcernible on what ſide the victory inclined; and in all probability, if they had continued firing and cannonading only at a diſtance, the battle would not have been ſo ſoon ended; but the knights, by order of their generals, endeavoured to board them, and following their example leaped moſt of them ſword in hand into the enemies veſſels. This ſoon changed the face of the combat, and as when they come to grapple a knight had a great advantage over a Saracen ſoldier both in courage and addreſs, the Egyptians loſt ſeveral ſhips. Moſt of the Infidels got into their long-boats, whilſt others threw themſelves into the ſea to ſwim to the ſhore. Such as were lucky enough to get thither fled into the woods and mountains; only their general choſe rather to die honourably fighting, than either abandon his ſhip or ſurrender.

The knights in this engagement took eleven ſhips and four gallies, and ſunk the reſt. They afterwards landed ſome troops that purſued the fugitives and took moſt of them and made them ſlaves; and after ſetting fire to the timber, which the Egyptians had framed, they returned to Rhodes, and came back into the port with the ſhips and gallies they had taken from the enemy, and a great number of priſoners that they had taken in this expedition.

These prizes made the treaſury ample amends for the expences it had been obliged to make for this armament; eſpecially at a time when the knights out of a ſpirit of diſappropriation devoted not only their prizes to the common good of the order, but alſo all the money they could lay by out of the revenues of their ſeveral commandries. We have a remarkable inſtance of this at that time in brother Charles l'Aleman de la Roche-Chinard, of the language of Provence, grand prior of St. Giles, who reſerving only to himſelf out of his income a ſmall ſum for his maintenance, employed as long as he lived the profits of his priory, either in the beautifying of their altars or in the defence and ſervice of the order: and they have particularly obſerved, that during the maſterſhip of the grand maſter d'Aubuſſon, he ſent to Rhodes the ſtatues of the twelve apoſtles, which he had cauſed to be made of gilt plate, and which weighed two hundred marks of ſilver; that he afterwards ſent thither a gold ring repreſenting the Saviour of mankind, the ſtatues of the holy virgin and St. John Baptiſt, both likewiſe of maſſy gold and weighing fourſcore marks, a chalice 1511. and ſeveral rich ornaments for the altar: and this year he made the prioral church a preſent of fifteen pictures which coſt him a thouſand crowns, having each of them a croſs of fine gold faſhioned after the ſame manner as thoſe which were worn by the knights, and weighing thirty marks. In fine, this very knight built at his own expence a noble palace to ſerve as an inn to the knights of the language of Provence, to whom he ſent likewiſe four cannons with their carriages to ſerve for defence of the place. He left himſelf, before he died, no more than ten thouſand crowns, which he depoſited in the bank of St. George at Genoa, for the benefit of the body of the order, with the view, that if Rhodes ſhould chance to be beſieged, the knights might find that ſupply ready for the purchaſing arms and ammunition: all of them diſpoſitions ſo truly chriſtian and religious that we thought our ſelves obliged to tranſmit the remembrance of them to poſterity, and to propoſe them for an example to the commanders, who, under that honourable title, are really no more than the adminiſtrators of the revenues that belong to the body of the order and the common treaſury. 'Twas from the ſame ſpirit that the grand maſter d'Amboiſe employed the revenues annexed to his dignity, either in relieving the poor who looked upon him as their father, or in making fortifications at 1512. Rhodes; but death ſurpriſed him in the midſt of ſuch laudable employments, in the 78th year of his age, the greateſt part of which he had ſpent in the practice of chriſtian virtues: he was a wiſe prince, ſkilful in the arts of government, ſucceſsful in all his enterprizes, and one who enriched his order with the ſpoils of the Infidels, without encreaſing his own wealth, for he died poor at the ſame time that he left not one poor man in his dominions.

We may juſtly apply to the grand maſter d'Aubuſſon what is ſaid of Raimond Dupuy of bleſſed memory, the firſt military grand maſter of the order, viz. that moſt of his pupils proved his ſucceſſors. Indeed upon the


FRERE . GUI DE BLANCHEFORT QUARANTE . ET . UNIEME . G^D MAIT^RE en 1512
Cars Sculp.

GUY DE BLANCHEFORT.

loſs that the order had juſt ſuſtained by the death of the grand maſter Amboiſe, they thought they could not repair it better than by making choice of brother GUY DE BLANCHEFORT grand prior of Auvergne, nephew to the grand maſter d'Aubuſſon, during whoſe maſterſhip he had a conſiderable ſhare in the government of the order, and particularly in the guard and care of prince Zizim.

WHILST meſſengers were gone from Rhodes to France to carry the prior de Blanchefort news of his election, the council of the order received a brief from Julius II. who was then on the throne of St. Peter, inviting the principal knights to repair immediately to the council of Lateran, which that pontiff had called, in order to balance the authority of the aſſembly called at Piſa againſt him, at the requeſt of the emperor Maximilian the firſt, of Lewis XII. king of France and five cardinals. The pope in his brief told the council of the order, that he deſigned to entruſt the knights of St. John with the guard of the council. The deſign of this warlike pope was to get a conſiderable body of thoſe knights into his party and engage them to ſerve in his troops. But the council being well informed that the buſineſs of that council was not ſo much to take care of the intereſts of religion, as to ſupport the ambitious projects of Julius, who had put all Chriſtendom in a flame, did not think proper to intermeddle in affairs that bore ſo little conformity to their inſtitution. They excuſed themſelves on account of the abſence and diſtance of the new grand maſter from making any conſiderable detachment on that account. To ſhew ſome deference however to the orders of the pope, the firſt ſpiritual ſuperior of the order, they ordered the chevalier Fabricio Caretto admiral of the order, who was then reſiding at the court of Rome in quality of their procurator general, to raiſe in Italy and in the pope's territories a number of knights, and to go at the head of them to offer their ſervice to that pontiff.

THE deſire of husbanding the chriſtian princes was not the only motive which made the council take ſuch a prudent reſolution: they had received at Rhodes an account of mighty preparations which the Turks were making in all their ports; and this made the lieutenant of the maſterſhip and all the council reſolve not to let any knight go out of the iſland. They diſpatched at the ſame time the chevalier John de Fournon to the grand maſter to preſs him to come thither as ſoon as poſſible. The commander Caretto, who had acquired ſo much glory at the ſiege of Rhodes, had orders likewiſe ſent him to repair thither with the pope's permiſſion and bring with him two ſhips laden with corn, recruits, and ſupplies of ſeveral ſorts for the garriſons of fort St. Peter and the iſles of the order; and they ſent at the ſame time detachments of knights thither to provide for the defence and preſervation of thoſe places.

THE news of the Turks armament ſpreading it ſelf over all Europe made the grand maſter hurry away, and though he found himſelf dangerouſly ill, nothing could ſtop him. He embarked at Villa Franca near Nice, but the ſea made his illneſs much worſe. The knights that attended him ſeeing themſelves off of Trapani a town of Sicily, would fain have perſuaded him to put in there and be carried aſhore: but the grand maſter, who had more regard to the intereſts of his order than to his own life, fearing that if he ſhould die in that place, the pope would hear of his death before his ſucceſſor was elected, and take upon him to diſpoſe of the grand maſterſhip, ordered that they ſhould keep on their courſe for Rhodes. After ſome days ſail, as they were off of the iſle of Zante, he felt the approaches of death. He faced it with the ſame intrepidity as

Guy de Blanchefort.

1513. Nov. 24.

Fabricio Caretto.

he had ſo often ſhewed in the many engagements he had been in; and after diſcharging all the duties of a Chriſtian and a true religious, he devoted his laſt moments to the preſervation of the ſovereignty and temporal independance of the order. To prevent any attempt from the court of Rome againſt the freedom of election, he ordered the knights that attended him, as ſoon as the breath was out of his body, and before the news of death could reach Italy, to diſpatch a caravel, well provided with excellent towers, to carry the news of his death to Rhodes with all poſſible expedition. His laſt orders were punctually executed; the caravel arrived at Rhodes December 13. The day following the chapter met and choſe admiral Caretto for grand maſter, a dignity that had been foretold him by the grand maſter d'Aubuſſon, as has been already mentioned in the ſeventh book of this hiſtory, and which he deſerved not only from a ſeries of gallant actions, but alſo by the ſeveral negotiations that he had carried on at the courts of chriſtian princes with great wiſdom and dexterity.

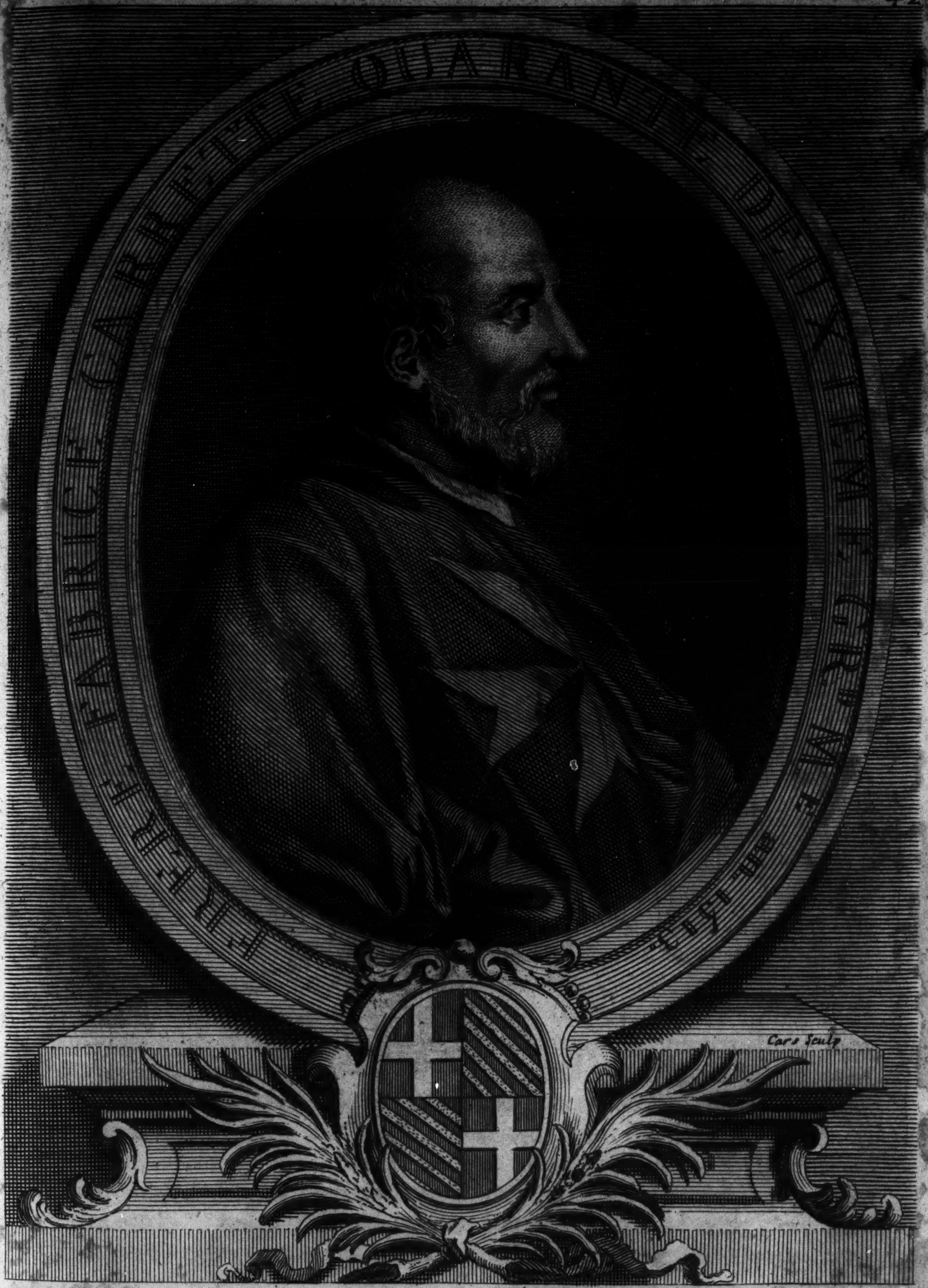
As ſoon as he had taken poſſeſſion of this eminent poſt, he called a general chapter. As they expected they were going to be beſieged, moſt of the regulations made in it related either to warlike ſtores, or the ſubſiſtence of the knights that were neceſſary for the defence of Rhodes. The grand maſter undertook to provide for every thing, and engaged to maintain five hundred and fifty knights that actually reſided in the convent for the ſum of forty thouſand crowns which was to be paid him annually out of the treaſury. They aſſigned him likewiſe a farther ſum of twenty three thouſand crowns for the extraordinary charges of the artillery and the maintenance of ſultan Amurath, Zizim's ſon, who had turned Chriſtian, and had the caſtle of Feracle in the iſle of Rhodes given him by the order for his reſidence, where he led a very exemplary life. The grand maſter, by means of a rich merchant of Lions, Laurenſin by name, got a large train of artillery from France, and ſent thither at the ſame time to reſide in quality of embaſſador of the order, brother Philip de Villiers de l'Iſle-Adam, whom we have already mentioned, hoſpitaller and grand prior of France, in which kingdom he likewiſe acted as viſitor and lieutenant to the grand maſter.

The war which they were apprehenſive of at Rhodes from the Turks, was ſuſpended by ſome domeſtick diſſentions that broke out at the port in the Ottoman houſe. Bajazet was ſtill upon the throne, a gouty and infirm prince, that delighted only in eating and drinking, or in ſearching after ſome of the ſecrets of nature, a lazy and voluptuous philoſopher but a very weak prince.

This prince had three ſons, Achomat, Corcut and Selim: the firſt either from a political view, or from his natural inclination, paſſed his life in luxury and a ſhameful indolence. Corcut who has been already mentioned, and whom the janizaries, after the death of Mahomet II. his grandfather had ſeated on the throne, in order to ſecure the poſſeſſion of it to his father, affected a great air of devotion, and was never ſeen without the Alcoran in his hand. Selim, the youngeſt of the three, loved war, and omitted nothing that might gain him a reputation in it. Among three princes of ſuch different characters Bajazet was for declaring Achomat his ſucceſſor; the ſimilitude and conformity of their taſte for pleaſures occaſioned this diſtinguiſhing affection in his favour. Selim being informed of his intentions, employed every artifice in order to traverſe them; he found means to get the janizaries into his intereſt; and thoſe troops being gained

by

42


FRERE FABRICE CARRETTE QUARANTE DEUXIEME GR. ME. en 1513
Caro Sculp

FABRIZIO CARETTO.

by Selim's money, waited only for an opportunity of declaring in his favour.

THE grand ſeignior and the king of Perſia being both too powerful and too near neighbours to live in good underſtanding for any time together declared war againſt each other. The janizaries, a body of troops always terrible to ſuch of their ſovereigns as do not make themſelves dreaded by them, before they marched into the field, demanded openly a prince to command them, and Selim muſt be that prince, in ſpite of Bajazet, who had named them his eldeſt ſon for their general. They carried their inſolence ſtill higher: they required of weak Bajazet, as a ſecurity of their pay, as they ſaid, to deliver up the keys of the treaſury to their new general. The unhappy old man underſtood the meaning of this well enough: he came down from the throne and quitted Conſtantinople to retire to Demotica, a country houſe which he had built by the ſide of the Euxine ſea. But Selim, who was diffident of his inclination for Achomat, got him poiſoned by his phyſician: he afterwards cauſed his two brothers with their wives and children to be ſtrangled. Such were the ſteps by which he mounted to ſovereign power: in other reſpects he was a great captain, always on horſeback, indefatigable, ſober, not given to any pleaſure, nor affected with any thing but glory, which he ſought after all his life-time in the dangers of war.

THIS prince's ambition, his courage, his power, the forces of his empire, all contributed to alarm his neighbours. Iſmael king of Perſia was the firſt that he fell upon. Selim invaded his dominions, paſſed the Euphrates, gave him battle, routed him and took the famous city of Tauris. The Perſian to make head againſt ſo formidable an enemy, endeavoured to form alliances with the princes his neighbours. He ſent an embaſſador to the grand maſter, who in the habit of a merchant, and by the aſſiſtance of a Turk, who was an inhabitant of Tarſus in Cilicia, and had a penſion from the order, got ſafe through Selim's territories and came to Rhodes. He was received in that place with all the regard due to the greatneſs of his maſter and the importance of the affair he was come to negotiate. This miniſter treated with the council and concluded a league againſt the common enemy. Campſon Gauri ſoldan of Egypt, who was as much afraid of Selim as the reſt, entered likewiſe into the treaty. The grand ſeignior having advice of theſe various negotiations, ſent embaſſadors to Cairo to diſengage the ſoldan from the league; but not ſucceeding in his deſign he turned his arms againſt that prince, and in leſs than four years time reduced Syria, Paleſtine, the maritime places of the Red Sea, a great part of Arabia and all Egypt: and having entirely deſtroyed the empire of the Mamelukes, he left the government of Egypt to Cairbeg, and that of Syria to Gazelles, two lords who had both been principal officers among the Mamelukes, but who, in breach of the fidelity which they owed to their ſovereigns, had deſerted them and gone over to the Turks. Selim returned to Conſtantinople covered with glory after theſe great exploits; and immediately ſet to work in fitting out two hundred gallies, which he deſigned for the conqueſt of the iſle of Rhodes.

THE precaution ſo neceſſary for a conqueror of being informed of the fortifications of a place which he intends to beſiege, made him ſend a Jewiſh phyſician to Rhodes as a ſpy. This traytor, in order to be the leſs ſuſpected, got himſelf baptized: his skill, and the want they were in of ſuch a man of his character, ſoon introduced him into the principal houſes of the city: and when he had diſcovered the weak places of the fortifications, he gave an exact account of them to the miniſters of the port.

Fabricio Caretto.

1520.

Whilſt they were continually at work in the arſenals upon the preparations neceſſary for this enterpriſe Selim fell ill of the ſtone, others ſay of a cancer in the reins, of which he died at the age of forty years, after having deſtroyed the empire of the Mamelukes, ſubdued Syria and Paleſtine, triumphed over all the forces of Perſia, taken the maritime towns of the Red Sea, and a great part of Arabia, and reduced all Egypt into one province only of his empire: all which conqueſts he finiſhed in a reign of leſs than eight years.

Solyman II. his only ſon ſucceeded him in the government of this vaſt empire, who took poſſeſſion of it almoſt at the ſame time that Charles V. was elected emperor of Germany. Solyman was ſcarce twenty years old. Gazelles governor of Syria had been faithful to his father whom he ſtood in fear of, and whoſe power kept him in awe: but thinking himſelf freed from his engagements by the death of that prince, as ſoon as he heard the news of it, he thought of raiſing up the empire of the Mamelukes again, and was not without hopes of getting into the throne himſelf. He wanted neither courage nor capacity for the carrying on of ſo mighty a deſign, but as he had not forces ſufficient ſingly to oppoſe the formidable power of the Turks, he ſecretly diſpatched one of his confidents to Cair-beg governor of Egypt, in order to endeavour to engage him in his intended revolt. His agent repreſented to him in his behalf, that under the reign of a young prince, whom he looked upon as a child, nothing could be more eaſy and more glorious for both of them, than to unite their forces and employ them to deliver their nation from the tyranny of the Turks.

But Cair-beg preferred a fortune already made to his hands, which was as great as a private man could enjoy, to the uncertain ſucceſs of an enterpriſe of ſo delicate a nature, which, though it ſhould chance to ſucceed, Gazelles nevertheleſs would probably reap all the benefit of it. To clear himſelf therefore of all manner of ſuſpicion of infidelity, he put the envoy of Gazelles to death, diſpatching at the ſame time an expreſs to the port in order to acquaint the grand ſeignior and his miniſters with the dangerous projects of the governor of Syria.

Solyman ſent immediately a ſtrong army againſt him, under the command of Ferhat baſha, one of the ableſt generals of the emperor his father. Gazelles not ſeeing his agent return, began to be apprehenſive that he was betrayed by the governor of Egypt. As he was engaged too far to retreat, and the bare debating whether one ſhall continue faithful to ones ſovereign, is a breach of faith that merits chaſtiſement, he ſummoned about him all the ſurviving Mamelukes that were diſperſed up and down in different places. All Syria by his orders took up arms, and he ſent embaſſadors at the ſame time to Rhodes to deſire a train of artillery of the grand maſter which he wanted, in order to make head againſt their common enemy.

The grand maſter, overjoyed to ſee war breaking out again between the Infidels, immediately ſent him cannon, powder and other ammunition, with ſeveral excellent officers of artillery. Gazelles employed them to his advantage; and though he was every moment expecting the Turkiſh army, which was on its march, he yet beſieged Tripoli, Baruth, and ſeveral other places of Phœnicia, which he took. His conqueſts were interrupted by the arrival of Ferhat baſha. Though the Egyptian had fewer troops, he ſaw plainly that he had no reſource but in a victory: he marched ſtraight againſt the Turks: the two armies ſoon came to an engagement; and the victory was diſputed a long time. Gazelles at the head of his Mamelukes ſuſtained all the efforts of the Turkiſh army for ſix hours together:

he rallied his troops ſeveral times, charged always at their head, and killed ſeveral officers of the janizaries with his own hand: in fine, after loſing the beſt part of his men, oppreſſed with numbers, and ſurrounded on all ſides, he choſe to die fighting rather than take quarter. He fell, covered over with wounds, upon an heap of Mamelukes that had met with the ſame fate, and his death put an end to the war and utterly deſtroyed that nation, or rather that body of ſoldiers which had diſpoſed of the throne of Egypt at their pleaſure, for upwards of two hundred years.

The grand ſeignior was not long before he was informed of the leagues which the knights of Rhodes had entered into againſt ſultan Selim his father. His miniſters repreſented to him that thoſe knights by their fleets and armaments were maſters of the ſea; that they had ſeveral times intercepted the convoys that they were ſending to Syria and Egypt; that they kept ſeveral Turkiſh officers in chains whom they had taken priſoners; that corſairs were continually putting to ſea from Rhodes and the other iſles of the order to diſturb the commerce of his ſubjects; and to raiſe his reſentment to the height, they put him in mind of the ſuccours which they ſent Gazelles to ſupport him in his rebellion. Solyman reſolved to invade that iſland, and was particularly confirmed in that deſign by ſome memorials that ſultan Selim had left, wherein was this obſervation, that to ſecure the frontiers of his empire, it was neceſſary to take the town of Belgrade in Europe, and the iſland of Rhodes in Aſia.

But Solyman, before he engaged in two ſuch difficult enterprizes, ſeeing himſelf in poſſeſſion of ſuch a vaſt empire, was deſirous of eſtabliſhing his authority upon certain principles and maxims of a very different nature from thoſe which his predeceſſors had followed. Before Solyman's reign, force alone, with reſpect to the neighbouring princes, determined both of peace and war, and was the ſovereign rule of the enterprizes of his predeceſſors, at the ſame time that a barbarous deſpotick power was the only law that prevailed within the kingdom. The baſhas plundered the people with impunity; and the prince in his turn ſqueezed theſe ſponges, and frequently put the greateſt of them to death; under ſuch a government no rich man could be innocent. Solyman's conduct was entirely oppoſite: he never made war without declaring it, and he never declared it without having a plauſible pretence for doing ſo, which after all politick princes are ſeldom wanting in. His ſubjects under his reign ſaw perhaps for the firſt time juſtice and equity reign together. This prince, the greateſt monarch that ever ſate upon the Turkiſh throne, iſſued out a proclamation throughout all his dominions, the purport of which was, that all ſuch as had been unjuſtly deprived of their eſtates by his father and his anceſtors, by applying themſelves only to him, would have juſtice done them. The unjuſt poſſeſſors of thoſe eſtates which were appointed for the keeping up of temples and moſques were ſeverely puniſhed: he reſtored the authority of the courts of judicature which had been laugh'd at in the precedent reigns. Several cadis or judges, that had prevaricated in their poſts, were condemned to death: and as to the grandees and baſhas, he never put any of them to death for the ſake of their riches, but only puniſhed ſuch as grew ſo by extortions and abuſing their power; in a word, he declared war againſt vice, injuſtice and violence, before he carried his arms againſt the enemies of his law.

Such was Solyman when he reſolved to make war upon the Chriſtians. This prince being told that Amurath II. and Mahomet II. had miſcarried at the ſieges of Belgrade and Rhodes, fancied that ſuch an enterpriſe would be an honour to his firſt attempt in war. He reſolved to begin with the ſiege of Belgrade, but to hinder the Hungarians from making timely preparations for their defence, his miniſters, by his orders, gave out that his deſigns were directly levelled againſt the iſle of Rhodes.

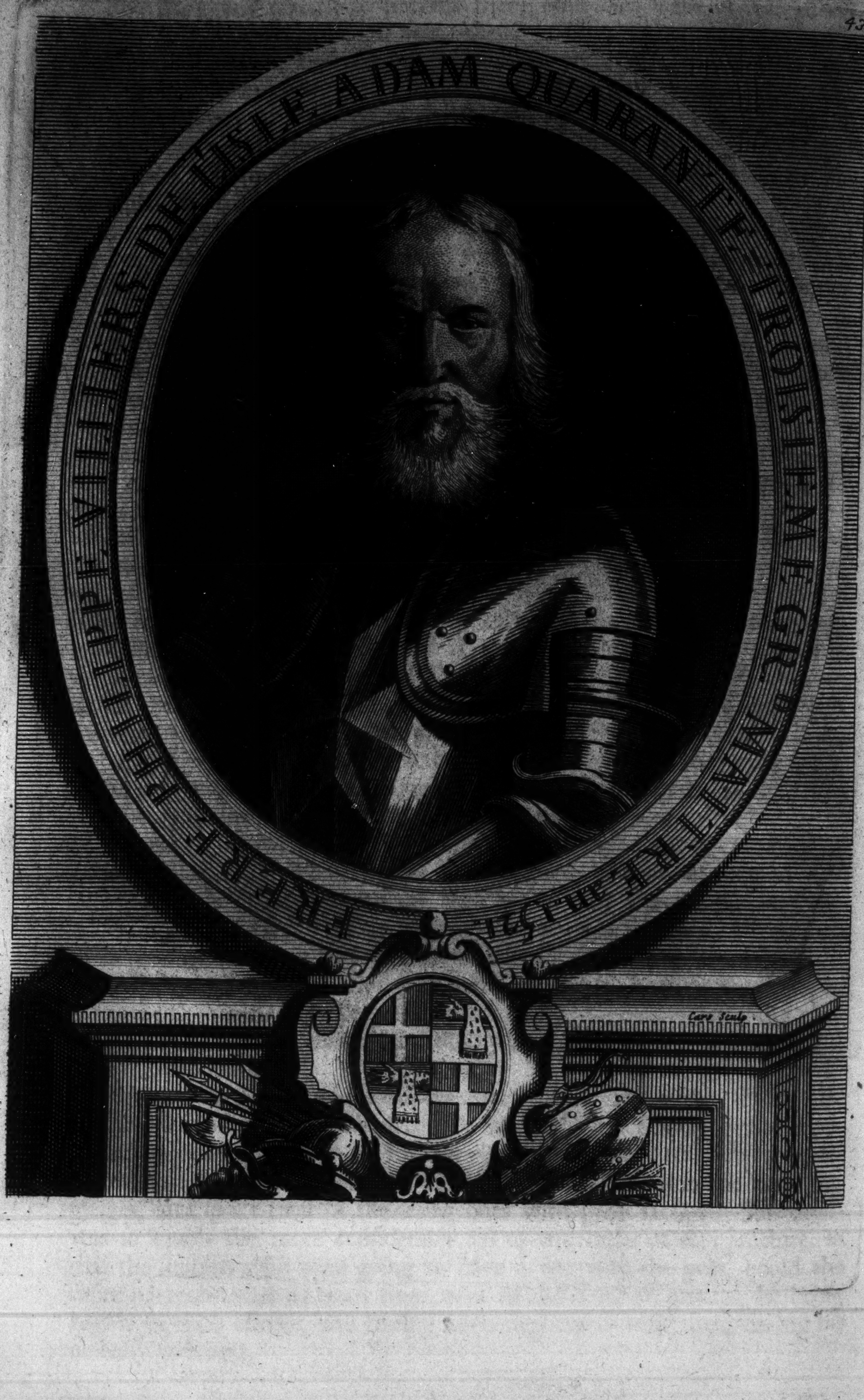
BUT the grand maſter, to prevent them, built new walls in ſuch places of the city as ſeemed moſt to want them. They augmented the fortifications of the place, and filled the magazines with corn, ammunition and proviſions. The pope, at the requeſt of this vigilant grand maſter, ſent three galleons well provided to the ſuccour of the order; and Francis I. king of France furniſhed at the ſame time nine gallies, four brigantines and four barks well equipped: this little fleet arrived ſafe at Rhodes under the command of the baron de St. Blancard.

BUT Solyman had no ſooner made his real deſigns publick by the ſiege of Belgrade, but thoſe foreign ſhips returned homewards. Hungary was at that time under a young prince who was ſtill a minor, whoſe name was Lewis, and ſon of Ladiſlaus; or rather, there were as many princes as great men in the kingdom, who tore it to pieces by their domeſtick diſſenſions ariſing from a reciprocal emulation, and were greater enemies to one another than to the very Infidels. The grand ſeignior, the better to conceal his deſigns, had ſent an embaſſador to the young king, to notify to him his acceſſion to the empire; but inſtead of receiving that miniſter with the reſpect due to his character, the lords of the council had treated him as a ſpy, and hindered him from returning to his maſter.

THIS was the occaſion of the war: Solyman reſenting this ſhameful violation of the law of nations, after having demanded ſatisfaction for it, but to no purpoſe, ſent Pyrrhus baſha at the head of a great body of horſe to inveſt the town of Belgrade, antiently the capital of the country called Raſcia. This place, which was built on the edge of an hill at the confluence of the Save and Danube, was, beſides the fortification which nature had beſtowed upon it, ſurrounded with a double wall, flanked at proper diſtances with great towers well provided with artillery: and on an eminence which commanded the town, there was a caſtle called antiently Taurunum. It was ſtrengthened with all the fortifications that art could invent, and was then looked upon as impregnable.

SOLYMAN followed the baſha cloſe, and ſoon appeared at the head of a formidable army. The trenches were opened, batteries of cannon were raiſed, and the Turks carried on their works with the utmoſt diligence. All Europe fixed their eyes on the ſiege of a place which they conſidered as one of the bulwarks of Chriſtendom. The knights of Rhodes eſpecially intereſted themſelves in it, and the rather, becauſe they judged if the Turk ſhould carry Belgrade without any oppoſition from the chriſtian princes, that ſucceſs would probably determine him to undertake the ſiege of Rhodes next.

WHILST they were under this uneaſineſs, the grand maſter fell ill, and was carried off pretty ſuddenly. He was a liberal prince, was magnificent, charitable, a lover of his people, and deſirous to be beloved by them; and what was very rare in that age, he was learned in the dead languages, and ſpoke moſt of the living ones with great facility. His death was ſo much the more conſiderable loſs to the order at this juncture, in that the knights who were going to have a war with the port, could the eaſier have obtained ſuccours from moſt of the chriſtian princes, he being highly in their eſteem, and having often negotiated with them during his embaſſy at Rome.


43.
FRERE PHILIPPE VILLIERS DE LISLE ADAM QUARANTE-TROISIEME GR.D MAITRE, en 1521
Caro Sculp.

The order not being able to continue without an head, as ſoon as his funeral was ſolemnized, they aſſembled to chuſe him a ſucceſſor. Brother Andrew d'Amaral, chancellor of the order, and grand prior of Caſtile, whom we have already mentioned on occaſion of his diſpute with the chevalier de l'Iſle-Adam, demanded that eminent dignity with as much arrogance and preſumption as if he thought we ſhould thereby do a favour to the order by condeſcending to accept it. He had not indeed been thought unworthy of it, had he not been the firſt to do himſelf that juſtice: His preſumption, and the contempt he diſcovered for his rivals, occaſioned all unanimouſly to declare againſt him, ſo that all the votes were divided only between Sir Thomas Docray, grand prior of England, and brother PHILIP DE VILLIERS DE L'ISLE-ADAM, hoſpitaller and grand prior of France. The Engliſhman was diſtinguiſhed by ſublimity of genius, and his great skill in treating with princes, at whoſe courts he had been employed on important embaſſies: And in a juncture when Rhodes was threatened with a ſiege, ſome regard was alſo had to the great riches which that knight poſſeſſed. L'Iſle-Adam for his part had acquired a great conſideration and general eſteem in the order, by his wiſe conduct in all his employments, and by his open and candid behaviour, full of frankneſs and integrity, and which was too natural for ambition and hypocriſy to counterfeit for a long time together.

This lord was then abſent, he had no partiſans in the aſſembly but the remembrance of his ſervices and the knowledge of his virtues. 'Twas owing only to a reputation ſo well eſtabliſhed, that he had a plurality of voices in his favour, ſo that he was declared grand maſter. All the knights applauded the choice which the electors had made, and there was an univerſal joy over all the iſland. D'Amaral alone was mad with vexation, and in the firſt tranſports of his paſſion could not help ſaying to a Spaniſh commander who was his friend, that l'Iſle-Adam ſhould be the laſt grand maſter that reigned at Rhodes.

1521.
Jan. 22.

See the relation of the commander de Bourbon, among the proofs.

Time, inſtead of mollifying the violence of his reſentment, ſerved only to increaſe it. 'Tis ſaid, that his private animoſity againſt the perſon of the grand maſter grew up to a violent hatred againſt the order in general, and that being perpetually reſtleſs and tormented with rage, he took up a reſolution to extirpate the order itſelf, and deſtroy the mother that nurſed him. Full of theſe deadly deſigns, it is thus that Boſio relates he carried them on; he unboſomed himſelf to a Turkiſh ſlave, whom he had taken in war, a man of parts, and one whom he had found very capable of carrying on an intrigue: the ſlave, who ſaw a proſpect of recovering his liberty by this negotiation, readily entered into his meaſures, and under pretence of going into his own country to procure money for his ranſom, went privately to Conſtantinople. He was entruſted with a letter from the chancellor d'Amaral to the grand ſeignior. In his letter he preſſed that prince to beſiege Rhodes, and in order to convince him of the facility with which he might ſucceed in that enterprize, he had annexed an ample memorial to this letter, containing an account of the preſent ſtate of the city, the weakeſt parts of the place, the number of knights and troops provided for its defence, and what proviſions and ammunition it had to ſuſtain a ſiege. He added, that the council had juſt demoliſhed part of the baſtion of Auvergne, in order to rebuild it on a more ſolid foundation, and that if his highneſs would loſe no time in making his army advance, he would find the place all open on that ſide, and in a defenceleſs condition. Solyman was ſtill in Hungary: D'Amaral's ſlave in his abſence delivered his packet to the miniſters, whom he had left at

Conſtantinople, which they ſent by an expreſs to the grand ſeignior. That prince was delighted to find in the perſon of the chancellor a privileged ſpy, who having by his dignity admittance into all the councils, could ſend certain and exact advices. They ſent the ſlave back to him with promiſes of a vaſt recompence if he could contribute to the ſucceſs of his highneſs's deſigns. The chancellor, as Boſio ſays, ſtill full of rage, and infatuated by his paſſion, was pleaſed to ſee a way open to his vengeance, and for fear they ſhould be alarmed at his ſlave's return, he gave out that he was only come back to bring him his ranſom. Such an exceſs however of confidence for a ſlave whom he had ſuffered to go upon his parole, his return, and the great civilities that the chancellor ſhewed him, appeared a little extraordinary; but that lord's authority, and the fear they were under of making a proud haughty man their enemy, who was known to be implacable in his hatred, ſtifled theſe ſuſpicions, or at leaſt prevented their breaking out.

In the mean time the new grand maſter having received an account of his election, prepared to ſet out. As he was well informed that Rhodes was threatened with a ſiege, he ſignified it to all his order by a general ſummons which he ſent into all the ſtates of Chriſtendom. He collected all the reſponſions he could, and laid them out in warlike ſtores; and after taking leave of the king in Burgundy, came to Marſeilles, where he embarked. He went on board the great carrack, and the reſt of his train and equipage, with the ſtores that he was carrying to Rhodes, followed in four felucca's. Unluckily, as he was off of Nice, a fire broke out in the carrack, by the careleſneſs of an officer of his table: the flame ſpread itſelf in a moment into different parts of the ſhip; the ſails and cordage were burnt to aſhes in an inſtant, and flakes of flame and ſmoke made the terror ſtill greater, and likewiſe hindered the ſeamen in the ſervice they were for doing. In this diſorder and confuſion, uſual in ſuch accidents, every body was for throwing themſelves into the ſea to ſwim aſhore, or ſhelter themſelves in the felucca's, which were not far off; but the grand maſter forbad any body to ſtir out of the ſhip on pain of death. A new fear, and their reſpect for his orders, ſerved inſtead of reſolution; the moſt timorous returned to their poſts, and all laboured in concert to extinguiſh the fire, which they at laſt effected: and the carrack was ſaved by the very perſons that would have abandoned it.

Scarce had the grand maſter eſcaped the danger of the fire, when another element, no leſs formidable, threw him into freſh dangers: there aroſe a furious tempeſt; the ſea was all in motion, the winds blew with violence, and raiſed the billows to a dreadful height; the pilot could no longer manage the helm, and, as if heaven had been reſolved, in concert with the ſea, upon the deſtruction of the carrack, the thunder after having roared for a long time together, fell upon the ſhip, broke into the ſtern room, killed nine men, and broke the grand maſter's ſword to pieces without hurting the ſcabbard. The ſeamen did not fail to make diſmal preſages from theſe various accidents, and I cannot ſay whether the knights that were with the grand maſter were altogether free from the like fancies, eſpecially at a time when the Turks threatened the iſle of Rhodes, and that men had a great deal of faith in omens. But the grand maſter, without regarding any of theſe vain prognoſticks, put into the port of Syracuſe, got his ſhips refitted, and was preparing to keep on his voyage, when they brought him advice that Curtogli, a famous corſair, and a favourite of the grand ſeignior, was waiting for him as he paſſed with a ſtrong ſquadron of gallies and ſhips, much ſuperior to his eſcort. The

corſair,

Bozio, t. 2. l. 18. p. 625.

corſair, beſides the hopes of booty, had formed this enterprize with the deſign of revenging the death of two of his brothers, who had been killed in engagements againſt the knights; and deſigned alſo, if he could make a prize of ſome felucca, or take any knight priſoner, to make an exchange for his third brother, who was at that time a ſlave at Rhodes.

THE principal citizens of Syracuſe endeavoured to perſuade the grand maſter to avoid meeting with the corſair, who was formidable in thoſe ſeas both for his forces and valour: but that great man, who never knew what danger meant, went out of the harbour, crowded all the ſail he could make, made Capo Malio, called alſo St. Angelo, where the Infidels waited for him, paſſed it in the night, and arrived ſafe at Rhodes, where he was received with the uſual ceremonies, and with the joy and reſpect due to his dignity and merit. His preſence heightened, as it were, the courage and confidence of the knights: it looked as if he ſeemed to have brought an army in his ſingle perſon: no man dreaded any longer a ſiege, ſeveral even wiſhed it, in order to have frequent opportunities of ſignalizing their valour; and Solyman, who was ſo much dreaded in Hungary, ſcarce raiſed the leaſt apprehenſions at Rhodes.

THAT young prince had juſt made himſelf maſter of Belgrade. The happy ſucceſs of that ſiege made him expect the like againſt the city of Rhodes; and beſides the deſire of acquiring glory by ſuch an important conqueſt, he was alſo induced to it by the continual complaints of his trading ſubjects, who were often taken by the knights; and eſpecially by the remonſtrances of the mufti, who was continually repreſenting to him, that thoſe chriſtian capers diſturbed the pilgrimages to Mecca, and that he was obliged in conſcience to put a ſtop to their cruiſings. Solyman was very zealous for his religion, and well enough diſpoſed to turn his arms that way; but as he was a wiſe prince, and never engaged in any enterprize without communicating it to his council, he laid the matter before them in order to its being debated.

SOME baſha's repreſented to him all the difficulties of it, the fortifications of the place, the valour of the knights as well as of the inhabitants, being moſt of them corſairs; the mighty ſuccours that the grand maſter would infallibly draw from Chriſtendom; that this ſpark might raiſe a great flame, and produce a league and cruſade of all the ſovereigns of Europe; and that his illuſtrious anceſtors and the ſoldans of Egypt, having in different ages attempted this conqueſt, had been always baffled, and loſt abundance of men without being able to carry their point.

MUSTAPHA on the contrary, who had married Solyman's ſiſter, and was a very brave general, gueſſing at the ſultan's ſecret inclination, repreſented to him like a true courtier, that all the valour of the knights could never reſiſt his victorious arms; that he had ſuch a great number of troops who were all ſuch good ſoldiers, that he could cover the whole iſland with his numerous armies; whereas the grand maſter had only an handful of men for his defence; that they had nothing to fear from the chriſtian princes who were actually in war, and ſo incenſed againſt one another, that the emperor Charles V. choſe rather to ſuffer the taking of Belgrade, though the taking of it opened a paſſage into the hereditary dominions of his family, than make peace with the king of France, or draw any detachment from the armies he had in the field againſt that prince, to ſend to the ſuccour of the king of Hungary his ally; that after all it was a ſort of diſhonour to the Ottoman houſe, conſidering the high pink of grandeur to which it was arrived, to ſuffer any longer in the very heart of their empire, a republick of corſairs that roved over the ſeas at pleaſure, diſturbed the commerce of Syria, Paleſtine and Egypt, and were daily fixing a price on the liberty of his ſubjects; that Rhodes and the other iſles of the order ſerved for an aſylum to fugitive ſlaves, malecontents and rebels; and what was moſt to be conſidered, that they could not be ignorant that in times of peace between the ſeveral princes of Chriſtendom, the grand maſters were always taking that opportunity of propoſing the conqueſt of the kingdom of Jeruſalem; that in order to engage them in ſuch an enterprize, which was what they always had moſt at heart, they had offered all the forces of their order, and that ſo long as the knights ſhould be poſſeſſed of the port of Rhodes in the eaſt, a port capable of receiving the chriſtian fleets, there would be always reaſon to fear ſome cruſade from the princes of the weſt.

Solyman preferred this laſt opinion, as being moſt agreeable to that ambition which is inſeparable from ſo vaſt a power: Pyrrhus and the other baſha's, though of a different ſentiment, came over with great ſubmiſſion to that of their ſovereign: a war againſt the knights and the ſiege of Rhodes were therefore reſolved upon. The ſultan named Muſtapha baſha his favourite and brother in law to be general of the land army, Curtogli to be great admiral, and Achmet baſha, an able engineer, to have the direction of the works at the ſiege; and appointed Pyrrhus baſha his old governor, a man in whom he entirely confided, to go along with Muſtapha, as a counſellor to that young general, whoſe capacity and prudence might not perhaps be equal to his courage and valour. The ſultan, after the diſtribution of theſe ſeveral employments, in order to find how the grand maſter ſtood affected, wrote to him by an embaſſador whom he ſent on purpoſe, to congratulate him, as it were, on his promotion to the dignity of grand maſter. He propoſed to him the keeping of peace, and maintaining a good correſpondence together; but he concluded his letter with telling him that he had taken Belgrade, as if he were minded to intimidate him with the fear of meeting with the ſame fate as that unhappy city had undergone. As the ſtile of theſe kind of letters gives a better idea of the character of princes, and the manners of the age they live in, than meer extracts, we have thought the reader would not be diſpleaſed to meet with that of Solyman and the grand maſter's anſwers in this place. Solyman's letter was wrote in Greek, and drawn up almoſt in theſe terms.

Bozio. t. 2. l. 18. p. 627.

"Sultan Solyman, by the grace of God king of kings, ſovereign " of ſovereigns, moſt high emperor of Bizantium and Trebizond, moſt " mighty king of Perſia, Arabia, Syria and Egypt, ſupreme lord of Europe and Aſia, prince of Mecca and Aleppo, poſſeſſor of Jeruſalem, and " lord of the univerſal ſea.

To Philip Villiers de l'Isle-Adam, Grand Master of the isle of Rhodes, greeting.

"I congratulate thee on thy new dignity, and thy arrival in thy " dominions: I wiſh that thou mayeſt reign there happily, and with more " glory than thy predeceſſors. It ſhall be in thy power to have a ſhare " in our good will. Enjoy then our friendſhip, and as our friend, be " not the laſt to congratulate us on the conqueſts we have juſt made in " Hungary, where we have reduced the important fortreſs of Belgrade,

“ after having deſtroyed all that durſt reſiſt us with our dreadful ſword. Adieu. From our camp the ...... and of the hegira the ......

This letter was read in full council, and they were ſurprized that whilſt Solyman was offering, as it were, peace with one hand, he ſhould make an oſtentation of his formidable power with the other, and that his veſſels ſhould inſult thoſe of the order, or ſuch as ſailed under its banner. The grand maſter did not neglect to anſwer that prince, but in ſuch terms as the reader will obſerve that might give him to underſtand that they were equally diſpoſed at Rhodes either to conclude a peace, or continue the war.

F. Philip Villiers de Lisle-Adam, Grand Master of Rhodes,

To Solyman, Sultan of the Turks.

“ I understand very well the meaning of thy letter, which thy embaſſador has brought me: thy propoſals of a peace between us, are as agreeable to me as they will be diſpleaſing to Curtogli. That corſair at my paſſage from France did all he could to ſurprize me, but not ſucceeding in his project, and not caring to go out of theſe ſeas without having done us ſome damage, he entered the river of Lycia, and attempted to carry off two merchant ſhips belonging to our ports. He had likewiſe attacked a bark belonging to ſome Candiots, but the gallies of the order which I ſent out of the port of Rhodes, forced him to let go his hold, and make off as faſt as he could for fear of falling into our power. Adieu. . . . . from Rhodes the . . . . . .

As the Turks were not very ſcrupulous with regard to the law of nations, the grand maſter did not think fit, without a paſs, to ſend his letter by a knight whom they might probably detain. They gave it to a Greek, a private man of the city of Rhodes. Solyman and his miniſters found by the reading this letter, that they had to deal with a prince of a firm and intrepid character, one who was not eaſily terrified. Pyrrhus baſha, an old man, as great a politician as a ſoldier, propoſed in the council that they ſhould write again to the grand maſter in order to make a new overture of peace; that they ſhould tell him that they durſt not preſent his letter to the grand ſeignior by reaſon of the mean character of the bearer; but that if he would ſend one of his principal knights to the port, there was room to hope that his negotiation might end in a ſolid peace. The deſign of this miniſter was to draw one of the firſt of the order to Conſtantinople then to ſeize his perſon, and force him by torture to give them an account of the ſtate of the place, and the forces of the order; which might make one doubt of the intelligence which it is pretended d'Amaral held with the grand ſeignior, notwithſtanding its being poſitively aſſerted by cotemporary hiſtorians: not but Solyman had likewiſe the ſame advices from the Jewiſh phyſician: that perfidious wretch was continually urging him by his letters to haſten his armament; but as traitors, in order to make themſelves better liſtened to, always leſſen the difficulties of an enterprize which they themſelves propoſe, the grand ſeignior and his council, perhaps from the fear of a double treachery, would have been very glad, before they engaged in the ſiege, to know from ſome knight, whether the advices that they received from their ſpies were true, and whether there was no exaggeration in their relations.

The grand ſeignior entered into the views of his miniſter; and in order to endeavour, under the ſpecious pretence of a negotiation, to get ſome knight ſent to Conſtantinople, he ordered them to diſpatch a new expreſs to Rhodes in Pyrrhus's name. That baſha wrote to the grand maſter to aſſure him, that the ſultan was very well diſpoſed to treat of peace in good earneſt, but that out of fear of affronting the majeſty of ſo great a prince, they did not dare to preſent his letter to him, becauſe of the mean character of his agent; but that if he would ſend any lord of his council with another letter, and furniſh him with full powers, he would readily introduce him to the port. He added, that the grand ſeignior being ſurprized that he had no anſwer to his firſt letter, had given a ſecond to the meſſenger, which he did not queſtion but he would anſwer it in a manner ſuitable to the majeſty and formidable power of ſo great an emperor. The expreſs indeed had a letter from Solyman to the grand maſter, wherein that prince, as we ſhall find, in order to oblige him to ſue for peace, makes a great oſtentation of his deſigns and forces.

"We have been aſſured, ſays he to him, that the letter which our
" highneſs wrote to thee, has been delivered into thy hands, and that it
" gave thee more aſtoniſhment than pleaſure. Be aſſured that I ſhall not
" be ſatisfied with the conqueſt of Belgrade, but propoſe to my ſelf an-
" other of as great importance in a little time, of which thou ſhalt ſoon
" have notice; thou and thy knights being ſcarce ever out of my me-
" mory.

As this ſecond letter had more the air of a challenge, or a declaration of war, than of a preliminary of peace, the grand maſter thought himſelf obliged to anſwer it in as lofty terms.

" I am not ſorry, ſays he to him in his anſwer, that thou remembereſt
" me and the knights of my order: thou ſpeakeſt to me of the conqueſt
" thou haſt made in Hungary, and the deſign thou haſt, as thou informeſt
" me, of undertaking another enterpriſe which thou hopeſt will have
" the ſame ſucceſs: but conſider, that of all the projects that are formed
" by man, none are more uncertain than thoſe that depend upon the
" fortune of war. Adieu.

The grand maſter having thought himſelf obliged to anſwer the ſultan's indirect menaces with ſo much reſolution, wrote likewiſe to Pyrrhus, telling him, that if the ſultan his maſter deſired a peace with greater ſincerity than appeared by his letters, he needed only ſend him ſome hoſtages, or elſe a paſs ſealed with the great ſeal of the empire, and that as ſoon as it was come to hand, he would ſend one of the moſt conſiderable knights of the order to Conſtantinople to hear what propoſals they would make him. But a brigantine of the order, commanded by a ſerving brother, being taken by the Turks near Rhodes, that act of hoſtility was taken for a declaration of war.

The grand maſter prepared for it with all the courage and precaution of an old captain, who had paſs'd his whole life in war: he enlarged the ditch and ſunk it deeper; he repaired the fortifications and added ſeveral new ones to the place.

To deprive the Turks of forage, they by his orders cut down the corn, though it was not yet ripe: ſome country houſes as well as churches ſituated without the town were demoliſhed, and the materials carried into the town, for fear the enemy ſhould make uſe of their ruins to raiſe platforms and plant their artillery on them. From another precaution, and in order to be well ſupplied with pioneers, they obliged all the peaſants of the country to retire into the town, and recalled at the ſame time all the adventurers and privateers that were cruiſing againſt the Infidels under the banner of the order, whoſe protection they had, as well as free admittance and full ſecurity upon occaſion in the port of Rhodes.

BUT it was neceſſary to provide for the ſubſiſtence of theſe people as well as for that of the knights, the citizens, and the garriſon. This was the firſt care of the grand maſter: he appointed three commiſſioners for that purpoſe, and to give them the greater credit in the execution of their office, he choſe them out of the grand croſſes. The firſt was Gabriel de Pommerols, great commander and lieutenant general to the grand maſter; John Buck Turcopilier of the language of England was the ſecond, and chancellor d'Amaral was named for the third: theſe three noblemen viſited all the magazines carefully; and though they found moſt of them full, yet the grand maſter, from an opinion that what on ſuch occaſions is called ſufficient, does not always prove ſo, propoſed in the council to ſend immediately to Naples, Sicily and Candia for a greater quantity of wheat, wine, powder and arms; and to endeavour likewiſe to get five hundred archers and bow-men from Candia, the Candiots in all ages excelling even the moſt warlike nations in the managing of thoſe inſtruments. The chancellor, who as they pretend had ſold his religion to the Infidels, in order to prevent the effects of the grand maſter's precautions, repreſented, that by news juſt arrived from the chriſtian iſles of the Archipelago, they were informed that the Turkiſh armament was not ſo much deſigned againſt the iſles of the order as againſt that of Cyprus, and perhaps Italy it ſelf; that for near forty years in which he had been in the order, he had frequently obſerved that the Turks had occaſioned it more expence by the jealouſy that their armaments gave them, than if they had actually attacked Rhodes; that indeed the care and precautions that the grand maſter took could never be ſufficiently applauded, but they might defer the execution of them for ſome time longer, for fear of draining the treaſury of the order in making preparations to guard againſt a ſtorm that would probably fall on ſome other place.

THE grand maſter, who was ignorant of the motives of this perfidious advice, imputed it only to an injudicious ſpirit of parſimony; but he declared that he had letters from a faithful ſpy that he could depend on, whom he kept at Conſtantinople, and who aſſured him that the grand ſeignior's armament was deſigned only for the ſiege of Rhodes; that he had given orders to let no ſhip go out of his ports that was bound towards Rhodes; that they were labouring hard in preparing a train of large artillery which is never uſed but in ſieges; that the ſultan had cauſed a great quantity of tools to be made proper for pioneering, and that moſt of the troops were filing towards Lycia, where they were to embark in order to be tranſported into the iſle of Rhodes. The grand maſter added, that in an affair of ſuch importance, it was dangerous to give way to a too timorous policy, and that it was much better to hazard ſome expence than ſee the iſland covered with enemies before they had provided for its defence.

The grand maſter's advice prevailed: they got wheat from Naples and Sicily, ſo that there was no want of any thing, during the whole courſe of the ſiege, but powder, which happened by the treachery of the chancellor, who made a falſe report of the quantity in the magazines. They had alſo like to have wanted wine through the ſame perfidiouſneſs, the chancellor having under a pretence of chriſtineſs rejected the propoſals of three merchants of Rhodes that offered to ſupply the city with it at a reaſonable price. But the grand maſter, whoſe views extended on all ſides, ſent a ſerving brother into Candia, Anthony Boſio by name, uncle to the author of the annals of the order, with orders to provide great ſtore of wine, and to procure leave alſo from the governor of the iſland to levy five hundred foot. Boſio arriving in Candia had no difficulty in getting the wine, which he ſhipped off in fifteen brigantines; he was even cunning enough to engage a young Venetian gentleman whoſe name was Bonaldi, and who had at that time in the port of Rhodes a ſhip freighted with wine and bound for Conſtantinople, to alter his courſe and carry it to Rhodes.

But the ſerving brother did not find it as eaſy a matter to levy ſoldiers. The governor not only denied him leave, but as if he dreaded Solyman's reſentment, forbid, by ſound of trumpet, all perſons whatſoever, under pain of corporal puniſhment, to liſt themſelves with the grand maſter's agent or quit the iſland. Notwithſtanding which the dextrous Rhodian made a ſhift to get his recruit, and above five hundred men diſguiſed like merchants and ſeamen got on board the brigantines either unknown to the governor, or without his being willing to take notice of it. This cunning negotiator did another piece of ſervice to the order before he ſet ſail. There was at that time in the iſle of Candia an excellent engineer, Gabriel Martinengo by name, a gentleman of Breſcia, a ſubject of the republick, and of an antient and illuſtrious family: the ſenate had given him a penſion of twelve hundred crowns to ſuperintend over all the fortifications of that iſland. Boſio, who foreſaw how uſeful a man of his abilities would be in a place that was beſieged, propoſed to him to go to Rhodes, and to ſhare with the knights in the glory which they hoped to acquire in the defence of it. Martinengo, a man of true valour, and who was both a brave ſoldier and a great engineer, offered cheerfully to accept his invitation, provided he could procure a diſcharge from the governor.

Bosio parted for Rhodes with his ſoldiers and proviſions of wine: he arrived ſafe in that place, when having given the grand maſter an account of his voyage, he diſcourſed with him about the negotiation he had entered into with Martinengo. The grand maſter immediately ſaw the advantage that a man of his abilities would be to them in the preſent juncture: he ſent Boſio immediately back to Candia with a letter to the governor, wherein he entreated him in the moſt preſſing terms to give that officer leave to come and defend a place which ſerved for a bulwark to the very iſlands of the republick. But the governor flatly refuſed to grant it him, and went ſo far as to ſend for Martinengo and gave him expreſs orders not to ſtir out of the iſland. But that officer not troubling himſelf about the conſequences, put on a diſguiſe, and in concert with Boſio came to the ſea ſide, and got on board a felucca that waited for him in a by-creek of the iſle.

The governor having notice that the engineer had diſappeared, cauſed a ſtrict ſearch to be made after him in the principal houſes. He ſent to his own, where he confiſcated all his effects, and not queſtioning but he was embarked in ſome paſſage ſhip, he ſent two gallies to purſue him with orders to bring him back dead or alive. Martinengo and Boſio ſeeing themſelves purſued, took down the maſt of the felucca, drew their oars into their veſſel, brought it cloſe under a rock of the iſland, covering it with ſails made of whitiſh linen, almoſt of the ſame colour as the rock that the felucca lay under. By this artifice, and perhaps by the ſecret orders of the governor, they eſcaped the gallies, which returning back into the port, they ſet ſail, paſſed in the night time through ſome Turkiſh veſſels, which by means of Boſio's ſpeaking the Greek language, took the brigantine to belong to their own ſquadron, and arrived ſafe at Rhodes. Martinengo was mighty well received by the grand maſter who knew his birth and his talents. The principal commanders following his example, ſhewed him the utmoſt reſpect: every body was ſtriving to ſhew him how ſenſible they were of his merit. Martinengo alſo was delighted to ſee himſelf eſteemed by that noble body of knights, the beſt judges of valour, and which was compoſed of the moſt illuſtrious perſons in all the ſtates of Chriſtendom. From theſe ſentiments, that ſavoured perhaps too much of human nature, he paſſed to thoſe of a particular veneration, when he ſaw theſe knights and warriors preparing themſelves like Chriſtians and true religious for the defence of religion. Under a ſoldier's habit and with a military equipage, he admired their contempt of the world, their lively faith and ſincere diſengagement from the things of this life: he was particularly edified to ſee moſt of them preparing themſelves for a bloody ſiege by a frequent receiving of the ſacraments.

THESE reflections gave riſe to his vocation: he ſaw himſelf expoſed to the ſame dangers, without the ſame holy preparation: God touched his heart; he ran to the grand maſter's palace, threw himſelf at his feet, and inflamed with zeal to ſacrifice his life for the defence of the faith, entreated that prince to honour him with his croſs: the grand maſter took him up and embraced him tenderly, aſſuring him that he would go immediately and propoſe his requeſt to the council, and acquaint them with his pious diſpoſitions. The votes were unanimous in his favour: the whole order was delighted to aſſociate ſo excellent a man in it; the grand maſter gave him the habit, and adminiſtred the vows to him in a full aſſembly; and to acknowledge the generoſity wherewith he had abandoned his patrimony and the great penſions he had from the republick of Venice, the order aſſigned him a penſion of twelve hundred crowns till ſuch time as he might have ſome commandry or priory of the like value given him. As a farther favour to the new knight, the grand maſter made him the next day a grand croſs, and gave him at the ſame time the general inſpection over all the fortifications; and the grand marſhal, who is ſtanding general of all the troops of the order, divided as it were his authority with him: he admitted him, out of the high regard he had to his great capacity, into the command and authority which his poſt gave him, over all the forces in the iſland.

'TWAS by the advice and directions of Martinengo that they repaired the walls and towers; he cauſed them to raiſe the ramparts higher; they built ravelins before the gates of the city; made caſemates in the flanks of the baſtions, and in the counterſcarp of the ditch mines filled with powder, to which they might ſet fire by the help of a train laid under ground: within the place he cauſed them to build new forts, cuts, ditches, intrenchments, barricades, and all kinds of neceſſary defences that a perſon of his capacity, and who foreſaw every thing that might happen, could oppoſe againſt the attacks of the beſiegers.

WHILST the order was receiving ſuch advantages from his ſkill and his great talents, particularly at a time when they were going to be beſieg'd, there happened a kind of deſertion among the knights of the language of Italy. The principal of that nation complained to the grand maſter and the council, that pope Adrian VI. who had juſt ſucceeded Leo X. diſpoſed in an abſolute manner, and contrary to their rights, of all the commandries of Italy; and thereupon asked leave to go to Rome to complain of it. The grand maſter did not think fit in the preſent juncture to grant them the leave that they deſired: his refuſal exaſperated them; and d'Amaral, who loſt no opportunity of weakening the order, inſinuated to them, that they themſelves ought to take a permiſſion which he denied them; that l'Iſle Adam, who was a Frenchman by birth, did not love the language of Italy; that in order to keep them low, he was not perhaps concerned at the pope's taking from them the commandries annexed to their language; that the grand maſter ſpread and encouraged the reports of an approaching ſiege, with the view only of having a pretence to diſpoſe the more freely of the funds that were in the treaſury of the order; and that after all it would be a diſhonour to them, if after ſhedding their blood ſo often in the defence of the order, they ſhould by an odious diſtinction be the only perſons deprived of the recompence ſo juſtly due to their ſervices.

THE Italian knights, ſeduced by this perfidious advice, left Rhodes without leave, and retired into the iſle of Candia. The grand maſter, juſtly provoked at ſo ſcandalous a diſobedience, ordered them to be proſecuted as rebels and deſerters; and the council deprived them of the habit by an expreſs ſentence to this purpoſe. However juſt this ſentence might be, the order nevertheleſs loſt in them a conſiderable number of valiant knights; ſome of their friends, better affected than the chancellor, went over to Candia with the grand maſter's private conſent; and after having dextrouſly entered into their complaints and reſentments, they repreſented to them, that there was no longer any doubt to be made of the ſiege of Rhodes; that they would ſee the iſland immediately covered over with the Turks, and that though the motive of their journey to Rome was never ſo juſt, they yet could not prevent their enemies ſpreading a report that they had made it at ſuch a juncture, with a view only of getting out of the way of thoſe dangers to which their brethren were going to be expoſed.

THE certainty of the ſiege of Rhodes, and the fear they were under of being ſuſpected to have withdrawn themſelves from ſo cowardly a motive, prevailed over their reſentment: they returned to Rhodes to throw themſelves at the grand maſter's feet; and that they might obtain pardon for their fault, they proteſted they would waſh it out with their blood, and with that of the Infidels. The grand maſter received them like a tender father; and after having given them a wiſe reproof for their diſobedience, the generous old man embraced them with great tenderneſs, gave them the habit again, and promiſed them, that as ſoon as they ſhould be free from the war with which they were threatened, the whole order ſhould intereſt itſelf in their affair; that he would make it his own, and that as their complaints were juſt and reaſonable, he was in hopes, that the ſeveral princes of Chriſtendom would not refuſe him their good offices with the pope.

THIS ſtorm being happily calmed, the grand maſter immediately diſpatched knights to all the courts of Europe, who were to ſolicite the pope and the other princes of Chriſtendom to ſend him ſpeedy ſuccours:

but the event ſhewed that the order could depend on nothing but its own ſtrength. Moſt of the princes engaged in war with one another, and minding only their private intereſts, neglected thoſe of religion; and the pope himſelf, though a virtuous pontiff, yet as he owed his dignity to the credit and recommendation of the emperor Charles V. whoſe preceptor he had been, he durſt not diſpoſe of the troops and money of the holy ſee without his privity and conſent.

Brother James de Bourbon, commander of Oiſemont and natural ſon to Lewis de Bourbon, elected biſhop of Liege, a prince of the houſe of France, tells us in his relation of the ſiege of Rhodes, that upon the requeſt made in the grand maſter's name by the chevalier d'Anſoyville to the king of France, this religious prince, who had a great affection for the order, gave him a power to fit out all the veſſels that he ſhould find in the ports of Provence and carry them to Rhodes. But the commanders in that proivnce fearing to be attacked by the emperor, delayed executing his orders: ſo that he was forced to go back to court to ſolicite for new ones that might be more particular: and theſe voyages took up ſo much time that winter came on, and the proper ſeaſon for putting to ſea was over.

'Twas probably from the ſame misfortune that a ſtrong carrack, which the chevalier Hyſerant of the language of Auvergne had fitted out at Genoa, and freighted with ammunition and proviſions, ran aground near Monega: though they ſuſpected at that time, that the winds and the ſea had not ſo much contributed to that accident as the policy of the Genoeſe, who were afraid of incurring the reſentment of the Turks. Nor is it leſs difficult to diſcover the motive of the inactivity of Fabricio Pignatelli prior of Barletta, of Charles Queſvalle, of Lully de St. Stephen, and John Baptiſt Caraffa bailiff of Naples, who having, by the grand maſter's directions, purchaſed with the order's money a great quantity of ammunition and proviſions, never ſent any of it to the ſuccour of Rhodes.

The grand maſter being in no certainty of theſe remote ſuccours, placed all his confidence in the protection of heaven and in the valour of his knights; like a man of war and a great captain, he neglected no precaution neceſſary to prevent being ſurprized by the Infidels. One of the firſt of his many cares, ſo worthy of his zeal and courage, was a general review of all the knights and regular troops; which amounted in all to about ſix hundred knights and four thouſand five hundred ſoldiers; and with this handful of men he undertook to defend the place againſt the inundations of thoſe formidable armies that Solyman brought into the field in all his enterprizes. The townſmen indeed of Rhodes took up arms, and ſome companies were formed out of them: they alſo recalled the Rhodian privateers that were out at ſea; theſe were poſted in the town and were charged with the defence of the port. The country peaſants were deſigned to ſerve as pioneers, but they could not afterwards make any uſe at all of the common people of the town, who were inſenſible to any paſſion but that of fear, and could never be brought to look danger in the face. The grand maſter gave brother Didier Tholon of St. Jaille bailiff of Manoſque the direction of the artillery, and the chevaliers de Nuëres and Britto were entruſted with the carrying on of the works under the orders of the bailiff de Martinengo. The ſlaves of Rhodes, and ſuch as belonged to the private perſons, were employed in hollowing the ditches, and in the fortifications which they added to the baſtion of Auvergne: they repaired the mills: they built new ovens: the port was ſhut up with a double chain, one before its mouth, the other within it, from the tower of St. Nicholas to the tower of the mills; and to prevent the Infidels from ſeizing on the mole, as they had attempted in the former ſiege, and advancing by means of that bank as far as the gate of St. Catherine, they ſunk at the entrance of the bay, where the Tunny fiſhery was, ſeveral ſhips loaden with ſtones: the walls were at the ſame time lined with artillery: they carried arms, granadoes, fire-pots, and large ſtones upon the ramparts and baſtions; there never had been ſeen a greater diligence or a more compleat order.

THE knights and the Greek gentlemen, the townſman as well as officers, the ſoldier and mariner, the very prieſts and monks, each of theſe employed himſelf readily and without confuſion upon whatever was preſcribed him. The grand maſter was preſent in all places: he alone inſpected the carrying on of theſe ſeveral works; his preſence and capacity advanced them ſtill more than the many hands employed about them; and few princes and governors ever gave ſuch manifeſt proofs in a beſieged place of ſo perfect an underſtanding of the art of war, joined to a calm valour, incapable of being diſcompoſed either by the greatneſs or the variety of the dangers with which he was afterwards ſurrounded.

BUT for the better underſtanding of the importance and uſefulneſs of the precautions which he took, though we have in the former book taken ſome notice of the ſituation of this place, it may nevertheleſs perhaps be proper to give a fuller account of it, and take notice likewiſe of the additional fortifications that had been made ſince the laſt ſiege.

THE city of Rhodes, as we have already obſerved, is ſituated by the ſea ſide, on an hill which terminates with a gentle deſcent into a plain, thereby making the circumvallation of it eaſy. 'Tis divided into the high and low town; the grand maſter's palace was in the high town, and ſerved as a caſtle and a citadel to it at the ſame time. All the knights were lodged near the grand maſter's palace in the ſame quarter; and all ſecular and married perſons, as well townſmen as artificers, dwelt in the lower town. The place on the ſide towards the country ſeems to be of a round figure, but when ſeen from the ſea repreſents a perfect creſcent. There are two ports belonging to it; the larger is ſquare and ſpacious, but not very ſafe when certain winds blow. At the entrance of this port on the right ſtands the tower of St. Nicholas, a monument of the liberality of Philip the good duke of Burgundy. This tower, well provided with artillery, was joined to a baſtion that lay behind it, and had a courtain which ran up to the walls of the town, and made one of the ſides of the port. On the other ſide, over againſt this tower, ſtood an old caſtle, to which the knights gave the name of the caſtle St. Angelo. This caſtle and the tower, which were ſomewhat more than an hundred yards diſtant from one another, were built upon the two rocks, upon which 'tis pretended that the feet of the great brazen Coloſſus ſtood in former times, and which was of ſo prodigious a bulk, that the greateſt veſſels, as we are told, might paſs with all their ſails ſpread between its legs. The baſtion adjoining to the tower of St. Nicholas was by the ſea ſide, provided with nine great pieces of cannon which commanded the entry of the port ſo entirely that no ſhip could enter in on any ſide. The little port, or port of the gallies, was covered towards the ſea with a narrow neck of rock, that ran out from the firm land, and had a caſtle upon it called by the knights the caſtle of St. Elme or St. Erme. This port is more ſecure than large, and may hold ſeveral gallies: but the mouth of it is ſo narrow that there cannot above one enter at a time. They ſhut it up every evening with a chain that was faſtened to a little tower at the farther end of a mole which runs about twenty five or thirty paces out into the ſea; the other end of the chain was faſtened to a piece of rock that jutted out from the land ſeven or eight paces from the caſtle. Near the port of the gallies ſtood the arſenal where they uſed to be built, and over againſt the baſtion which is between the two ports, there is a large tower with a ditch, and three great pieces of cannon which defended the entrance of this laſt port. Above the prince's palace, and the inns of the languages, were a great number of churches, among which that of St. John the patron of the order was remarkable for the greatneſs of the edifice, and the height and fine workmanſhip of its ſteeple. All theſe noble buildings, together with the fortifications both antient and modern, made Rhodes one of the fineſt cities of the eaſt. It was ſurrounded by a double, others ſay with a triple encloſure of walls fortified with thirteen large towers built after the antique faſhion, five of which lay within a ſort of ravelin and baſtion, which the hiſtorians of the time call bulwarks: and theſe bulwarks were covered by barbacans or fauſſe-brayes and other advanced works: the ditch was large and deep: the counterſcarp well faced and paliſado'd: all that lay open in the parts adjacent to the place, was expoſed to an infinite number of batteries compoſed of cannon of different bores, according to the nearneſs or diſtance of the places in view. Rhodes ſeemed to defy an attack on all ſides; and from the glacis to the body of the place, there was nothing but fortifications heaped one upon another, and batteries that ſuffered no approaches to be made without danger and loſs of men.

WE have ſaid upon the credit of the hiſtorians of that age, that there were five bulwarks or baſtions. The grand maſter committed the defence of them to five old knights that had given ſignal proofs of their capacity and courage on many occaſions. The chevalier du Meſnil had the care of defending the baſtion of Auvergne; brother Francis des Carrieres was poſted in that of Spain; Nicholas Huſſey was to command in that of England; Berenger de Lioncel in that of Provence, and Andelot Gentili undertook to defend the baſtion of Italy. The grand maſter diſtributed at the ſame time the beſt part of his troops upon the ramparts, and divided them according to their quarters. Brother Raimond de Ricard, the oldeſt commander of the language of Provence, was at the head of a brigade to take care of a poſt that bore the ſame name. Raimond Roger of the language of Auvergne was pitched upon for the quarter of his language; Joachim de St. Aubin with the French knights was to defend the wall from the Franque tower as far as the gate of St. Ambroſe, and from that gate as far as that of St. George. The Germans were poſted under the conduct of the commander Valdners: William Ouazon commanded in the quarter of the Engliſh; George Emar in that of Italy; John de Barbaran and Ernard Sollier were to defend the poſts of Caſtile and Arragon, where the ditches were neither broad nor deep enough. The quarter called St. Mary de la Victoire was ſtill weaker: the grand maſter undertook the defence of it himſelf, quitted his palace, and lodged at the foot of the wall with ſome knights that he had reſerved to fight under his own command, and near his perſon.

BESIDES this diſtribution, the grand maſter choſe likewiſe four lords, all of them grand croſſes, to whom they gave the title of ADJUTANT CAPTAINS or GENERALS, who with the companies under their command were a ſort of corps de reſerve, and were to march to ſuch places as were moſt preſſed. The firſt of theſe captains was d'Amaral, whoſe fidelity they did not as yet ſuſpect. His buſineſs was to ſuſtain thoſe that defended the poſts of Auvergne and Germany; brother John Buck Turcopilier of the order, and a knight of the language of England, was appointed for the quarter of Spain and England; brother Peter de Cluys grand prior of France was to ſuſtain thoſe of his own nation and the poſts of Caſtile and Portugal; and brother Gregory de Morgut grand prior of Navarre was aſſigned to march to the ſuccour of the poſts of Provence and Italy. The grand maſter added to theſe four lords, brother Gabriel de Pommerols his lieutenant general, who without having any ſettled poſt and quarter, was to go to all places where there ſhould be need; and the grand maſter, at the head of his guards, commanded by the chevalier de Bonneval, of the language of Auvergne, reſerved the ſame function to himſelf.

WE have already obſerved, that before the firſt ſiege they carried into the city a ſtatue of the holy virgin, which was rever'd in a church dedicated to her and built upon Mont-Philerme. They took the ſame precaution before this ſecond ſiege, and all the clergy and people went in proceſſion to the church to take it, and brought it into the city, whereof ſhe was conſidered as the protectreſs, and depoſited it in the church of St. Mark.

THE tower of St. Nicholas being looked upon as the moſt important poſt, and as the key of Rhodes, the grand maſter entruſted the defence of it to brother Guyot de Caſtelane, of the language of Provence, an old knight that had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by a great number of brave actions. Twenty knights and three hundred foot entered into the fortreſs under his command; they gave ſix hundred men to the knights Claude de St. Prix and John Boniface, both Frenchmen, and to Lopez d'Aiala and Hugh Capon Spaniards, to patroll round the city night and day in their turn, and to maintain good order in it, with power to judge and condemn malefactors to death, reſerving however a liberty of appealing to the grand maſter. This prince, fearing that the four grand croſſes whom he had choſe for adjutant captains would not, during the courſe of the ſiege, be ſufficient to carry relief to all places that ſhould be attacked, added four others to them, viz. Anaſtaſius de ſainte Camelle, Guyot Dazas, French knights; Marin Furſan and Raimond Marquet, Spaniards, and gave each of them a company of a hundred and fifty men. The grand marſhal, according to the rights of his office, gave the great ſtandard of the order to Anthony de Grolée of the province of Dauphine, a knight of diſtinguiſhed valour and well worthy of ſo honourable a truſt. The chevalier de Tinteville, a relation of the grand maſter's, was appointed to carry the ſtandard of the holy crucifix, and the chevalier Henri de Mauſelle, one of the officers of the grand maſter's houſhold, carried his particular ſtandard.

WHILST the grand maſter was employed in aſſigning the knights their ſeveral employments, and the quarters which they were to defend, they ſaw that the Turks were in the night making ſignals of fire upon that part of the coaſt of Lycia that lies oppoſite to the iſle of Rhodes.

Relation du commandeur de Bourbon p. 13.

THE grand maſter, that he might not neglect any thing, ordered a French knight, whoſe name was Mennetou, to take his pink and go with a Rhodian named Jaxi, who ſpoke the Turkiſh language, to find out the meaning of thoſe fires. The French knight purſuant to his orders put to ſea, and coming pretty near the coaſt, he perceived ſeveral Turkiſh ſoldiers, diſguiſed like merchants, ſtanding by the ſide of a fountain. Jaxi aſked them the reaſon of their ſignals, and enquired at the ſame time for a Turkiſh merchant of his acquaintance who had formerly traded at Rhodes. They anſwered him, that that merchant was not far off, that he was coming thither, and that he might ſee him if he would come aſhore. The Rhodian excuſed himſelf unleſs they would ſend an hoſtage to his commander: the Turks agreed to it, the exchange was made, but as ſoon as Jaxi was aſhore, theſe perfidious wretches, contrary to the law of nations, bound him, hurried him away in all haſte to Conſtantinople, and delivered him to Pyrrhus baſha, the author and director of this piece of treachery. Mennetou thought to take his revenge on the Turkiſh hoſtage, but when he came back to Rhodes, they found that he was only a ſorry peaſant whom they had dreſſed in a ſilk veſt, and from whom the grand maſter and council could get no manner of information.

IN the mean time Pyrrhus having the Rhodian in his power, endeavoured to get an account from him of the ſtate of the city of Rhodes; and not being able to gain upon him by civilities and hopes of great reward, he put him to ſuch violent torture for ſeveral days together, that the Greek no longer able to bear it, anſwered to the interrogatories that were put to him, and died ſoon after. Pyrrhus acquainted the grand ſeignior with the Rhodian's depoſition, and aſſured his maſter that there were not above five or ſix thouſand men in arms at Rhodes. Solyman reſolved immediately to begin the ſiege; but as it was a rule with him never to begin any war without a previous declaration of it, he ſent one by an expreſs who went into Lycia, and according to cuſtom, made the uſual ſignals with fires, as had been done by thoſe who carried off Jaxi.

THE grand maſter, who did not know of his death, fancied immediately that the Turks had ſent him back. The knight Boniface d'Aluys went by his orders with a galley to receive him. When he arrived near the coaſt, he ſaw ſome Turks on horſeback, who without ſaying any thing of Jaxi, told him they were come with letters from the grand ſeignior to the grand maſter, and that if they would wait a little while, they would go fetch them, inviting at the ſame time the Trucheman or interpreter of the galley to come aſhore to receive them. But the chevalier d'Aluys fearing another trick like that which was played the chevalier de Mennetou, would not ſuffer him to go. Being likewiſe apprehenſive of another ambuſcade, and of there being ſome veſſels in a readineſs to ſurprize and ſeize on his galley, he told them, that he was going away that very moment, and that if they had any letters to ſend to the grand maſter, they might deliver them to him. The Turks ſeeing him ready to ſail off, tied the packet of letters to a ſtone and threw it on ſhip-board. He carried the packet to the grand maſter: it was opened in full council: they found in it a letter of Solyman in the form of a declaration of war, directed to the grand maſter, to the knights in general, and to the citizens and inhabitants of Rhodes. This letter of defiance was drawn up pretty near in theſe terms.

“THE continual robberies with which you infeſt our faithful ſubjects, and the inſult you offer to our Imperial majeſty, oblige us to require you to deliver up to us immediately the iſland and fortreſs of Rhodes. If you do it readily, we ſwear, by the God who made heaven and earth, by the ſix and twenty thouſand prophets, and the four muſaphi that fell from heaven, and by our great prophet Mahomet, that you ſhall have free liberty to go out of the iſland, and the inhabitants to ſtay there, without the leaſt injury being done to you: but if you do not ſubmit immediately to our orders, you ſhall be all cut to pieces with our terrible ſword, and the towers, baſtions and walls of Rhodes ſhall be laid level with the graſs that grows at the foot of all thoſe fortifications.

This letter was no great ſurprize to the council, and they reſolved, that if the grand ſeignior ſhould attack the iſland, to anſwer him only with their cannon. But before the enemy appeared, and that they were obliged to enter upon action: the grand maſter ordered them to prepare themſelves for it by faſting and prayer: he himſelf firſt ſet them the example of it, and the moments which he could ſpare from the toils of government, he ſpent in devotion before the altar. Fontanus, a cotemporary hiſtorian and eye-witneſs of what paſſed at the ſiege, in the relation which he has left us of it, obſerves, that the knights and citizens of Rhodes had as much confidence in his prayers as in his valour; and it was a common ſaying among them, that under ſo pious a prince heaven would interpoſe for the preſervation of his dominions.

As the iſle of Rhodes was inhabited by two different nations, each of them had their own metropolitan, both in the nomination of the grand maſter. Leonard Baleſtein then enjoyed that dignity with regard to the Latins, and a caloyer or monk of St. Baſil, called Clement, was archbiſhop of the Greeks. Theſe two prelates lived in a perfect harmony, and made it their whole buſineſs to maintain peace between their dioceſans. The Latin archbiſhop was a very fine ſpeaker: he was one of the moſt eloquent preachers of his age. However, as the Turks always treated their Greek ſubjects more favourably than the Latins, the grand maſter was not without apprehenſions that the Greek inhabitants of the iſles of the order might poſſibly be ſeduced by this diſtinction in their favour, and therefore engaged the two metropolitans in their ſermons to exhort their dioceſans to fight courageouſly againſt the enemies of the faith.

Both the prelates acquitted themſelves in this point with zeal, and ſucceeded in it without difficulty: the fidelity of the Rhodians to the order was not to be ſhaken; not only from the inviolable attachment which they diſcovered for the true religion, but likewiſe becauſe the knights had always governed with great juſtice and moderation; the ſureſt bond in nature between a ſovereign and his ſubjects.

In the mean time the Turkiſh fleet ſet ſail; thirty gallies advanced before it. The commander, as he paſſed along the coaſts of the iſle of Lango or Coos, landed ſome troops to ravage it: but theſe plunderers were ſo vigorouſly charged upon their landing by Prejan de Bidoux, great prior of St. Giles, governor of the iſland, that they were forced to reimbark with ſome loſs. This commander being informed by the priſoners that he took, that thoſe gallies and the main body of the fleet which followed them, was ſteering directly for Rhodes, ſent, after they were gone by, to aſk the grand maſter leave to come to him and ſerve the order in the ſiege. The grand maſter, who knew his capacity and long experience in war, was equally affected with his zeal and courage. He readily ſent him the orders that he aſked, and the brave knight, upon the receipt of them, went on board a brigantine, and in the night time got into the port of Rhodes without being diſcovered by the Turks that lay off it at ſea. The grand maſter embraced him tenderly, commended him highly, and not to leave his talents, and particularly his vigilance unemployed, he gave him the commiſſion of viſiting the ſeveral poſts of the place, and of commanding at all the batteries jointly with the bailiff of Manoſque.

They likewiſe brought over at the ſame time from the other iſles of the order, and particularly from Nizzaro, the greateſt part of its inhabitants, a brave ſet of men, uſed to cruize at ſea and combat againſt the Infidels. The grand maſter took this reſolution, becauſe the only thing

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they had to do in this war was to ſave the capital, and if the order could but maintain its ground there, the other iſlands would be either preſerved, or at leaſt be more eaſily recovered.

WHEN theſe inhabitants were landed, they put them with proviſions into the caſtles of Lindo, Feracle and the other fortreſſes of the iſland: ſome gallant knights were likewiſe put into thoſe places to command them: their orders were, that if they ſhould be beſieged, to hold out as long as poſſible, to gain time and put off the ſiege of the capital; and if the Infidels did not attack them, to go often out on parties, and try to ſurprize the ſtragglers from the main army.

THE Turkiſh fleet, after making the coaſt of Lycia, appeared at laſt within ſight of Rhodes, and ſtopped in a ſhallow water about eight miles or three leagues from thence: but not finding a good bottom, and the place being likewiſe at that ſeaſon expoſed to the weſterly winds, Curtogli weighed anchor, ſet ſail and went to land on the other ſide, in a lee-ſhore, where there was good anchoring called Parambolin, ſix miles from the city. There afterwards came thither from the ports of Syria, Paleſtine and Egypt, a great number of veſſels and gallies laden with troops and ammunition; ſo that when the Turks had got all their forces together, they computed no leſs than four hundred ſail in their fleet; and the land army conſiſted of a hundred and forty thouſand men, without reckoning ſixty thouſand pioneers, which Solyman had drawn out of the frontiers of Hungary, and the mountains of Servia, Boſnia and Walachia, where moſt of them had been bred to digging under ground and working in mines.

THE grand maſter upon the enemies approach quitted his palace, and poſted himſelf near the church of ST. MARIE DE LA VICTOIRE, to be the more within reach of ſuccouring the poſts that ſhould be attacked. During the firſt thirteen days the Infidels made no motion at all: their gallies, flat-bottomed veſſels and barks were continually tranſporting their troops from the ports of Fiſcho and Macry into the iſle of Rhodes, and they worked at the ſame time in landing the heavy artillery, proviſions and ammunition. When all was landed, they held a council of war about the different operations of the army: ſome officers were of opinion that they ſhould begin with the attacking the caſtle of Lindo, and the other fortreſſes of the iſland which the knights had built to hinder the making of deſcents; and they repreſented that the troops which were in thoſe places might ſurprize and interrupt their convoys, and cut thoſe troopers to pieces that might ſtraggle abroad for forage: but Peri or Pyrrhus baſha, the ſon of a renegado Epirot, was againſt this ſentiment, and repreſented that they ſhould loſe time, which was too precious to be thrown away, in reducing thoſe little places; that they ought to advance directly to the capital, the taking of which would make all thoſe caſtles fall of courſe, and with regard to the parties which might diſturb their convoys and foragers, they might eaſily ſecure themſelves from any apprehenſions of that nature, by ſending ſuch ſtrong eſcorts that the Chriſtians durſt not attack them.

THE general declared himſelf for this latter opinion: Rhodes was inveſted; they began to open the trenches out of the reach of cannon ſhot, and when they were nearer the town the Infidels raiſed a battery, which was immediately diſmounted by the artillery of the place. Nothing could appear in the plain but it was immediately battered and felt the fury of the cannon; and the knights making frequent ſallies, killed a great number of the Turks, cleared the trenches, and filled up their firſt works. The Turks began them again and raiſed new batteries; but notwithſtanding their being covered with ſheds, gabions and ſhoulder works, nevertheleſs the knights with their continual fire ruined all their works, and deſtroyed ſuch as managed the artillery of the Infidels. The ſword made a great havock of what the cannon had ſpared: there was every day ſome skirmiſh or other, and no ſallies were made, but all the Turks in the trenches were cut to pieces.

THE Turkiſh ſoldiers, who were uſed to make prognoſticks from the firſt skirmiſhes, preſaged no good to themſelves with regard to the ſucceſs of the ſiege: the janizaries, and even their very officers, found the valour of the knights ſo much ſuperior to the great character that had been given them of it, that they complained of being led to the ſlaughter. Beſides, through the grand maſter's wiſe precaution, the iſland was a kind of deſert, no inhabitants, no proviſions nor forage; neither could the ſoldiers ſtraggle abroad in queſt of any, but they were preſently ſnapped up by parties that ſallied out of the caſtles of the iſland; and theſe parties, that were always lying in one ambuſcade or other, killed all that fell into their hands without giving quarter. A war ſo toilſome and bloody, the extraordinary fortifications of Rhodes, the continual fire of the artilley, the frequent ſallies, the ſcarcity of proviſions which they were forced to be very careful of, becauſe they could get none but from beyond ſea, the little or rather no hopes of booty, and yet leſs of recompence in the abſence of their ſovereign, their ſmall confidence in a young general that had been brought up in the pleaſures of the ſeraglio: all this contributed to the diſtaſte, and even the murmurings of the officer as well as the ſoldier. A ſpirit of mutiny, under a general that had not credit enough with them, ſoon ſucceeded to theſe murmurs; and if an attack was to be made, or a ſalley to be repulſed, the troops could not be brought to advance but with reluctance, and like men that did not believe they could vanquiſh or help being vanquiſhed. In fine, the fear of danger made obedience languiſh, and all reſpect for command was loſt.

PERI baſha, to whom Solyman had given particular orders to ſend him an exact account of every thing that paſſed at the ſiege, thought himſelf obliged to let him know the diſcouragement and deſpondency of his army: and he obſerved in his letter, that nothing but his preſence could root out the ſeeds of rebellion, and reanimate the courage of his ſoldiers. The baſhas that were left about the ſultan and compoſed his council, were againſt his committing himſelf to the hazards of the ſea; but the prince, jealous of his glory, and having the example of his father Selim and the ſultans his anceſtors before his eyes; and being likewiſe perſuaded that the ſingle preſence of a ſovereign ſurmounts the greateſt difficulties, reſolved to put himſelf at the head of his army, and accordingly ſet out for Lycia with a body of 15000 men.

WHILST this prince was on his march, a Turkiſh woman, who was ſlave to a townſman of Rhodes, either from a zeal for her falſe religion, or in hopes of recovering her liberty, formed alone an enterpriſe that an hundred thouſand Turks could not bring about. As the knights and the Infidels were fighting together every day, ſhe, in order to make a diverſion that might facilitate the attacks of the Turks, reſolved to ſet fire to the principal places of the city; but as it was impoſſible for her to execute this project alone, ſhe communicated it to ſome other ſlaves of her own country and religion. Theſe ſlaves, influenced by the ſame motives, and by her perſuaſion, entered into the plot. The woman found a way to give the Turkiſh generals notice of her deſign; and in concert with them, ſhe fixed the conſpirators a day for this conflagration, and the quarter wherein they were to light it. Theſe meaſures were ſo well taken, that Rhodes muſt have fallen by the enterpriſe of this woman, had not one of the ſlaves accidentally dropped a word that diſcovered the ſecret of the conſpiracy. They were immediately ſeiz'd, and all of them, when put to the rack, owned their plot: the woman was the only perſon that did not ſubmit to the force of pain, but endured the moſt violent tortures without making the leaſt confeſſion. But her accomplices being confronted with her, and maintaining that ſhe was the only perſon that engaged them in this conſpiracy, the judges ordered her to be hanged. They quartered all the other conſpirators, and their limbs were fixed up in ſeveral places of the city, in order to intimidate the reſt of the ſlaves, and all that might afterwards be tempted to form a like enterpriſe.

The ſultan in the mean time paſſing through Caria and Lycia, arrived at Portofiſcho. His veſſels came thither to take him on board with the troops that ſerved for his eſcorte; and he came into the iſle of Rhodes to his camp, where he was received with the ſalvo's of artillery and the ſound of drums, trumpets and other warlike inſtruments. His preſence put a ſtop to the murmurs of the ſoldiery, and made them dread a chaſtiſement. He declared that the only deſign of his coming was to puniſh a rebellious army, and decimate or put to death every tenth ſoldier, calling them cowards at the ſame time: but Peri baſha, who had a great influence over him, repreſented to him that the janizaries, and even the braveſt of that body of troops, were the very men that had appeared moſt mutinous; that he could not puniſh them without diſcouraging the reſt, and that therefore in a ſiege of ſuch difficulty and importance, it were better to overlook their fault, or elſe to make them ſenſible of it by ſuch reproaches as ſhould re-inſpire them with their wonted bravery.

This prince, after having concerted with his miniſter what behaviour he ſhould put on with regard to his troops, ordered them to appear before him without their arms, and cauſed them to be ſurrounded by the 15000 men that he had brought with him to the ſiege: they had erected an high and magnificent throne for him. The prince, armed with majeſty, aſcended it with a fierce and ſtately air, and ſate there for ſome time without once opening his lips, caſting dreadful looks on every ſide, which the trembling ſoldier conſidered as the forerunners of death. At laſt, breaking this diſmal ſilence, “ Was I, ſays he, to have addreſſed my
“ ſelf to ſoldiers, I would have allowed you to appear before me with
“ your arms, but ſince I am forced to direct my diſcourſe to wretched
“ ſlaves, weaker and more faint-hearted than women, and who cannot
“ ſtand the bare ſhout of their enemies, it is not fitting that ſuch cow-
“ ards ſhould diſhonour our arms, and the characteriſticks of valour. I
“ would gladly know, if whether upon your landing in this iſland, you
“ flattered your ſelves that the knights would prove greater cowards than
“ your ſelves, and in a dread of your arms ſhould bring you their own,
“ and come in a ſervile manner to offer their hands and feet to the irons
“ with which you ſhould be pleaſed to load them. In order to undeceive
“ and cure you of ſuch a ridiculous miſtake, know, that in the perſon
“ of theſe knights, we are to fight with the flower of the chriſtian world,
“ with brave men, train'd up from their infancy in the profeſſion of arms;
“ we are to fight with cruel and fierce lions, greedy of the blood of Mu-
“ ſulmen, and who will not quit their haunt but to a ſuperior force.
“ 'Tis their courage which has excited our own; I imagined that in at-
“ tacking them I ſhould meet with an enterprize and dangers that were
“ worthy of my valour. And is it from you, baſe and effeminate ſoldiers,

“ that

"that I am to expect a conqueſt; you that are flying from the enemy before you have looked him in the face, and would have deſerted, had "you not been prevented by the ſea that encompaſſes you? But before "ſuch a diſgrace ſhall happen to me, I am reſolved to exerciſe ſuch exemplary juſtice on the cowards, that the ſeverity of their puniſhment ſhall "keep ſuch in their duty as might be tempted to imitate them."

Scarce had the ſultan ended theſe words, when, upon a ſignal given to the armed ſoldiers that ſurrounded the others, they drew their ſwords as if they were going to maſſacre their comrades. Thoſe wretches at the ſight of the drawn ſwords, whoſe points were turned againſt them, fell upon their knees, and cried aloud to the ſultan for mercy. Then Peri and the other generals, in concert with the prince, drew near his throne with the moſt profound reverence, and beſought him, in the moſt ſubmiſſive expreſſions, to pardon thoſe ſoldiers, who, as Peri ſaid, had behaved manfully on other occaſions, but who in this had been unhappily miſled by an evil genius and a panick terror. The baſha added, that they were ready to waſh out their faults with their blood, and his head ſhould anſwer to his highneſs for their hearty ſorrow and repentance. Though Solyman's deſign was only to reclaim his troops and bring them back to their duty, yet in order to keep up before them to the character of an incenſed prince, and engage the ſoldiers to blot out the remembrance of their cowardice by ſome daring action of extraordinary valour, "I ſuſpend, ſays he to Peri, at your requeſt, the puniſhment of the guilty: "but let them go ſeek their pardon in the baſtions and upon the bulwarks "of our enemies." With theſe words he diſmiſſed the aſſembly.

This prince's diſcourſe, ſo ſeaſonably mixed with ſeverity and clemency, inſpired the troops with their wonted boldneſs and antient valour. The officers eſpecially, to wipe off the ill opinion the ſultan had entertained of their courage, demanded eagerly to be placed in the moſt dangerous poſts. Thoſe very perſons, who before Solyman's arrival had blamed this enterprize, found it then eaſy and glorious; one would not have taken them for the ſame men: they were all on fire to ſignalize their courage, and, to ſpeak properly, it is only from this day that we are to date the commencement of the ſiege.

The ſoldiers and pioneers carried on the trenches without intermiſſion: they worked at them in the day time as well as in the night, and they were relieved in their turns by various detachments of troops that ſucceeded one another. The grand maſter ſeeing them ſuſtained by ſtrong brigades, did not think fit to continue his ſallies, in which the loſs of one ſingle knight was of greater conſequence to him than fifty ſoldiers to Solyman. So that the Infidels having nothing to fear but the fire of the place, laboured with ſo much vigour, that they carried on their works as far as the counterſcarp: and in order to make their lines the ſtronger, they faced them on the outſide with beams of timber and planks tied together: they next augmented their batteries, from which they for ſeveral days together fired continually upon the city. The Turks flattered themſelves that they ſhould ruin the fortifications in a little time, but had notice ſent them by the Jew who ſerved them as a ſpy in Rhodes, that their cannon had ſcarce ſo much as graſed upon the battlements of the wall, whether their batteries were ill placed or the cannon was not well pointed. He added, that the knights from the top of St. John's ſteeple ſaw every thing that paſſed in their camp and the parts adjacent; and that if the Chriſtians ſhould happen to plant ſome piece of artillery on the top of that ſteeple, they might either kill the ſultan as he was viſiting the works or ſuch as carried his orders. Theſe advices determined the beſiegers to change the ſituation of their batteries: they pointed one among the reſt againſt St. John's ſteeple, which was demoliſhed by the firſt cannon ſhot that they fired.

THESE barbarians finding Rhodes covered and buried, as it were, under its fortifications, reſolved to raiſe two cavaliers that ſhould be higher than thoſe works and command the city and bulwarks. The ſoldiers and pioneers, by the general's orders, fetched earth and ſtones for ſeveral days together, which they placed between the poſts of Spain and Auvergne, over againſt the baſtion of Italy. As theſe two places lay open and expoſed to the cannon of the place, it would be impoſſible to expreſs what a prodigious number of Turkiſh ſoldiers and pioneers periſhed in this work; but Muſtapha, in order to advance it, made no ſcruple of throwing away the lives of thoſe poor wretches: the work at laſt appeared like two little hills which were ten or twelve foot higher than the wall and commanded it abſolutely.

THE general and the other baſhas then made a diſtribution of the ſeveral attacks; Muſtapha took upon himſelf that of the bulwark of England; Peri that of the poſt of Italy; Achmet baſha a great engineer undertook the attack of the baſtions of Spain and Auvergne: but as they ſeemed to be defended by a numerous artillery and a great number of knights, the ſultan would have this laſt baſha ſuſtained by the aga of the janizaries. The begler-bei of Anatolia commanded in the trenches oppoſite to the poſt of Provence, and the begler-bei of Romania was to attack the tower of St. Nicholas; all theſe generals cauſed a continual fire to be made.

THE poſt of Germany was the firſt attacked: the Turks planted ſeveral batteries againſt the wall. They did not think it could long reſiſt the violence of the cannon, becauſe it had no platform of earth: but the grand maſter repaired thither immediately himſelf, and cauſed it to be ſupported on the inſide by earth, beams of timber and faſcines: and as the artillery which was placed on the gate of his palace in a place of great height, looked over and commanded the batteries of the Infidels, the chriſtian canoneers demoliſhed them and broke to pieces their gabions, ſheds and parapets. The only remedy was to make new ones, which however did not laſt longer than the firſt; the cannon of the town did ſure execution, and beat down all it was levelled at, whereas that of the Infidels on the contrary being ill managed and pointed againſt a place of ſuch height, and always keeping the ſame line and point of elevation, paſſed above the wall and ſhot at random: we may ſuppoſe that their gunners were as yet wholly ignorant of the method of lowering their cannon, and making it bear downwards, and againſt the foot of the wall.

THE baſha, diſcouraged at the little ſervice his batteries had performed, removed and planted them againſt the tower of St. Nicholas. We have obſerved in the former book, and during the maſterſhip of the grand maſter d'Aubuſſon, the ill ſucceſs of the attacks of the baſha Paleologus; nor was that of the begler-bei of Romania more ſucceſsful. The baſha battered the tower with twelve great braſs guns, but had the mortification to ſee his cannon diſmounted and his batteries ruined by thoſe of the tower. To prevent this effect, that was owing to the skill of the chriſtian gunners, he reſolved to fire only by night, and buried his cannon and gabions in the ſand all the day time: as ſoon as night came, they planted them again on the platform; above five hundred cannon-ſhot ſtruck upon the part of the wall that looked towards the weſt, and ſhook it down into the ditch.

THE baſha was in high delight at the effect of his nightly battery, and fed himſelf with vain hopes of carrying that work at the firſt aſſault: but he was ſtrangely ſurprized to ſee a new wall appear behind the ruins of the firſt, ſtrengthened with a rampart and parapet, and lined with artillery to keep off all approaches to it: he was even forced to take a reſolution of beginning anew to batter this ſecond wall.

SOLYMAN being advertiſed of it ſent to reconnoitre it: they gave him an account that this tower was the ſtrongeſt part of the place, not only by its ſituation on a rock, which was proof againſt the ſap, and could have no mine cut in it, but likewiſe by the different works added to it ſince the laſt ſiege; and that under the reign of Mahomet II. his grandfather, the baſha Paleologus had been obliged to give over this attack. Theſe conſiderations determined the ſultan to remove his batteries to another place: Muſtapha by his orders directed his attack againſt the principal baſtions of the place; a prodigious train of artillery battered them night and day for a month together. The chevalier de Barbaran, who commanded at that of Spain, was killed by a cannon ball: he was ſucceeded in his command by the chevalier John d'Omedes, afterwards grand maſter, of the language of Arragon, who, in defending that poſt, loſt an eye a few days after by a musket ball. The Turks battered all theſe baſtions at the ſame time; that of England was the moſt damaged: a new wall which they had made there was entirely ruined by the cannon of the Infidels, but the old one ſtood firm againſt all the fury of the artillery: the grand maſter ran thither, and finding the Turks obſtinately bent upon that attack, he lodged himſelf at the foot of the wall, and for fear of an aſſault, cauſed a reinforcement of fifty knights to enter into the baſtion.

THAT of Italy was in a ſtill worſe condition: ſeventeen pieces of cannon firing on it day and night, had almoſt demoliſhed the whole wall. The grand maſter, by Martinengo's advice, in order to get time to make cuts and entrenchments behind the breach before the Infidels could mount to the aſſault, ordered two hundred men to ſally out under the command of a ſerving brother, called Bartholomew and Benedict Scaramoſe, an engineer who had been brought up under Martinengo: they threw themſelves into the trenches ſword in hand, ſurprized the Turks, killed or put to flight all that they met, and before they made their retreat, filled up a great many yards of the trenches. The Turks did not fail, as that expert engineer had foreſeen, to haſten to drive them back: but as they were forced to paſs by a place that lay open and expoſed, the artillery of the place, which they had pointed on that ſide, killed a great number of them, and by the help of a continual fire, the Chriſtians who had made the ſally got back into the city without any conſiderable loſs.

WHILST this skirmiſh laſted, part of the knights were buſy in digging ditches and making croſs-cuts and entrenchments to hinder the enemy from making a lodgment upon the breach, whilſt others of them, with musket-ſhot, killed all that durſt advance near it. The cannon of the place played upon and reached ſuch as were at a greater diſtance, and nothing appeared but was ſtruck down immediately; moſt of the batteries of the Infidels were ruined, their gabions and ſheds were beat to pieces, and their ſhoulder works could not ſave thoſe that were employed about the artillery from being taken off by that of the town.

A RENEGADO, Solyman's general of the ordnance, a man well ſkilled in his profeſſion, had both his legs carried off by a cannon ſhot, which alſo killed five men with the ſplinters of the planks that it broke to pieces. The Turks, without being diſheartened, repaired their batteries, kept firing continually, and they had ſo great a number of cannon, and ſuch a great quantity of powder, that they often demoliſhed in an hour's time what the Chriſtians could hardly repair in ſeveral days. The knights began even to want powder already. They afterwards accuſed d'Amaral, one of the three commiſſioners appointed before the ſiege to viſit the magazines, of having, in order to favour the Turks and diſable the knights from continuing their defence, made a falſe report to the council, and declared that he had found more powder in the place than would ſerve to ſuſtain the ſiege, even though it ſhould laſt a whole year. But they were not long before they found to the contrary: the powder they had was diminiſhed ſo conſiderably that they would ſoon have had none left, had it not been the grand maſter's having made proviſion of ſalt-petre, ſet all the horſes of his ſtable to work to beat it ſmall by help of the mills that were in the place: the bailiff de Manoſque and the chevalier Pariſot were appointed to ſuperintend over this affair. However, as they had not ſo much ſalt-petre as they ſhould have occaſion for, the officers of the artillery were obliged to fire leſs frequently, to husband their powder, and reſerve it for the aſſaults which they foreſaw the Turks would make on the place, whenever the breaches ſhould be made larger.

THIS misfortune, owing, as it is pretended, to the treachery of the Portugueſe knight, was attended by another, occaſioned by ſome young knights, whilſt the Turks were giving a falſe alarm to the poſt of Auvergne. They were bringing back from work a company of ſlaves, about a hundred and twenty in number, who were ordinarily employed in digging the ground, or in drawing ſtones and beams to make intrenchments. Theſe young knights meeting them ſtruck ſome of them for diverſion's ſake, juſt as a body of old knights were paſſing by, and who were marching in haſte to the poſt of Auvergne upon the ſignals made on occaſion of the falſe alarm that was given by the Turks; who ſeeing it, immediately imagined that thoſe ſlaves, from an impatient deſire of liberty, were riſen, and that the young knights attacked them in earneſt. Poſſeſſed with this notion, they fell upon thoſe poor wretches ſword in hand, and cut them to pieces; by this unhappy miſtake killing a company of innocent men, and depriving themſelves of the aſſiſtance they received from thoſe ſlaves, who would have ſerved to ſupply the places of the chriſtian pioneers, who fell daily in great numbers, either by the enemies cannon, or by musket ſhot fired out of fuſees of a large bore, that carried as far as the breaches and into the very city.

THE Turkiſh general diſcovering that theſe peaſants, without minding how they expoſed their lives, were by Martinengo's directions making barricadoes, cuts and intrenchments along the breaches, had choſen out of his army a good number of fowlers that were excellent markſmen. He had placed them upon eminences that were neareſt the place, and upon cavaliers that commanded it, from whence they fetched down with their harquebuſſes all that appeared upon the ramparts. Martinengo ſeeing his workmen killed without his being able to ſecure them from the enemies fire, made them, by way of a counter-battery, plant ſome ſmall field-pieces on the roofs of the higheſt houſes: theſe on their ſide killed abundance of the fowlers, but the killing or diſabling ten of thoſe workmen

VILLIERS DE L'ISLE-ADAM.

did not make the order amends for the death of one chriſtian ſoldier or pioneer: the town being reduced to a ſmall number of defendants, could not loſe one of them without drawing nearer its ruin: and the grand maſter, in order to protract it, had no reſource, but either in a ſpeedy ſuccour or by prolonging the ſiege, and holding out till the coming of winter and bad weather, when he imagined the Turkiſh fleet would not be able to keep the ſea.

THE war had hitherto been carried on between the beſiegers and the beſieged, by firing at one another: and though that of the Turks, by reaſon of the multitude of their cannon and the great quantity of their powder, was vaſtly ſuperior, yet they were not maſters of one inch of ground in the baſtions and advanced works of the place. The barricadoes and intrenchments ſerved inſtead of the walls that were beaten down; there was no carrying theſe new works but by an aſſault, and in order to make it, it was neceſſary to try the deſcent of the ditch or fill it up. Solyman, who had a prodigious number of pioneers in his army, made various detachments of them, ſome to throw earth and ſtones into the ditch; but the knights, by help of their caſemates, carried off by night what they had thrown in by day: other pioneers were employed in digging mines in five different places, in each of which they were carried on towards the baſtion over againſt it. Some of them were countermined by the vigilance of Martinengo, to whom we are indebted for the invention of diſcovering the place where they were carrying on, by drums and ſkins hard braced and ſtretched.

THE Turks had worked with ſo much skill, that the ſeveral branches of theſe mines had all a communication with one another; and all of them, in order to do the greater execution, centered at laſt in the ſame place. Martinengo diſcovered one in the middle of the ditch of Provence, that began at St. John's church. De la Fontaine an engineer had it broke open immediately, drove the miners out of it with granadoes, and threw in barrels of powder which burnt and ſmothered the Turks that were in thoſe ſubterraneous paſſages. But whatever pains he took, he could not prevent the Infidels from ſpringing two mines one after another under the baſtion of England, the force of which was ſo violent, that they blew up twelve yards of the wall, and the ruins of it filled up the ditch.

THE breach appeared ſo large and ſo eaſy to mount, that ſeveral battalions of the Infidels that waited the ſucceſs of the mine, ran immediately to the aſſault with great ſhouts and ſabre in hand. They got in a moment to the top of the baſtion and planted ſeven enſigns upon it, and would have made themſelves maſters of it, had they not met a croſs cut or intrenchment behind it that ſtopped them. The knights recovering from the confuſion that the terrible noiſe of the mine had thrown them into, ran to the baſtion and charged the Turks with musket ſhot, granadoes, and ſtones. The grand maſter was at the very time that the mine ſprung in a church not far off, where he was before the altar imploring from heaven the ſuccour which the princes of the earth refuſed him. He judged by the dreadful craſh he heard, that the noiſe which the mine made would be ſoon followed with an aſſault; he roſe up immediately, and it happened to be at that very inſtant when the prieſts of the church were beginning divine ſervice, and were chanting this preliminary prayer, Deus in adjutorium meum intende, O God, make haſte to deliver me. "I accept the omen, cried the pious grand maſter, and turning about to ſome old knights that were with him, "Let us go, my brethren, ſays he to them, "to change the ſacrifice of our praiſes into that of our lives, " and die, if it muſt be ſo, for the defence of our holy law."

He advances immediately with his half-pike in his hand, mounts upon the baſtion, comes up to the Turks, breaks, overturns and kills all that dares oppoſe him: he pulls down the enemies enſigns, and recovers the baſtion with an irreſiſtible impetuoſity. General Muſtapha, who ſaw from the trenches the conſternation and flight of his ſoldiers, ſallies out of them ſabre in hand, kills the firſt of the fugitives that he meets, and ſhews the reſt that they would find leſs ſafety near their general than they would upon the breach. He advances on boldly himſelf; his reproaches and the ſhame of deſerving them make the runaways rally about him; the engagement begins afreſh; the diſpute grows bloody; fire and ſword are equally employed on both ſides; they kill one another at a diſtance and near with musket ſhot and the ſword: they grapple with one another, and the ſtrongeſt or the moſt dexterous diſpatches his enemy with a ſtroke of his poniard. The Turks lying expoſed to musket ſhot, ſtones, granadoes and fire-pots, at length abandon the breach, and turn their backs: in vain does their general ſtrive by threats and promiſes to bring them back to the charge; they all break and take to their heels; but in their flight find a death they were afraid of meeting in the action, and they made ſuch a continual fire of the artillery from different parts of the town upon the foot of the breach, that, they pretend, the Turks loſt on this occaſion three thouſand men, and three ſangiacks or governors of places.

But the order loſt by this great advantage the great maſter of the artillery, the chevalier d'Argillemont captain or general of the gallies, the chevalier de Mauſelle who carried the grand maſter's ſtandard, and ſeveral other knights that were killed in fighting valiantly.

Scarce a day paſſed but was ſignalized by ſome new attack. Every general officer to pleaſe the grand ſeignior endeavoured, at the expence of the ſoldiers lives, to puſh on the works committed to his care. Peri baſha, an old captain, notwithſtanding his advanced age, diſtinguiſhed himſelf by continual enterprizes: he was poſted againſt the baſtion of Italy, and never gave the beſieged a moment's repoſe either day or night. The hopes he had of carrying that work made him plant a good body of infantry ſo as to be concealed behind a cavalier which they had raiſed on the ditch ſide; and on the thirteenth of September at day break, when the beſieged quite ſpent with fatigue and continual watching were overtaken with ſleep, he ordered his troops to make the aſſault: they firſt diſpatched the centinels, paſſed the breach and were ready to ſeize the intrenchments, when the Italians, aſhamed to ſee the enemy ſo near them, ruſhed with fury upon the Infidels; who oppoſed them with as much courage and reſolution.

The fight was maintained by the valour of both for a long time. The baſha ſtood expoſed by the ditch ſide, from whence he ſent them continually new re-inforcements: but whilſt he was exhorting them to merit the recompence which the grand ſeignior promiſed to ſuch as ſhould diſtinguiſh themſelves by their bravery, the governor of the iſle of Negrepont, a young lord of ſingular valour and Solyman's favourite, was killed by his ſide with a ball ſhot from a musket. Peri, either fearing that the grand ſeignior would impute his favourite's death to him, or elſe deſiring to revenge it, redoubled his efforts. The grand maſter, whoſe valour and love for his order multiplied him, as we may ſay, on this occaſion, ran to the ſuccour with a particular body of knights that adhered to his perſon: " Let us go, ſays he to thoſe about him, and repulſe the Turks, we ſhould

“ not be afraid of men whom we daily throw into a panic fear.” At the ſame time he charges the Infidels with his half-pike in his hand; the knights of the language of Italy under his eye, and in imitation of ſo great an example, perform the moſt glorious actions: they all expoſe themſelves to the greateſt dangers. A good number of them were killed on this occaſion; and we muſt do them this juſtice, that next to the grand maſter, the ſaving of Rhodes was that day owing to their courage and intrepidity.

Peri judiciouſly concluding that it would be in vain for him to perſiſt in an attack which the grand maſter himſelf defended, contented himſelf with keeping on the fight; and drawing his body of foot from behind the cavalier that ſerved to cover them, he put himſelf at their head, and went to attack a new baſtion built in the grand maſter Caretto's time, imagining it not to be ſo well provided with defendants, and that he ſhould be able to ſurprize it. His troops advanced to the aſſault with great reſolution, but were repuls'd with equal vigour by the chevalier d'Andelot who commanded at that work. The citizens and inhabitants ran to his ſuccour: the Turks were ſoon overwhelmed with ſhowers of granadoes, ſtones, bitumen and boiling oil; and the artillery, planted upon the flanks of the adjoining baſtions, ſcouring the ditch, made an horrible ſlaughter of them. Peri, after loſing abundance of men in theſe two attacks, was forced againſt his will to ſound a retreat.

The janizaries, diſheartened at ſo many unſucceſsful attacks, murmured aloud againſt an enterprize, wherein one or other of their braveſt comrades daily loſt their lives. The vizier Muſtapha fearing leſt theſe complaints ſhould reach the ears of Solyman, and that that prince, like moſt of his predeceſſors, ſhould make him reſponſible for the ill ſucceſs, reſolved to make a new aſſault on the baſtion of England, and either carry the place, tho' he loſt never ſo many ſoldiers, or die himſelf at the foot of the intrenchments. He communicated his deſign to Achmet baſha, who was encamped and commanded in the quarter oppoſite to the poſts of Spain and Auvergne. Theſe two generals agreed, that whilſt the vizier attacked the Engliſh baſtion, Achmet, in order to divide the forces of the beſieged, ſhould ſpring his mines and mount over the ruins they would make upon the breaches and make a lodgment there. This enterprize was put in execution on the 17th of September. Muſtapha ſallied out of the trenches at the head of five battalions: the troops ſuſtained by his preſence, climbed up the rubbiſh and ruins of the wall, mounted boldly to the aſſault, got upon the breach, and in ſpite of all the fire of the beſieged, made their way as far as the intrenchments, and planted ſome enſigns upon them. But they did not keep this firſt advantage long: a ſwarm of Engliſh knights, led on by a commander of that nation whoſe name was John Buck, ſallied out from behind the intrenchments, and being ſuſtained by Prejan grand prior of St. Giles, and the commander Chriſtopher Valdner, of the language of Germany, made ſo furious a charge that the Infidels were forced to give back. They retired in good order however, and ſtill fighting. Muſtapha, a much braver ſoldier than an able general, led on himſelf a re-inforcement to their ſuccour; the engagement begins again with equal fury; the Turkiſh general throws himſelf into the midſt of the knights, kills ſome of them with his own hand, and had he been as well followed by his ſoldiers, Rhodes would have been in great danger. But the artillery of the place, the little pieces eſpecially that play'd upon the breach, and a great number of muſketeers that galled them from behind the intrenchments, made ſo terrible a fire, that the Infidels no longer regarding the menaces of Muſtapha, abandoned the breach, and dragged him along with them in their flight. How glorious ſoever this ſucceſs might be to the order, nevertheleſs the knights paid very dear for it; they loſt on this occaſion the commanders Buck and Valdner, ſeveral Engliſh and German knights, and the greateſt part of their principal officers.

ACHMET baſha was as unfortunate as general Muſtapha in his attack: he ſprung his mines, as had been agreed between them, but that which was under the poſt of Auvergne took vent and did no execution. The mine which play'd under the poſt of Spain threw down about four yards of an advanced work, which ſerved for a ſort of fore-wall. The Turks advanced immediately to ſeize it, but met a body of Spaniſh knights on the ruins of it, that made head againſt them and kept them from approaching: they fought for ſome time at a diſtance with musket ſhot, but as the Turks advanced in cloſe and good order to break through the beſieged, the chevalier du Meſnil, captain of the bulwark or baſtion of Auvergne, and the chevalier de Grimereaux, made the artillery of their poſts play ſo a-propos and continually upon the thickeſt of the battalions of the janizaries, that thoſe troops, though brave in their perſons, and the very flower of the army, could ſtand the fury of it no longer, but diſpers'd of themſelves, and made the beſt of their way to the trenches.

SOLYMAN loſt that day three thouſand men, and the order, beſides the chieftains abovementioned, had likewiſe ſeveral knights killed on theſe two occaſions; and among the reſt Philip de Arcillan of Spaniſh extraction, whoſe great valour juſtly merited him the honour of having his name recorded. Prejan de Bidoux grand prior of St. Giles, who made all the poſts that were attacked his own, was ſhot through the neck with a musket ball, but was happily cured of his wound.

Sept. 20.
Bourbon p.31.

ABOUT this time they diſcovered the treaſon of the Jewiſh phyſician, who by order of Selim I. had formerly ſettled at Rhodes, where he ſerved as a ſpy to the Turks; they caught him ſhooting an arrow with a letter tied to it into their camp: Upon which he was immediately ſeized, and being on ſuch ſtrong preſumptions put to the torture, he owned that he had given the Infidels continual advice of the weak parts of the place, and of every thing that paſſed in it; and that when he was ſeiz'd, it was the fifth letter that he had conveyed to them in the ſame way. His judges condemned him to be quartered, and it is pretended that he died a Chriſtian. His confeſſion of Chriſtianity was very much ſuſpected, but if he made it only to ſave his life it ſtood him in no ſtead, for he ſuffered the puniſhment he had ſo juſtly deſerved.

SOLYMAN in the mean time enraged at the little progreſs of his arms, held a great council of war, to which he ſummoned his principal officers. Various opinions were propoſed in it, Muſtapha who, before the ſiege, out of pure complaiſance had repreſented the enterprize as eaſy, now dreading his paſſion and reſentment, propoſed the giving a general aſſault, and attacking the town in four different places at the ſame time. “ One “ would imagine, ſays he, that we were making war in concert with our “ enemies, and that from a romantick point of generoſity we would not “ fight them but upon equal terms. We never attack but one poſt at a “ time; and as the knights draw all their forces thither, we need not think “ it ſtrange to find a ſet of brave men, the very flower of Chriſtendom, “ maintain their ground againſt our ſoldiers. But if the whole army was “ to ſurround the place, and that detachments were to be drawn out to aſ- “ ſault all the places where there are breaches, and alſo new ſupplies ſent “ continually to re-inforce thoſe that ſhould make the attack, the Rhodians

“ would be obliged to divide their forces, and could never be able to ſtand “ before us.

The grand ſeignior approved this advice: the general aſſault was fixed for the 24th of September, and Solyman, to inſpire new ardour into his ſoldiers, gave out, that he would give them the plundering of Rhodes, provided they could take it ſword in hand. The Turks, before they gave this aſſault, made a continual fire with their cannon; and in order to enlarge the breaches battered the baſtions of England and Spain, the poſt of Provence, and the platform of Italy for two days together. The evening before the aſſault the grand maſter ſuſpected, by the motions he perceived in the enemies camp, that they were going to attack him: He gave out his orders, and the knights following his example redoubled their care; but though they had juſt reaſon to fear that the enemy would take their advantage of opening to themſelves a paſſage through the ruins of thoſe ſtrong holds that had been battered down in the vaſt circuit of the walls, they yet were forced to regulate their meaſures by the few troops they had left, and to diſtribute the old commanders and principal officers into ſuch poſts as the violence of the attacks, the wideneſs of the breaches, and the defect in the fortifications expoſed to the greateſt dangers.

The grand maſter, taking up his weapons, viſited all the quarters to ſee the diſpoſition of his troops and exhort them to a noble defence, and addreſſing himſelf to the knights whom he found in their reſpective poſts; “ I ſhould offer violence to your courage, ſaid he to them, ſhould I pre-“ tend to invigorate it by an harangue; and it would be throwing away “ time, to tell you what your valour has ſo often inſpired into you on the “ like occaſions. Conſider only, my dear brethren, that we are going to “ fight for our order and for the defence of our religion, and that a glo-“ rious victory muſt be the reward of our valour, or elſe Rhodes, the “ ſtrongeſt rampart of Chriſtendom, muſt ſerve us for a grave.” Whenever he met any of the townſmen and inhabitants, “ Think, ſaid he to them, “ that beſides the defence of the faith, you have taken arms for “ your country, for your wives, your maidens, and your children: fight “ gallantly, my friends, in order to reſcue them from the infamy that the “ barbarians threaten them with: their liberty and your own, your blood, “ your honour, and your fortunes are all in your hands, and depend upon “ your bravery.

These few words pronounced with an heroick ardor had ſuch an effect on all, that the townſmen as well as the knights, and the Greeks, no leſs than the Latins, made publick proteſtations that nothing but death ſhould make them abandon their poſts; and embracing one another in a moſt tender and affectionate manner, their eyes ſtreaming with tears, they bid as it were a laſt adieu to each other, reſolutely bent either to conquer or die.

The Turks at day break made a furious fire from all their batteries, eſpecially againſt the poſts which they deſigned to attack, not only in order to widen the breaches, but alſo to be leſs expoſed to view as they marched through the ſmoke of the artillery. They mounted boldly to the aſſault in four different places: they had never diſcovered ſo much reſolution ever ſince the beginning of the ſiege, eſpecially the janizaries, who fought under the young ſultan's eye.

That prince, in order to animate them by his preſence, had placed himſelf on a riſing ground near adjoining, where a ſcaffold was erected for him, whence he, as from an amphitheatre, was able to diſtinguiſh and judge of the valour of thoſe brave fellows without any danger to himſelf. The cannon of the place begins to play: this is ſucceeded by ſhowers of arrows and musket ſhot. The knights in all quarters ſhew their intrepidity, and the ſoldiers their obedience and courage; ſome of them burn the aſſailants with boiling oil and fireworks, whilſt others roll ſtones of a vaſt ſize upon them, or pierce them through with their pikes. The Engliſh baſtion was the place where there was the greateſt bloodſhed: it was the weakeſt part of the place, the warmeſt attacked, and withal the beſt defended. The grand maſter runs thither himſelf: his preſence on the one ſide inſpires the knights with freſh ardor; hope of booty on the other encourages the Turkiſh ſoldier. Never did the Infidels diſcover ſo much eagerneſs in battle; they mount upon the ruins of the wall through a ſtorm of bullets, javelins and ſtones: nothing ſtops them, and ſeveral of them leaped like ſo many deſperadoes from the machines which they had brought near the walls upon the ramparts, where they were ſoon cut to pieces. The knights throw the Turks from the top of the breach headlong into the ditch: they overturn the ladders, and the cannon of the place makes ſo terrible a ſlaughter that the Turks give way, retire back, and are ready to give over the aſſault. But the general's lieutenant who commanded at that attack, an officer highly reſpected among the ſoldiers for his rare valour, rallies and leads them on to the attack: he himſelf mounts firſt upon the breach and plants an enſign on it. Happily for the beſieged, a cannon ball fired from the poſt of Spain carries him off, and throws him in the ditch: one would have thought that his death would naturally have cooled the ardor of his ſoldiers. But thirſt of revenge inſpired them that inſtant with a contrary ſentiment, and filled their hearts with a ſort of rage and fury: they ruſh on headlong into danger, pleaſed to die themſelves provided they could kill a Chriſtian. But all their impetuoſity could not make the knights retire one ſingle ſtep. The prieſts, the religious, the old men and the very children reſolve to have their ſhare of the danger, and repulſe the enemy with ſtones, boiling oil and combuſtible matter.

Neither did the women yield in aſſiduity to the pioneers, nor was their bravery inferior to that of the ſoldiers: ſeveral loſt their lives in defending their husbands and children. Hiſtorians make mention of a Greek * woman of exquiſite beauty, that was miſtreſs to an officer who had a command in that baſtion and had been juſt killed. Upon which, diſtracted at the death of her lover, and reſolving not to ſurvive him, after kiſſing the two children ſhe had by him, and making the ſign of the croſs on their foreheads, "'Tis better for you, my dear children, ſays ſhe to them, with tears in her eyes, "to die by my hands than by thoſe of our merciles enemies, or to be reſerved for infamous pleaſures, more odious than "death it ſelf." When inſpired with fury ſhe takes up a knife, cuts their throats, throws their bodies into the fire, puts on the officers cloaths that were ſtill dyed with his blood, ſnatches up his ſabre, runs to the breach,

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* Mulier una græcanici ſanguinis, quæ cum arcis præfecto conſuetudinem habebat, ut eum agnovit fortiter dimicando occiſum, amplexa duos venuſto corpore & amabili indole pueros, quos defuncto genuerat, poſtquam maternæ pietatis oſcula extrema libaſſet, & notam crucis Chriſti lacrymantium, periturorumque frontibus impreſſiſſet, ferro atrox fœmina jugulavit, & trementes adhuc exeunte ſimul ſanguine & ſpiritu artus cum cæteris quæ cara habebat in ardentiſſimum rogum conjecit, ne hoſtis (dicebat) viliſſimus vivis aut mortuis gemina nobilitate corporibus potiretur. Et cum dicto induens cari amatoris paludamentum madidum multo adhuc ſanguine, accepta framea in hoſtes tendit; ibi egregia bellatrix, & omnium ſæculorum memoria digniſſima virago, inter confertas hoſtium phalanges, more virorum fortiter bellando occubuit. Jacobi Fontani de bello Rhodio l. 2. t. p. 159. Francofurti ad Mœnum.

kills the firſt Turk ſhe meets, wounds ſeveral others, and dies fighting with a bravery equal to the moſt couragious officer, or the moſt reſolute ſoldier.

THE engagement was carried on with equal fury and obſtinacy at the other attacks. The greateſt danger was at the poſt of Spain. The aga of the janizaries, who commanded on that ſide, led on his ſoldiers to the aſſault: the artillery of the place killed a great number of them before they could get to the foot of the breach. Such of the Turks as are able to croſs the ditch, go to undermine the wall and are frequently buried under its ruins, whilſt others of them make uſe of ladders to mount up: ſome of them heap the dead bodies of their comrades on one another, get to the top of the wall in ſpite of all the oppoſition of the beſieged, and penetrate as far as the intrenchments, on which, it is ſaid, they planted no leſs than thirty enſigns. Unhappily for the knights, ſuch of them as had the guard of the baſtion of Spain had like to have been ſurprized by not ſtanding on their guard. The Turks having ſhewed no ſigns of any deſign to attack them, thoſe knights reproaching themſelves for being idle in their poſt, and ſeeing the baſtion of Italy hard preſſed by the Turks, ran to their ſuccour, and left only a few centinels upon the baſtion of Spain. Theſe ſoldiers likewiſe, contrary to all the rules of war, quitted their poſt to help the gunners in tranſporting ſome pieces of cannon which they had a mind to point againſt the poſt that the aga of the janizaries was attacking. Some Turks that lay concealed behind a heap of ruins, ſeeing the baſtion abandoned, mount without being diſcovered, get to the top of the work, make themſelves maſters of it, cut the gunners to pieces, pull down the enſigns of the order, and plant thoſe of Solyman in their ſtead; and proclaiming victory, invite their comrades to join them; upon which the aga ſent immediately a detachment of his janizaries to that place.

THE grand maſter having notice of this ſurprize runs thither in an inſtant, makes them point the artillery of the baſtion of Auvergne againſt a breach which the enemies cannon had made in that of Spain, keeps the Turks from approaching it; and from another battery which faced the baſtion, he makes them fire upon thoſe that were in poſſeſſion of it, and who were endeavouring to make a lodgment there. On another ſide the commander of Bourbon, by his orders, at the head of a troop of brave ſoldiers, enters by the caſemate into the baſtion, mounts up to the top upon the platform ſword in hand, in order to drive out the Infidels: Where he finds part of them killed by the cannon; he cuts the reſt in pieces, again ſets up the enſigns of the order, pulls down thoſe of the Turks, and turns the artillery of the baſtion upon ſuch as were mounting up a breach that had been made in that part of the wall which was called the poſt of Spain. The aga maintained his ground in that place in ſpite of the gallant reſiſtance of the knights: the grand maſter comes back thither at the head of his guards, and throws himſelf into the midſt of the Infidels, with an ardor which made his knights tremble as much as his enemies, but from a different motive. The engagement begins again with freſh fury, the ſoldiers as yet unhurt, the wounded and the dying all blended together, after a combat of ſix hours, want rather ſtrength than courage to continue it. The grand maſter fearing that his men, who were quite ſpent with ſuch a long reſiſtance, ſhould at laſt be bore down by the multitude of their enemies, drew a re-inforcement of two hundred men, with ſome knights at their head, out of the tower of St. Nicholas. Theſe troops who were freſh, and had ſuffered no fatigue, ſoon changed the face of the engagement: the janizaries began to give back, and finding themſelves preſſed by theſe brave ſoldiers, abandon the breach and fly to recover their trenches. Solyman, to cover the ſhame of their flight and ſave the honour of his troops, ordered a retreat to be ſounded, after having left upon the breach and at the foot of the wall upwards of fifteen thouſand men, and ſeveral captains of great reputation, that loſt their lives in theſe different attacks.

THE Rhodians ſuſtained as conſiderable a loſs as they did in proportion: and beſides the ſoldiers and inhabitants they had a great number of knights killed in theſe aſſaults, among which were the chevalier du Freſnoi commander of Romagna, the commander of St. Camelle of the language of Provence, Oliver he Treſſac of the language of Auvergne, and brother Peter Philips the grand maſter's receiver. The chevalier John le Roux, ſirnamed Parnides, had his hand with which he had ſlain ſeven Turks carried off that day by a cannon ball; there were few knights but what were wounded, and there ſcarce remained ſufficient enough unhurt to continue the ſervice.

Bourbun p. 35.

THE ſultan, furious at the ill ſucceſs of this enterprize, fell upon his general Muſtapha, who out of complaiſance had adviſed him to it, and gave orders for his being ſhot to death with arrows; a ſad recompence for all his ſervices, but ſuch an one as ſlaves and ſervile courtiers are frequently expoſed to under the government of the Infidels. The army was drawn up in battle array in order to be ſpectators of the death of their general, and the unhappy man was already tied to the fatal ſtake, when Peri baſha, provoked at the puniſhment they were going to inflict on his friend, made them defer the execution, perſuaded as he was that Solyman, when the heat of his paſſion was over, would not be concerned that they had prevented ſuch a ſtain to his glory. As he had educated that young prince from his infancy, and had ſtill a great aſcendant over him, he went and threw himſelf at his feet and begged him to pardon Muſtapha. But he found by his own experience that lions are not to be tamed: Solyman, ſtill in the firſt tranſports of his wrath, jealous of his authority, and enraged to ſee there was a man in his empire daring enough to ſuſpend the execution of his orders, condemned him at the ſame time to undergo the ſame puniſhment. The other baſhas were in a terrible conſternation, and threw themſelves all at his feet in order to mollify him; when the ſultan coming to himſelf was moved at their tears: he pardoned Muſtapha and Peri, but would never ſee Muſtapha more, and ſent him afterwards at a diſtance from court under pretence of another employment.

THIS prince, deſpairing to carry the place, ſeemed reſolved to raiſe the ſiege; and it is ſaid, that whole companies and the heavy baggage began to file off towards the ſea in order to re-imbark; when an Albanian ſoldier getting out of the town came into the Turkiſh camp, and aſſured them that moſt of the knights were either killed or wounded at the aſſault, and that thoſe who were left were not able to ſuſtain another. They pretend that this deſerter's report was confirmed by a letter from d'Amaral, who told the grand ſeignior that the beſieged were reduced to the laſt extremity.

THESE ſeveral advices determined him to continue the ſiege; and in order to ſhew his troops and the beſieged that he was reſolved to paſs the winter before the place, he ordered an houſe to be built on mont Philerme for himſelf to lodge in; giving at the ſame time the command of the army to Achmet baſha an able engineer, who changed the method of carrying on the ſiege. He reſolved to be as ſparing as poſſible of his ſoldiers blood; and before he led them to an aſſault, to prepare for it by new cannonadings, and particularly by ſapping and mining, and other ſubterraneous works in which he was particularly skill'd.

THIS new general made his firſt efforts againſt the baſtion of Spain, the ditch whereof was narrower and not ſo deep as in other places: and in order to facilitate the deſcent of it, his artillery play'd for ſeveral days together ſo furiouſly upon that work, that he ruined all the defences of it: there was nothing left but the barbacane or fauſſe-braye, which lay ſo low that the cannon could not hurt it. The Turkiſh general reſolved to run his trenches as far as this work, which covered the foot of the wall; but theſe trenches being ſeen from the baſtion of Auvergne, the cannon of the knights played upon them. The Turks, in order to ſhelter themſelves from it, raiſed a thick wall before the trenches; but they could not bring theſe ſeveral works to perfection, without the loſs of an infinite number of ſoldiers and pioneers: no one could ſhew himſelf but he was immediately expoſed to the fire of the artillery and a ſhower of musket ſhot; and the knights at the ſame time were continually throwing granadoes and firepots into their works. The Turkiſh general, to guard againſt them, raiſed along the courtain a gallery with planks which he covered with raw hides, which the fire would not take hold of. Under ſhelter of this new work he undermined the wall, whilſt other companies of pioneers and miners were continually at work to penetrate under the baſtions of the place, and run mines and forneli in that place.

THESE mines having thrown down a great many yards of the wall of the poſt of Spain, the barbarians advanced to the aſſault; but coming up to the breach, they found themſelves ſtopped by new intrenchments lined with artillery, the continual fire whereof, after killing a great many of their braveſt officers and a prodigious number of ſoldiers, forced the reſt to run back to their trenches for ſhelter.

THE bailiff Martinengo, who was always in action, had, in order to hinder the Infidels from coming to reconnoitre the works he was making within the place, made them cut loop-holes for the cannon in the wall of the counterſcarp on the ſide of the town, from whence the knights killed with musket ball all that durſt advance near it. The Turks, after his example did the like on their ſide, and a continual fire was kept on both ſides. Unhappily a random ſhot from the trenches ſtruck Martinengo in the eye juſt as he was looking through one of thoſe loop-holes to examine the enemies works; he fell upon receiving the ſhot, and they thought him mortally wounded. The order could not have had a greater loſs at ſuch a juncture, for he was in a manner the only perſon that directed all operations, and determined the time and places where the knights ſhould exert their valour.

THE grand maſter, upon the news of his wound, ran immediately to the place, and cauſed him to be carried into his own palace: by his care he was afterwards cured of his wound, the knights and all the people offering up their prayers for his recovery. The grand maſter filled up his poſt in his abſence, and undertook himſelf to defend the baſtion of Spain. The chevalier de Cluys grand prior of France, the commander of St. Jaille bailiff of Manoſque, the bailiff of the Morea, and the oldeſt knights of the order ſtaid about the grand maſter's perſon in order to ſhare with him in the perils and glory of this defence. Actions of extraordinary valour were performed on both ſides; there were new engagements every day. It would appear very ſurprizing that ſo ſmall a number of Chriſtians, who had nothing to cover them but ſome barricadoes and weak intrenchments, ſhould be able to hold out ſo long againſt ſuch a prodigious number of aſſailants, if this handful of men had not been compoſed of old knights whoſe valour had been experienced on a thouſand other occaſions, and who on this were unanimouſly reſolved to ſacrifice their lives for the defence of their religion. Men are very ſtrong and very formidable when they are not afraid of death.

HISTORIANS, ſpeaking of their zeal and courage, uſe but one ſort of elogium for all theſe noble ſoldiers of Jeſus Chriſt. Not but there were among theſe warriors different talents, and more or leſs capacity in the arts of war: and we ſhould juſtly deſerve to be cenſured, if we did not do juſtice to the memory of the grand maſter, who, for four and thirty days that the bailiff de Martinengo's wound and illneſs laſted, never ſtirred from the intrenchment made on the Spaniſh baſtion, nor ever took any reſt either day or night, excepting only for ſome moments on a mattreſs which they laid for him at the foot of the intrenchment; officiating ſometimes in the quality of a ſoldier and ſometimes in that of pioneer, but always in that of general, if we except that ardor which made him fight like a young knight, and ruſh into perils with leſs precaution than became a ſovereign.

THE example of the grand maſter who was ſo very careleſs of his own life, made the knights, left in the principal poſts of the place, expoſe daily their own, ſometimes in defending the breaches and intrenchments, and often in engagements under ground, when they were to countermine and meet with the enemies miners: there ſcarce paſſed a day without an engagement in ſome place or other. Beſides the baſtion of Spain, which was almoſt entirely ruined, the Turks directed their principal attacks againſt the poſts of England, Provence and Italy. The prodigious number of troops, of which their army conſiſted, eaſily ſupplied them with men for all theſe attacks: the walls were quite demoliſhed in ſeveral places, and the breaches were ſo large that the Turks could mount in formed battalions to the aſſault of the baſtion of England. The knights that had undertaken the defence of it lined the ramparts ſword in hand, and with their bodies made a new parapet for its defence. They were ſeconded by the artillery of the city, which played from ſeveral places upon the foot of the breach. The Turks, without being daunted at the number of their ſlain, ruſh on with fury to attack the knights, come up with them, grapple with them, and by their multitude as much as by their courage, force them to give back. Thoſe noble defendants ſaw themſelves on the point of being overwhelmed by the croud of their enemies, when the chevalier de Morgut grand prior of Navarre, and one of the adjutant captains, as they were then called, ran with his company to their ſuccour, reſtored the battle, forced the Infidels in their turn to retire, and with new efforts obliged them at laſt, after the loſs of above ſix hundred men, to ſound a retreat and give over the attack.

BUT if the order had ſuch brave defendants in the perſon of her knights, ſhe likewiſe nouriſhed in her boſom, and even among her principal chiefs, a traitor, who omitted nothing to forward the loſs of Rhodes and the ruin of the whole order. The reader may eaſily perceive that I mean the chancellor d'Amaral: the commander de Bourbon, in his account of the ſiege of Rhodes, relates this tragical event as follows.

October 30.

D'AMARAL, ſays this author, ever tormented with rage, and without being moved at ſeeing the blood of his brethren ſhed every day, ſtill kept on his criminal intelligence with the Turks. One of his valets de chambre, Blaiſe Diez by name, in whom he entirely confided, uſed to come with a bow in his hand at unſeaſonable hours to the poſt of Auvergne, whence, whenever he fancied himſelf not to be perceived, he ſhot an arrow with a letter fixed to it into the enemies camp. His frequent reſort to the ſame place, eſpecially in a beſieged city, immediately gave ſome ſuſpicion, but as they had not ſeen him ſhoot any of his letters, and beſides that he belonged to a perſon of great authority, ſuch as had obſerved his ſtolen viſits thither, durſt not mention it at firſt, for fear of drawing upon themſelves the reſentment of a powerful and revengeful man. There was only one knight, who ſtifling all conſiderations, and ſeeing the ſervant return often to the ſame place, gave private notice thereof to the grand maſter, who immediately gave orders for the ſeizing of this ſervant: he was afterwards examined by the judges of the caſtellany, who not being ſatisfied with his equivocal anſwers to their interrogatories, ordered him to be put to the torture. He owned upon the very firſt twitches of it, that he had, by his maſter's command, thrown down ſeveral letters into the Turkiſh camp to point out to them the weakeſt places of the city. He added, that he had likewiſe acquainted them, that the order had loſt the greateſt part of its knights in the laſt aſſaults; and beſides, that the city was in want of wine, powder, ammunition and proviſions; but that though the grand maſter was reduced to extremity, the grand ſeignior ought not yet to flatter himſelf with the thought of being maſter of the place any other way than by force of arms.

THIS depoſition was laid before the council, who gave orders for ſeizing the chancellor, whom they carried to the tower of St. Nicholas. Two commanders grand croſſes repaired thither with the magiſtrates of the city to examine and try him: they read to him the depoſition of his ſervant, who was afterwards confronted with him and maintained to his face, that it was by his orders only that he frequently had gone to the baſtion of Auvergne, and had thrown letters from thence into the camp of the Infidels. This depoſition was confirmed by that of a Greek prieſt, chaplain to the order, who declared before the judges, that paſſing one day by the fauſſe-braye of the baſtion of Auvergne, in order to obſerve the enemies works, he found the chancellor in a by-corner with this very ſervant, who had a croſs-bow with a quarrel or ſquare arrow in his hand, to which he perceived there was a paper tied; that the chancellor, who was then looking through a loop-hole for the cannon, returning back, ſeemed ſurprized to ſee him ſo near him, and demanded of him roughly and in an angry manner what he wanted; and that finding his preſence in that place was diſagreeable to him, he had made off as faſt as poſſible.

DIEZ agreed to the Greek prieſt's depoſition in all its circumſtances. This ſervant, who might perhaps flatter himſelf with the hopes of eſcaping puniſhment by accuſing his maſter, added farther, that the chancellor was the perſon that had perſuaded the grand ſeignior to invade the iſland by the advices he ſent him of the condition of the place, and diſpatching the ſlave beforementioned to Conſtantinople, the whole negotiation paſſing through his hands. They put the chancellor at the ſame time in mind, that on the day of the grand maſter's election he could not help ſaying, that he would be the laſt grand maſter of Rhodes. D'Amaral, no ways confuſed, being confronted a ſecond time with his ſervant and the Greek prieſt, affirmed, that Diez was a villain and an impoſtor, whoſe depoſition, he ſaid, was nothing elſe but the effect of the reſentment he had entertained on account of puniſhments that his ill conduct had occaſioned him. He flatly denied all the facts advanced by the Greek prieſt, with an intrepidity that ought only to attend on innocence: they were forced in fine to have recourſe to the rack; but before they put him to it, the judges, who were his brother knights, in order to ſave him from the torture of it, as alſo to get from him an account of his accomplices, conjured him, in the moſt preſſing terms, to encourage them to ſave his life by an ingenuous confeſſion of his faults; but the chancellor rejected their offices with indignation, and demanded of them haughtily, if they thought him baſe enough after having ſerved the order for above forty years to diſhonour himſelf at the end of his life by the confeſſion of a crime that he was incapable of committing. He bore the torture with the ſame intrepidity; and only owned that at the time of the grand maſter's election, at a time when the Turks were threatning Rhodes with a ſiege, having no great opinion, as he ſaid, of the courage and abilities of l'Iſle Adam, he had dropped a word or two, and ſaid, that he would perhaps be the laſt grand maſter of Rhodes; when turning towards his judges, he asked them if a word, that emulation and a rivalſhip for the ſame dignity had extorted from him, deſerved to have the great chancellor of the order put into the hands of executioners. But the judges being perſuaded of his criminal correſpondence with the Turks, were not dazled by his proteſtations; no body took his re-criminations againſt Diez for proofs of his innocence: the maſter and ſervant were both condemned to death. The chancellor was ſentenced to be beheaded, and Diez to be hanged; their bodies were afterwards quartered and expoſed to the view of the Turks upon the principal baſtions of the place. The valet was executed firſt; he was born a Jew but had been converted, and declared at his execution that he died a good Chriſtian. Before d'Amaral was put to death, an aſſembly was held in the great church of St. John, in which the bailiff de Manoſque preſided. The criminal was brought thither; they read him his ſentence which ordered him to be degraded and ſtripped of the habit of the order; which was done with all the ceremonies preſcribed by the ſtatutes. They delivered him over afterwards to the ſecular arm who carried him to priſon, and the next day he was carried in a chair to the publick place where he was to be executed. He looked upon all the preparatives to his execution and the approaches of death with a reſolution worthy of a better cauſe; but his refuſing in that extremity to recommend himſelf to the protection of the bleſſed virgin, whoſe image the prieſt that aſſiſted him preſented to him, gave them no advantageous opinion of his piety. Fontanus, a cotemporary hiſtorian and an eye-witneſs of what paſſed, ſpeaking of the very different deaths of two grand croſſes who were appointed in the beginning of the ſiege in joint commiſſion with d'Amaral to viſit and take care of the ammunition and proviſions, and who were both killed in aſſaults, adds, with regard to the chancellor whom he ſpeaks of but does not name. "God, ſays this author, had reſerved the laſt of "the three for a ſhameful death which he richly deſerved." However, the ſervices he had done the order for ſo many years, his intrepidity under the moſt exquiſite torments of rack, the antient and valuable fidelity of the Portugueſe gentry to their ſovereigns, of which there are ſo many illuſtrious examples in hiſtory, all this might ſerve to balance the depoſition of a ſervant: and perhaps the chancellor would not have been treated ſo very rigorouſly, if when the publick ſafety is at ſtake, bare ſuſpicion were not, as we may ſay, a crime that ſtate-policy ſeldom pardons.

BUT

But be that as it will: to reſume the relation of this famous ſiege, Solyman, tired out with its continuance and the little ſucceſs of his miners, ordered Achmet to begin his batteries again and diſpoſe his ſoldiers for a general aſſault. The eyes of all the univerſe were then fixed upon Rhodes: the Turks flattered themſelves with hopes of carrying it by ſtorm; and the knights, who were reduced to a ſmall number, and were rather hid and buried than fortified in the little ground that was left them, waited with impatience for the ſuccours which the chriſtian princes had ſo long fed them with the vain hopes of ſending them, in order to raiſe the ſiege. But the emperor Charles V. and Francis I. king of France were ſo obſtinately animated againſt one another, that they durſt not ſend away their troops or divide them: and the other European princes, moſt of which were engaged on the ſide of one of thoſe two princes, and were afraid leſt their own territories ſhould be invaded, kept their forces about them for fear of a ſurprize. The pope himſelf, Adrian VI. by name, a pious and indeed learned pontiff, but of no great capacity, and entirely devoted to the emperor, being preſſed by cardinal Julian de Medicis, an old knight of the order, to ſend his gallies to Rhodes with a body of infantry which then lay about Rome, the new pontiff excuſed himſelf from ſo doing under pretence, that as he was not skilled in the arts of government, he could not ſend away his troops whilſt all Italy was up in arms; though it is very probable that he durſt not diſpoſe of them without the privity and conſent of the emperor his benefactor: and that out of complaiſance to that prince, inſtead of ſending them to Rhodes, he ordered them to march into the Milaneſe and Lombardy, where they were employed againſt the French.

Thus were the grand maſter and his knights, after putting their whole confidence in God, left without any hopes of ſuccour but what they could draw from the order itſelf: they were beſides ſo unfortunate as not to receive a conſiderable convoy which the French knight ſent in two ſhips from the port of Marſeilles. One of theſe ſhips, after a ſtorm of ſeveral days, was caſt away and loſt off of Monaco, and the other loſing her maſts in the ſame ſtorm, was ſtranded on the coaſt of Sardinia and diſabled from putting to ſea. Nor were the Engliſh leſs unfortunate: Sir Thomas de Newport embarking with ſeveral knights of that nation, and a good quantity of proviſions as well as money on board, was catched in the ſame ſtorm, which drove him upon a deſert country where he ſtranded. The chevalier Aulamo of the language of Arragon and prior of St. Martin was in hopes of getting into the port of Rhodes. But he was met in the Archipelago by ſome Turkiſh gallies, and after a long engagement got out of their hands with great difficulty. The grand maſter, though abandoned as we may ſay by all human ſuccour, did not yet abandon himſelf or deſpond. This great man diſcovered in ſo ſad an extremity the ſame courage which had carried him ſo often upon the breach and into the midſt of his enemies. By his orders the knights that reſided in the adjoining iſles that depended on Rhodes, and in the caſtle of St. Peter, quitted them in order to preſerve the capital of the order, and tranſported thither, on board ſome light barks and little brigantines, all the ſoldiers, arms and proviſions they were maſters of. The grand maſter, in the extremity to which he was reduced, took this ſtep in hopes of one day recovering thoſe iſlands, if he could but maintain his ground in Rhodes. But as they had drawn the like ſuccours from theſe ſeveral places before, this laſt, the only hope the knights had left, betrayed their weakneſs more than it augmented their forces. The grand maſter diſpatched at the ſame time the chevalier Farſan of the language of England into Candia, to endeavour to get proviſions from thence; and ſent another knight called des Reaux to Naples to haſten the ſuccours which were retarded by the rigour of the ſeaſon; but all his endeavours were fruitleſs; and one would have thought that the winds and the ſea had conſpired the loſs of the iſle of Rhodes and of this armament, the laſt ſupply that the beſieged had any hopes of.

THE Turks, to whom ſome deſerters had repreſented theſe ſuccours as much ſtronger and nearer at hand than they were in reality, uſed their endeavours to prevent them. Achmet, who under Solyman's orders had the whole direction of the ſiege, planted a battery of ſeventeen cannon againſt the baſtion of Italy and compleated the ruin of all the fortifications. He afterwards ran his trenches to the foot of the wall; and to ſecure his men from being galled by the artillery of the place, he covered theſe new works with thick planks and great beams of timber. His pioneers pierced afterwards through the wall and ran their mines as far as the intrenchments, and then digging away the earth that ſupported them they made them ſink, ſo that the knights were forced to retire farther within the town: and the grand maſter, who never ſtirred from the attacks, ſeeing the Infidels maſters of the beſt part of the platform of the baſtion, was forced to demoliſh the church of St. Pantaleon and the chapel of Notre Dame de la Victoire, to hinder the Turks from making lodgments there, and he employed the materials of thoſe two churches in making new barricadoes and intrenchments to hinder the enemy from penetrating farther into the place.

THE Turkiſh general had the ſame ſucceſs at the baſtion of England: after his artillery had played upon it for ſeveral days, and that he had demoliſhed the walls and ruined the fortifications, ſeveral knights propoſed to abandon it, but that they ſhould firſt fill the mines that were under it with powder, in order to blow up the Infidels that ſhould throw themſelves into it. But it was remonſtrated in the council of war held on this ſubject, that in the extremity to which they were reduced, the ſaving of the place depended entirely on prolonging the ſiege, ſo as to allow time for the ſuccours they expected to arrive, and that therefore there was not a foot of ground but was to be diſputed with the enemy as long as poſſible. This laſt opinion prevailed; and though the baſtion was entirely ruined by mines and the fire of the artillery, nevertheleſs the chevalier Bin de Malicorne offered himſelf generouſly to defend it; and in ſpite of the continual attacks of the Turks, he maintained it with great glory to the very end of the ſiege.

THE Turks did not allow any more reſt to the knights that defended the poſts of Italy and Spain; they attacked the firſt on the 22d of November. They had ſeized, as had been already obſerved, on the beſt part of the platform of Italy; the knights had ſcarce a third of it left, and both of them were buried as it were in ſubterraneous works, and divided only by planks and beams from one another. The Turks ſeeing themſelves in poſſeſſion of the greateſt part of this platform, undertook to drive the knights entirely out of it. A battalion of the Infidels on the ſide next the ſea mounted to the aſſault, whilſt another body attacked their intrenchments ſword in hand. But they met with the ſame valour and reſiſtance in all places; and though the knights had loſt abundance of men in theſe bloody attacks, they yet repulſed the Infidels and obliged them to retire.

'Twas however only to return a few days afterwards in much greater numbers: the attack was preceded by a mine which they ſprung under the baſtion of Spain. It made a great pannel of the wall fall down; and in order to hinder the knights from making new intrenchments behind this breach, a battery of their largeſt cannon played for a whole night and day without intermiſſion upon this place. The Turks upon the thirtieth of November returned at day break to the aſſault, whilſt Peri baſha at the ſame time attacked the Italian platform again. But the main effort of the Infidels was made againſt the baſtion of Spain; the Turks in great numbers, and ſuſtained by the braveſt troops of their army, advanced boldly up to the breach, notwithſtanding all the fire of the artillery and ſmall ſhot of the beſieged; their great numbers prevailed over all the courage of the Rhodians, and they penetrated as far as the intrenchments which the bailiff Martinengo had made before he was wounded; but at the ſound of the bells which proclaimed the danger that the city was in, the grand maſter, the prior of St. Giles, the bailiff Martinengo, who was not yet quite cured of his wound, ran from different places with the greateſt part of the knights and inhabitants; none of them obſerving any order but what his courage and perhaps his deſpair dictated; and all of them regardleſs how they expoſed their lives, ruſhed with a kind of fury upon the Turks. The Infidels did not ſhew leſs courage; they grappled with one another with equal advantage, and without being able to diſcover what the ſucceſs of this terrible engagement would be. Happily for Rhodes there fell a prodigious rain; floods of water fell from the ſkies and waſhed away the earth that ſerved as a ſhoulder-work to the trenches of the Infidels. This laying them open to the artillery of the poſt of Auvergne, it played furiouſly and killed a great number of them; and the other batteries, which they had placed upon the mills of Coſquin, and the muſketeers of the knights firing continually upon the breach and in the midſt of the enemy that was lodged there, made ſo horrible ſlaughter of them, that ſuch as could eſcape the fury of the cannon, ran as faſt as poſſible to their camp and trenches, notwithſtanding all the menaces of their officers.

The Turks were not more ſucceſsful in their attack of the platform of Italy: Peri baſha, who commanded at it, after loſing his braveſt men and hearing of the ill ſucceſs of the attack on the Spaniſh baſtion, ſeeing likewiſe his troops almoſt drowned with rain, ordered the retreat to be ſounded. Such was the ſucceſs of a day, which would have been the laſt for the liberty of Rhodes, had not the grand maſter and his knights preſerved it by neglecting their own preſervation, and bravely expoſing their lives without the leaſt reſerve.

Solyman could not ſee his troops coming back in diſorder and in a downright flight, without falling into a paſſion: he had been almoſt ſix months with 200000 men before the place without being able to take it: the vexation he felt and his apprehenſions that the chriſtian princes might at laſt unite their forces in order to oblige him to raiſe the ſiege, made him ſhut himſelf up ſome days in his tent, without ſuffering any of his captains to come near him. No one durſt offer to come into his preſence: no body but Peri baſha his old governor, who had a particular privilege to enter, durſt venture to ſpeak to him. That ſubtle miniſter, in order to bring him to a better temper, repreſented to him that his troops were lodged upon the principal baſtions; that he was in poſſeſſion of part of the place; that another aſſault would carry it; that they had indeed to deal with a ſet of deſperate men who would ſuffer themſelves to be all killed to a man rather than ſurrender; but that the knights were reduced to a ſmall number; that the inhabitants, who were moſt of them Greeks, had not the ſame courage nor indeed the ſame intereſt to be obſtinate in the defence of the place, and that he was perſuaded they would not reject a compoſition which offered them ſecurity for their lives and fortunes: the ſultan approved his advice and ordered him to put it in execution.

Peri ordered ſeveral letters in the grand ſeignior's name to be thrown into the place, exhorting the inhabitants to ſubmit to his empire, and threatening them at the ſame time with the moſt cruel treatments, themſelves, their wives and their children, if they ſhould be taken by ſtorm. The baſha afterwards employed a Genoeſe that happened to be in Solyman's camp, who advancing near the baſtion of Auvergne, deſired leave to ſpeak. This Genoeſe, whoſe name was Hieronymo Monilio, affecting a feigned compaſſion, ſaid, that as he was a Chriſtian, he could not bear to ſee the approaching loſs and maſſacre of ſo many Chriſtians his brethren, who would be overwhelmed with the formidable power of Solyman; that their fortifications were deſtroyed, their intrenchments ruined, and the enemy already lodged within the place; that they ought in prudence to prevent the diſmal conſequences of a town's being carried by ſtorm, and that it would not perhaps be impoſſible to obtain a ſure and even an honourable compoſition from Solyman. The commander of the baſtion, by the grand maſter's order, anſwered him, that the knights of St. John never treated with the Infidels but ſword in hand; and for fear leſt his artful diſcourſe ſhould make any impreſſion upon the minds of the inhabitants, he ordered him to retire. This cunning agent of the baſha, far from being diſcouraged, returned two days afterwards to the ſame place, under pretence of having letters to deliver to a Genoeſe that was in the place. But the commandant ordering him to retire, he declared that he brought a packet from Solyman to the grand maſter: this was a new pretext for entring into a negotiation, but the grand maſter eluded it by refuſing to receive it, from the apprehenſions he was under that the bare appearances of a treaty would enervate the courage of the ſoldiers and inhabitants; and in order to oblige this negotiator to go off, they fired ſome musket ſhot at him. An Albanian deſerter from the city, who had entered afterwards into Solyman's ſervice, was the next to act his part, and after the uſual ſignals, deſired admittance into the place, in order to preſent the grand maſter with a letter which he was to deliver to him from the ſultan; but he was not better received than the Genoeſe. The grand maſter, for fear of diſcouraging his troops, refuſed to give him audience, and declared to him that they would for the future, without any regard to ſignals of parley, or the character of envoys, fire upon all that ſhould offer to come near the place.

Nevertheless the frequent arrival of theſe agents, and the grand ſeignior's letters which the baſha had taken care to throw into the city, did not fail to produce the deſired effect. The greateſt part of the inhabitants being of the Greek religion begin to hold private meetings between themſelves; the moſt mutinous, or rather the moſt timorous and cowardly, repreſented that moſt of them had loſt their relations and friends in the many aſſaults that had been given; that they themſelves were on the brink of ruin; that the enemy was intrenched within the place, and that at the very firſt attack they ſhould ſee themſelves overwhelmed with the formidable multitude of the Infidels; that they had for a long time been reſolved to ſacrifice their own lives, but could not ſee the diſhonour and ſlavery of their wives and children, without the moſt piercing affliction; that they might prevent ſuch a terrible calamity by ſurrendring upon good terms; and after all, that whatever the knights might alledge, the example of ſo many chriſtian ſtates that lived peaceably under the dominion of the Turks, was a plain proof that they might do the ſame, and that they, by paying a ſmall tribute, might alſo ſave both their religion and their fortunes.

Such diſcourſes as theſe, repeated at different meetings, determined the moſt conſiderable of the inhabitants to apply to their metropolitan: they begged him to take pity on his people, and to repreſent to the grand maſter, that if he did not immediately treat with the grand ſeignior, they muſt neceſſarily be the firſt victims of the fury of the victorious ſoldiers, and that he himſelf would ſee the churches prophaned, the precious relicks of the ſaints trampled under foot, and the women and virgins expoſed to the brutality of the Infidels. The prelate entered into theſe juſt conſiderations, and laid the remonſtrances and requeſt of his people before the grand maſter. The grand maſter at firſt rejected the propoſitions of the metropolitan with a noble diſdain, and declared to him, that himſelf and his knights had, when they ſhut up themſelves in Rhodes, reſolved to be buried upon the breach and in the laſt intrenchments of the place, and that he hoped the inhabitants would follow their example, and ſhew the ſame courage.

But the metropolitan found them in a very different diſpoſition: fear on the one ſide, and a deſire of peace on the other, had got an aſcendant over them: new deputies were ſent back the day following and applied directly to the grand maſter: they declared to him that unleſs he took ſome care to preſerve the inhabitants, they themſelves could not help taking the moſt proper meaſures to ſecure the lives and honour of their wives and children.

The grand maſter, juſtly fearing that deſpair might occaſion a fatal diviſion that would haſten the loſs of the place, referred them to the council. Whilſt they were deliberating about this important matter, three merchants knocked at the door of the council houſe: they were let in and preſented a petition ſigned by the principal inhabitants, in which they beſought the order to make ſome proviſion for the ſafety of their wives and children, inſinuating at the end of the petition, that if they ſhould have no regard thereto, they ſhould think themſelves obliged by all laws, both divine and human, not to abandon them to the fury and brutality of the Infidels. The grand maſter, before any anſwer was given them, ordered the knights that commanded at the ſeveral poſts to be called in, in order to learn from them a true and exact account of the ſtate and forces of the place. He addreſſed himſelf particularly to the grand prior of St. Giles, and the bailiff Martinengo, who had a few days before taken arms again and reſumed the defence of the place. Theſe two great men, who had ſo many times expoſed their lives on the moſt dangerous occaſions, declared one after the other that they thought themſelves obliged, both in conſcience and honour, to repreſent to the aſſembly, that the place was not any longer tenable; that the Turks had advanced their works above forty paces forwards and above thirty croſs-wiſe into the city; that they were fortified there in ſuch a manner, that they could no longer feed themſelves with the hopes of driving them out, or that they themſelves could retire farther back, in order to make new intrenchments; that all the pioneers and the beſt of the ſoldiers were killed; that they themſelves could not be ignorant how many knights the order had loſt; that the town was equally in want of ammunition and proviſions, and that without a ſpeedy and powerful ſuccour, they could ſee no reſource, and had even reaſon to fear that at the firſt attack the Chriſtians would be bore down by the formidable power and vaſt numbers of the Infidels.

ALL the council, upon the report of two captains ſo brave in their perſons and ſo greatly skilled in the arts of war, were of opinion that they ſhould enter into a treaty with Solyman. The grand maſter was the only perſon that differed from them in that reſpect, who, without abating any thing of his uſual conſtancy and magnanimity, repreſented to them, that in the whole courſe of ſo many ages as the order had been making war upon the Infidels, the knights had in the moſt perillous occaſions always preferred an holy and glorious death before a frail and precarious life; that he was ready to ſet them an example, and begged of them, before they took ſo grievous a ſtep, to reflect once more upon it in the moſt ſerious manner.

THE principal perſons of the council replied, that if their own particular lives, were concerned in the caſe, they would all follow his example only and freely die by his ſide; that they were ready to ſacrifice their lives; that they had devoted them to God when they took the habit; but that the ſafety of the inhabitants was the buſineſs in queſtion; that if the Infidels ſhould carry the place by ſtorm and enter it ſword in hand, they would force the women, and children, and all weak perſons to renounce the faith; that they would make the moſt of the inhabitants either ſlaves or renegadoes; and that the churches, and particularly the relicks which had ſo long been the object of their veneration at Rhodes, would be prophaned by the Infidels, and be made the ſubject of their contempt and raillery. The grand maſter yielded at length to theſe pious conſiderations, and they reſolved at the firſt overtures of peace that the ſultan ſhould make to give an anſwer and enter upon a negotiation.

THE grand ſeignior, uneaſy at the thoughts of ſuccours, a report of which the knights had taken care to ſpread abroad, and unable either to take the place, or on the other hand to raiſe the ſiege conſiſtent with his honour, endeavoured by new propoſitions to ſhake the reſolution and conſtancy of the knights: they planted, by his orders, a flag on the top of the church of St. Mary and in a quarter called the Lymonitres.

THE grand maſter thereupon ordered another to be fixed upon a mill that was at the gate of Coſquin. Upon this ſignal two Turks, who by their dreſs ſeemed to be conſiderable officers, came out of the trenches and advanced towards the gate; they were met there by the prior of St. Giles and the bailiff Martinengo, to whom they delivered only a letter from Solyman to the grand maſter, without ſpeaking a word. The letter contained a ſummons to ſurrender the place with advantageous offers, provided they ſhould deliver it up immediately, and threats of putting all to the ſword if they delayed it any longer. The common council of the order and the great council were for hearing the conditions which the ſultan offered: they agreed to give hoſtages on both ſides. The order ſent as deputies to Solyman Sir Anthony Grolée called Paſſim, and Robert Perrucey judge of Rhodes, who both ſpoke the vulgar Greek with facility: the Turks on their ſide ſent into Rhodes a nephew of the general Achmet's, and one of Solyman's interpreters in whom that prince put an entire confidence. The chevalier de Grolée and his brother deputy were admitted to an audience of the grand ſeignior, who told them that he was diſpoſed to let them go quietly out of the iſland and the eaſt, provided they would immediately ſurrender up to him Rhodes, fort St. Peter, Lango and the other little iſlands of the order; but that if from a reſolution of making a raſh defence they ſhould be obſtinate in attempting to hold out any longer againſt his formidable power, he would deſtroy all before him with fire and ſword. The two deputies deſired to return into the place to communicate his intentions to the grand maſter and the council; but the Turks ſent back Perrucey only, with orders to bring a deciſive anſwer immediately; and general Achmet kept the chevalier de Grolée in his tent, whom he treated very honourably, and owned to him at table in the heat of the entertainment, that the ſultan his maſter had loſt at that ſiege 44000 men that had fallen by the arms of the knights, beſides almoſt as conſiderable a number that had died of ſickneſs and cold ſince the beginning of the winter.

During theſe preliminaries of the negotiation, a company of young fellows, who were ſome of the moſt inconſiderable of the townſmen, and who had not been conſulted in the petition which the principal inhabitants had preſented to the grand maſter, ran in a tumultuous manner to the palace to complain that they were treating with the enemy without their conſent, and that would be delivering them up to a perfidious nation, that gloried in breaking their faith with Chriſtians, and that they all choſe to die with their weapons in their hands, rather than be cut to pieces after the capitulation, as the inhabitants of Belgrade had been. The grand maſter, who was uſed to the bravadoes and vanity of the Greeks, anſwered them with great moderation, that prudence did not allow him to publiſh the motives of the negotiation, for fear the grand ſeignior ſhould be informed of the ill condition of the place and break it, and his troops make another aſſault which he was afraid they wanted forces ſufficient to ſuſtain; but that he was exceedingly pleaſed to find them ſo well diſpoſed to defend their country; that they ſhould ſee him always at their head, and ready to ſhed the laſt drop of his blood for the preſervation of the place; he deſired them only to remember to bring thither on the firſt occaſion that might offer it ſelf the ſame courage and all the reſolution that they boaſted of in their diſcourſe, and in the preſence of their ſovereign.

As no great account was made of the idle talk of a troop of braggadocios, the grand maſter and the council being informed by one of their deputies of the ſultan's diſpoſition, thought fit to diſpatch two other embaſſadors to him, and choſe for that employment don Raimond Marquet and don Lopes Depas both Spaniards, who, in the audience they had of the grand ſeignior, demanded of him a truce for three days in order to regulate the capitulation, and adjuſt the ſeveral intereſts of the inhabitants who were partly Latins and partly Greeks.

But that prince being always uneaſy at the reports ſpread in his army of an approaching ſuccour, rejected the propoſition of a truce; and in order to determine the grand maſter to treat immediately, he commanded his officers to begin firing again, and prepare every thing for a general aſſault. He ſent back at the ſame time one of the new envoys, but kept the other with a deſign no doubt of reſuming the negotiation if he did not ſucceed immediately in the attack.

The batteries began to fire on both ſides, but not ſo furiouſly on that of the knights, who reſerved the little powder left them for the aſſaults they were unavoidably to ſtand. The grand maſter ſeeing the attack begin again, ſent for the inhabitants that had ſpoke to him with ſo much oſtentation of their courage: he told them that now was the time of their giving him proofs of it; and an order was iſſued out in his name, and publiſhed with ſound of trumpet to all the citizens to repair immediately to the advanced poſts, with a ſtrict injunction not to quit them either day or night under pain of death. The townſmen obeyed this order for ſome days; but a certain young man, terrified at the danger to which he was expoſed from the enemies artillery, ſtealing home in the night, the grand maſter ſent to take him, and the council of war condemned him to be hanged, as an example to the reſt, and in order to keep up diſcipline.

THOUGH all the fortifications of Rhodes were ruined, and that the city was in a manner no more than an heap of ſtones and rubbiſh, yet the knights ſtill kept their ground in the barbacan or fauſſe-braye of the baſtion of Spain, where the grand maſter himſelf lodged in order to take the better care of its defence; the Turks attacked it on the 17th of December.

THE engagement was very bloody and obſtinate; they fought almoſt the whole day on both ſides with equal animoſity; the grand maſter and the few knights he had left ran, as we may ſay, to meet their wounds, and rather than ſurvive the loſs of the place, went in queſt of death that ſeemed to fly from them. In fine, they exerted themſelves ſo nobly, that after making a terrible ſlaughter of the enemy they forced them to retire. But the Infidels, animated by the reproaches of the ſultan, returned the next day to the aſſault, and came on in ſuch vaſt numbers, that the knights, bore down by their multitude, were forced to abandon the work, and threw themſelves into the city to defend it to the utmoſt extremity, and bury themſelves in its ruins.

THE townſmen, terrified at the approaching danger, abandoned their poſts and retired one after another: the grand maſter and his knights were forced to make alone the ordinary guard of the place, and if thoſe noble ſoldiers of Jeſus Chriſt had not kept upon the breach, it would have been ſurprized and carried by aſſault. In fine, all the inhabitants came in a body to beſeech the grand maſter to reſume the negotiation, and entreated him to give them leave to ſend along with his embaſſadors to the camp, two deputies of their own to take care of their intereſts in the capitulation: the grand maſter conſented to it: the body of the townſmen named Peter Singlifico and Nicholas Vergati, when the chevalier de Grolée, who had renewed the negotiation with general Achmet, conducted them to the camp and deſired him to preſent them to the grand ſeignior. But before they were admitted to his audience, the grand maſter in ſome hopes, though they were very uncertain of a ſuccour, and with deſign to ſpin out the negotiation, had directed him to ſhew Achmet an old treaty which ſultan Bajazet had made with the grand maſter d'Aubuſſon; in which he lays his curſe upon any of his ſucceſſors that ſhould break the peace he had concluded with the knights of St. John: the grand maſter gave this inſtrument to his embaſſador, that he might feel if Solyman, who was a zealous obſerver of his law, could be prevailed with, in conſideration of a conſiderable ſum of money, to raiſe the ſiege. But Achmet, as ſoon as he caſt his eyes on the paper, tore it to pieces, trod it under his feet, and drove the embaſſador and deputies of the people from his preſence; in fine, having no ſuccour to hope for, nor forces enough to defend the city, the grand maſter ſent the embaſſador and deputies to the camp, who, after making their compliments to the grand ſeignior, ſet themſelves with Achmet to draw up the capitulation, the principal articles whereof contained, that the churches ſhould not be prophaned, nor the inhabitants obliged to deliver up their children to be made janizaries; that they ſhould be allowed the free exerciſe of the chriſtian religion; that the people ſhould be exempt from taxes for five years; that all who would go out of the iſland ſhould have leave to do ſo; that if the grand maſter and the knights ſhould not have veſſels enough to tranſport them to Candia, they ſhould be furniſhed with them by the Turks; that they ſhould be allowed twelve days time, reckoning from that of ſigning the treaty, to put their effects on board; that they might carry away the relicks of the ſaints, the conſecrated veſſels of the church of St. John, the ornaments, their moveables, their records and writings, and all the cannon that they uſed to employ on board their gallies; that all the forts of the iſle of Rhodes, and the other iſles belonging to the order, and that of the caſtle of St. Peter ſhould be delivered up to the Turks; that in order to facilitate the execution of this treaty, the Turkiſh army ſhould remove to ſome miles diſtance; that whilſt it lay at that diſtance the ſultan ſhould ſend four thouſand janizaries under the command of their aga to take poſſeſſion of the place; and that the grand maſter, as a ſecurity of his word, ſhould give twenty five knights in hoſtage, among which were to be two grand croſſes, with twenty five of the principal burgeſſes of the town. This treaty being ſigned by the embaſſador and deputies on one ſide, and by general Achmet in the ſultan's name, and ratified by the grand maſter and the lords of the council, the hoſtages agreed on repaired to the camp, and the aga of the janizaries entered at the ſame time into the town with a company of his ſoldiers, and took poſſeſſion of it.

WHILST they were employed on both ſides in executing the treaty, they ſaw a numerous fleet off at ſea, ſtanding in for the iſland full ſail and with a favourable wind. The Turks, who were always uneaſy on account of the ſuccours that the Chriſtians had ſo long expected, made no queſtion but they were ſhips of the princes of the weſt coming to raiſe the ſiege. They immediately run to arms; Solyman and his generals were in great pain, but the fleet drawing near the coaſt, they diſcovered the creſcent in their flags; and after the troops on board the fleet were landed, they found that they came from the frontiers of Perſia, and that Solyman ſeeing his ſoldiers diſheartened by ſo many unſucceſsful attacks, had, in hopes that freſh troops might behave themſelves with more ardor in the aſſaults, ſent orders to Ferhat baſha to bring them with the utmoſt diligence he could. 'Tis to be preſumed, that if theſe freſh troops had landed ſooner, the knights would not have made ſo honourable a compoſition with the ſultan; but as they had begun to execute the capitulation, Solyman would not make any advantage of this ſuccour, nor fail in the performance of his word.

Two days after the treaty was ſigned, general Achmet had a conference with the grand maſter in the ditch of the poſt of Spain; and after ſeveral diſcourſes had paſſed between them in relation to the attack and defence of Rhodes, he told him that the grand ſeignior was deſirous to ſee him, and inſinuated to him that he ought not to think of going away without taking leave of his conqueror, for fear he ſhould provoke his anger. The grand maſter being apprehenſive that he would be incenſed at the long reſiſtance he had made to all his power, as well as on account of the prodigious number of ſoldiers which that prince had loſt at the ſiege, was not very willing to deliver himſelf up into his hands: but as on the other ſide he was afraid of furniſhing him by a refuſal, with a pretence, which perhaps he wiſhed to find, of not keeping his word; this great man, who had during the ſiege expoſed himſelf to the greateſt dangers, got over all conſiderations, and reſolved to ſacrifice himſelf once more for the ſafety of his brethren. He came early the next morning into the quarters to the entrance of the ſultan's tent; the Turks out of pride, and a barbarous kind of grandeur, ſuffered him to wait there almoſt all the whole day, without offering him to eat or drink, expoſed to a ſevere cold, to ſnow and hail which fell in abundance. When, the evening drawing on, he was called in, then cloathing him and the knights that attended him with magnificent veſts, they introduced him to an audience of the ſultan. That prince was ſtruck with the majeſty that appeared in all the air and over the whole perſon of the grand maſter, and told him by his interpreter, by way of conſolidation, “That the conqueſt or loſs of empires were the ordinary ſports “of fortune.” He added, in order to engage ſo great a captain in his ſervice, that he had juſt ſeen by a woful experience the little ſtreſs that was to be laid on the amity and alliance of the chriſtian princes who had ſo ſcandalouſly abandoned him; and that if he was willing to embrace his law, there was no poſt or dignity in the whole extent of his empire but he was ready to gratify him with. The grand maſter, who was as zealous a chriſtian as he was a great captain, after thanking him for the good will he expreſſed towards him, replied, that he ſhould be very unworthy of his favours, if he were capable of accepting them; that ſo great a prince as he would be diſhonoured by the ſervices of a traitor and a renegado; and that all he requeſted of Solyman was, that he would be pleaſed to order his officers not to give him any diſturbance in his going off and imbarkation. Solyman ſignified to him that he might go on with it quietly; that his word was inviolable, and as a token of friendſhip, tho perhaps out of oſtentation of his grandeur, he gave him his hand to kiſs.

IN breach however of the treaty and the poſitive promiſes of the grand ſeignior, five days after the capitulation was ſigned, ſome janizaries, under pretence of viſiting their comrades, who with their aga had taken poſſeſſion of the place, diſperſed themſelves over it, plundered the firſt houſes they came to near the gate of Coſquin, broke into the churches which they prophaned, ranſacked the very tombs of the grand maſters, where their avarice made them fancy they ſhould find treaſure: from thence they ran, like ſo many furies, to the infirmary, that celebrated monument of the charity of the knights, drove out the ſick, and carried off the plate, in which they were ſerved, and would have carried their violence ſtill farther, if, upon the grand maſter's complaints, general Achmet, who knew the grand ſeignior's intention, had not ſent word to the aga that his head ſhould anſwer for the plunder and extravagance of his ſoldiers. Indeed the grand ſeignior, who was fond of glory and jealous of his reputation, was deſirous that the knights, when they retired into the various ſtates of Chriſtendom, ſhould, with the news of the conqueſt of Rhodes, carry likewiſe with them the reputation of his clemency and his inviolable obſervance of his word: and this perhaps might be the motive that engaged him, when he viſited his new conqueſt, to enter into the grand maſter's palace.

THIS prince received him with all the marks of reſpect due to ſo potent a monarch. Solyman in this viſit, ſo very extraordinary in a grand ſeignior, accoſted him in an affable manner, exhorted him to bear couragiouſly this change of fortune, and ſignified to him by Achmet who attended him, that he might take his own time to embark his effects, and that if the time ſtipulated was not ſufficient, he would readily prolong it. He retired upon this, after repeating his aſſurances to the grand maſter of an inviolable fidelity in the execution of the capitulation, and turning towards his general as he went out of the palace, “I can't help being concerned, ſays he to him, that I force this Chriſtian at his age to “go out of his houſe.

THE grand maſter was obliged to quit it even before the term agreed on was expired; for being informed that the ſultan was preparing to ſet

Villiers de L'Isle-Adam.

out in two days for Conſtantinople, he did not think it proper to ſtay in the iſland expoſed to the mercy of the officers that were to command there, who might perhaps, in the grand ſeignior's abſence, value themſelves on giving ſuch explications to the treaty as ſuited their hatred and animoſity againſt the knights. So that not thinking it ſafe to ſtay any longer among barbarians that were not over ſcrupulous with regard to the law of nations, he ordered the knights, and ſuch as would follow the fortune of the order, to carry immediately their moſt valuable effects on board the veſſels of the order.

This diſmal imbarkation was made in the night with a precipitation and diſorder that can hardly be deſcribed: nothing could be more moving than to ſee the poor citizens loaded with their goods and followed by their families abandoning their country. There was heard on all ſides a confuſed noiſe of children crying, of women bemoaning themſelves, of men curſing their ill fortune, and of ſeamen calling out after them all. The grand maſter alone wiſely diſſembled his grief; the ſentiments of his heart were not betrayed by his looks; and in this confuſion he gave his orders with the ſame tranquillity, as if he had been only to ſend away a ſquadron of the order to cruize.

The grand maſter, beſides the knights, put on board above four thouſand inhabitants of the iſland, men, women and children, who not caring to ſtay under the dominion of the Infidels, reſolved to follow the fortune of the order, and abandon their country.

Prince Amurath, ſon to the unfortunate Zizim, would gladly have followed the grand maſter, and had agreed with him to come on board with all his family; but Solyman reſolving to get him into his power, cauſed him to be watched ſo narrowly, that in ſpite of all the diſguiſes he put on, he could never get near the fleet, but was forced to hide himſelf in the ruins of ſome houſes which the Turkiſh cannon had demoliſhed. The grand maſter not being able to ſave him, took leave of the grand ſeignior, and was the laſt man that went on board his veſſel. [The firſt day of January A. D. 1523. all the fleet after his example made ready for ſailing; and the few knights that ſurvived this long and bloody ſiege, were reduced to the diſmal neceſſity of quitting the iſle of Rhodes, and the places and other iſlands that depended on the order, and in which the knights of St. John of Jeruſalem had maintained themſelves with ſo much glory for near two hundred and twenty years.] 3

A DISSER-

A
DISSERTATION
ON
Two cotemporary and original hiſtorians who relate the ſame fact, but with circumſtances ſo very different that they entirely alter the nature of it.

See the 7th book of this hiſtory p. 388.

SUCH as undertake to travel through the immenſe ſpace of hiſtory often meet with rocks in their road, which they can hardly keep from ſplitting on, without carrying the plummet always in their hand, and calling in the aſſiſtance of criticiſm, which a prudent writer ſhould conſult every moment, as a compaſs abſolutely neceſſary to ſteer by in this kind of navigation. No body need be told that this art, like other ſciences, is guided by principles and rules that are peculiar to it. The firſt that is propoſed to us is to advance no fact, as far as is poſſible, but upon the teſtimony of cotemporary and original hiſtorians: 'tis this teſtimony that engages the reader's confidence and eſtabliſhes his aſſurance of facts. But if ſuch antient authors, of equal authority, relate the ſame fact in a different manner, by what rule can a later writer be determined? What motive can fix his choice, and to which of the two hiſtorians ſhall he give the preference?

THIS is the very difficulty I met with in that part of my ſeventh book where I give an account of the manner in which prince Gem or Zizim, ſon to Mahomet II. was received in the iſle of Rhodes by the grand maſter and the knights of St. John. To guide me in my relation of that fact, I conſulted the cotemporary and original hiſtorians, I found two of them, who deſerve that title indiſputably, who yet contradict one another directly in the narration of the ſame fact. The firſt is William Caourſin vicechancellor of the order, and the other is William de Jaligni ſecretary to Peter de Bourbon, ſecond of the name, ſeignior of Beaujeu, who to the prejudice of the duke of Orleans, preſumptive heir of the crown, ſeized on the government, and under whoſe adminiſtration moſt of the affairs, of which his ſecretary gives an account, were tranſacted. The whole affair between theſe two writers is to know, whether after the death of Mahomet II. prince Zizim his ſon, then in queſt of an aſylum againſt the power of his brother Bajazet who was for putting him to death; whether, I ſay, this unfortunate prince applied to the grand maſter of Rhodes in order to obtain from him a retreat in his dominions, and a paſs to come in and go out of them as he pleaſed; and whether this paſs was ſent him by a ſquadron of ſhips to ſerve him for an eſcort, as Caourſin relates; or whether he did not throw himſelf into the port of Rhodes and expoſe himſelf to be made a priſoner of war by the knights, purely to avoid being taken by the gallies of the ſultan his brother, which were purſuing him on all ſides, as Jaligni informs us, who pretends, that the grand maſter and the knights ſeized on his perſon, "Hoping, ſays he, to make "their advantage of him.

If we follow Caourſin, Zizim was Bajazet's younger brother; but he ſays, the prince pretended to the crown as being born in royalty, after the emperor Mahomet his father was in poſſeſſion of the empire: whereas Bajazet, though the elder, was born in the reign of Amurath II. when Mahomet was but a private man. "Fateor, he makes Zizim ſay, fratrem "priùs in lucem prodiiſſe; ſed patre eſt genitus non rege." Jaligni on the contrary ſays expreſly, that Zizim was the eldeſt. The vicechancellor adds, that Zizim being defeated in two battles againſt his brother, and having in vain ſolicited the ſoldan of Egypt for ſuccours, and finding himſelf without troops ſkulking up and down in the midſt of his own territories and the rocks of mount Taurus, was forced to ſeek an aſylum in the iſle of Rhodes; that he ſent embaſſadors to the grand maſter to deſire a paſs from him, "Fidem publicam implorat, ſaid theſe embaſſadors to d'Aubuſſon, "quâ tutus in veſtram ditionem pateat aditus." The hiſtorian continuing his narration, ſays, that the grand maſter ſent him this paſs, with full liberty of coming in and going out of his dominions, in the very form that the embaſſadors deſired.

See the 7th book of this hiſtory p. 153.

We have ſeen in the ſeventh book that the grand maſter ſent theſe miniſters back with a ſtrong ſquadron to convoy the prince to the iſle of Rhodes, "Firmatus animo, ſays Caourſin, navim conſcendit & hieroſolymorum equitum fidei ſe committit." He truſts himſelf, ſays the hiſtorian, to the faith of the knights of St. John of Jeruſalem. Zuniga grand prior of Caſtile giving him his hand to help him aboard his ſhip, and addreſſing himſelf to him ſpoke as follows. We receive you, ſir, ſays he to him, as our gueſt and not as an enemy. "Te excipimus ut hoſpitem, "non ut hoſtem." This was afterwards confirmed to him by the grand maſter, who ſaid to him, when he accoſted him, ſince you are come into our territories as our friend and gueſt, it is fit we ſhould render you all the offices of hoſpitality: "Tu ut hoſpes & amicus accedis, jura quidem hoſpitii "ut præbeamus decens eſt.

But the treaty which the grand maſter afterwards made with ſultan Bajazet, ſoon contradicted a conduct that appeared at firſt ſo generous: for the knights agreed with the ſultan, in conſideration of a penſion of forty five thouſand ducats of gold, to keep Zizim in their power, and hinder him from diſturbing the ſultan his brother in the enjoyment and government of the empire, ſo long as on his ſide he did not invade their territories or thoſe of the chriſtian princes. Caourſin, and after him Pere Bouhours, to excuſe the injuſtice and ſcandalouſneſs of ſuch a treaty, that was inconſiſtent with the paſs which the grand maſter and the order had ſent to prince Zizim, pretend that he engaged, when he deſired the paſs, to guide himſelf entirely by the grand maſter's advice; that the paſs was granted on this expreſs condition; and that beſides Zizim had given a very ample letter of attorney to the grand maſter to treat with the Turks as he ſhould ſee fitting; and it was, ſays Pere Bouhours, by virtue of this letter of attorney, that the grand maſter brought Zizim into the treaty of peace.

Hiſt. de Pierre d'Aubuſſon.

As for what relates, add theſe two hiſtorians, to the forty or forty five thouſand ducats, which ill deſigning people make uſe of as an handle to aſperſe the order, 'tis certain that the money which they received from Bajazet was employed in Zizim's maintenance; and the grand maſter, far from making any advantage of it to himſelf, made an addition to it out of his own revenue; as may be eaſily imagined, if we conſider the royal magnificence with which the Ottoman prince was always treated, to ſay nothing

thing of the infinite expences neceſſary to be made on his account both in ſending and receiving embaſſadors.

But it may be urged in anſwer to theſe two hiſtorians, that ſuppoſing, as they pretend, the Turkiſh prince had, in order to obtain the paſs, ſubmitted to be guided entirely by the grand maſter's advice and orders, yet this pretended ſubmiſſion and engagement could never have been ſtipulated to the prejudice of the prince's liberty, the ſole end and principal motive of the paſs: otherwiſe the asking it on ſuch a condition was to deſtroy it entirely. As to what is alledged relating to a letter of attorney that Zizim gave to the grand maſter, that reaſon ſeems to be altogether as frivolous.

This prince, if they are to be credited, gave a letter of attorney to the grand maſter, to treat in his name with the grand ſeignior his brother; and the proxy makes uſe of this letter of attorney as a pretence, in concert with his enemy, to keep him in cloſe impriſonment. As to the forty five thouſand ducats of gold that Bajazet furniſhed for his brother's penſion, I leave the reader to judge, whether a ſum ſo conſiderable as that, eſpecially in 1485. was not enough for the maintenance of a priſoner and his guards. If any body would take the pains to make an eſtimate of this ſum, with regard to what it would produce in our days, they will eaſily ſee whether there was any occaſion for the grand maſter, as his two hiſtorians ſay, to make up out of his own revenue what was wanting for the expences of the Turkiſh prince: or whether a penſion ſo conſiderable as that which the grand maſter remitted every year with great exactneſs to Venice, was not one of the motives that engaged the order not to part with ſo uſeful a penſioner. After having conſulted Caourſin, let us ſee how Jaligni relates the ſame event.

Of all the facts related by theſe two hiſtorians, in which they contradict one another, I find but one of any great importance, or which, in my opinion, concerns the honour of the grand maſter and his order, and that is the paſs which Caourſin pretends Zizim obtained before he entered into the port of Rhodes. For if he only offered himſelf there as a priſoner of war, which Jaligni aſſerts, there is no doubt but the order might diſpoſe of their priſoner, tranſport him to France, treat with his brother about his penſion, deliver him up, and conſign him over a priſoner to the pope: there is nothing in all this that claſhes with the ordinary rules of juſtice and equity. But if we only conſider the facts as Caourſin ſtates them, and that the Turkiſh prince, before he delivered himſelf up to the knights, did indeed take the precaution of a paſs for his ſecurity; how is it poſſible to vindicate the grand maſter and his order from a breach of promiſe and a violation of the publick faith which they engaged to that prince? Here lies the difficulty; which of the two hiſtorians ſhall we prefer? every thing ſeems to favour Caourſin. This hiſtorian was not only cotemporary, but likewiſe actually at Rhodes when Zizim arrived there: he was a miniſter and one of the principal officers of the order, and in all probability, as he was vicechancellor, he was the very perſon that drew up and ſigned the paſs: and what ſeems to determine ſtill more in his favour is, that this writer, who ſeems paſſionate for the intereſts of his order, and in all his works loſes no occaſion of celebrating their illuſtrious actions, does on this occaſion ingenuouſly relate a fact that is not much for its honour. The vanquiſhed party's owning a defeat, is an inconteſtable proof for the glory of the vanquiſher.

But that which might make us ſuſpect Caourſin's account is, that this writer amplifies and exaggerates every thing he ſays; and that on the foundation of a certain and undoubted fact, he almoſt builds a romance, or at leaſt dreſſes up his relation of it in circumſtances, that very often have little or no probability in them. If he ſpeaks of Mahomet father to Zizim, he makes him a ſorcerer and a magician, though it is well enough known that that prince was a perfect atheiſt, and owned no divinity but fortune. When he ſpeaks of the death of that ſultan, he indeed damns him, and that with reaſon; but then as if that were not enough, he precipitates him ſoul and body into hell, where he cauſed, ſays this fine hiſtorian, ſo abominable a ſtink, that the inſupportable ſtench was a great addition to the torments of the damned. “Arbitramur enim, ſays he, tam ſceleſtum, tam fætidum, tam ſævum cadaver terram intra ſua viſcera minimè continuiſſe, & in damnatorum perpetuum cahos dejeciſſe; cujus fætor ipſum etiam infernum inficit, & damnatorum ſupplicia graviora reddit.

This author's ſtile is full as extraordinary as the romantick air which he gives to his narrations. He has no notion but of one kind; his favourite figure is the direct ſtile; and, what is a little ſurprizing, all the compliments that he beſtows on Zizim are ſo many harangues; we meet with “prince Zizim's ſpeech to the ſoldan of Egypt, to the prince of Caramania, to the grand maſter” in every page of his book; with the anſwers of all theſe princes in the ſame plain direct ſtile. Yet theſe are the places of his work, where perhaps he has taken the moſt pains: theſe pieces are ſtuffed with learned citations and common places, but unluckily they are ſeldom proper for the ſubject, much leſs ſuit the character of the perſons into whoſe mouth he puts them. In fine, before this prince's arrival at Rhodes, he carries him as far as Jeruſalem and Mecca, which journies indeed he actually made: but as if he had ſtood behind him all the time, he recites verbatim the ſeveral prayers which the Turkiſh prince offered up either to God or to Mahomet the falſe prophet of his law. I own theſe are no more than the faults of a bad orator, which may poſſibly be conſiſtent with his veracity in the facts that he relates; but after all, the perſon that could allow himſelf to compoſe ſuch frothy compliments and ſuch a number of harangues, might likewiſe take the liberty of compoſing Zizim's paſs and magnificent entry into Rhodes, which he fancied would be a fine embelliſhment to his hiſtory.

Jaligni on the contrary appears more ſimple in his narration: his work contains only annals of the moſt important matters that paſſed under the reign of Charles VIII. He was ſecretary to a prince, who then governed France during the minority of the king his brother in law, and who even after his majority kept a great ſhare in the government for ſome time: and if Zizim had come to Rhodes, and afterwards into France only upon the aſſurance of a paſs, how could they poſſibly be ignorant of it in that kingdom? Would not that prince himſelf have demanded the benefit of the publick faith? Whereas being no better than a priſoner of war, thoſe who took him might very well detain him, diſpoſe of him, or take a ranſom for him, without acting contrary to equity and the law of nations.

Besides Matthias Corvinus king of Hungary, the terror of the Turks, the republick of Venice, and even the ſoldan of Egypt, all of them at that time enemies to Bajazet, having made great inſtances to the grand maſter to deliver up Zizim to them, in hopes that his bare appearing on the frontiers would give new life to his party, and might bring about ſome revolution in the empire; if this unfortunate prince had not been a priſoner of the order, what pretence could the knights have had to keep him in priſon contrary to the aſſurance of the paſs, of their own intereſts and of thoſe of all Chriſtendom? Would not all theſe ſovereigns have complained of ſuch an infamous piece of injuſtice? Would there not have been ſome traces or other left of theſe complaints in the hiſtorians of the time? In fine, another proof that the knights thought they had a right to diſpoſe of the perſon and liberty of the Turkiſh prince, and that they conſidered his ranſom as part of their own effects, is, that pope Innocent VIII. having demanded him of the order with a deſign of putting him at the head of a league that was formed againſt the grand ſeignior, the grand maſter and ſupream council of the order ſent vicechancollor Caourſin to Rome, with other embaſſadors to treat with the pontiff about it; and the knights, after various negotiations would not conſent to deliver up the Turkiſh prince to him, but upon condition, that by way of equivalent, he ſhould unite to their order thoſe of St. Sepulchre and St. Lazarus, with all the eſtates and revenues belonging to them. Neither were the private intereſt of the grand maſter forgot in this treaty; and in which it was expreſly ſtipulated, that as ſoon as Zizim ſhould be arrived at Rome, the pope ſhould ſend d'Aubuſſon a cardinal's hat. If Zizim had not been the priſoner of thoſe knights, would it not have been a diſhonour to them to exact ſuch vaſt recompences for violating the faith they had plighted to that prince?

But this is to alledge the very thing conteſted as a proof, and is a begging of the queſtion: all depends upon knowing which is moſt to be credited, Caourſin or Jaligni. The firſt allows that there was a paſs, and even gives one to underſtand, and that plainly enough, that it had been violated. According to the other hiſtorian, Zizim was only a priſoner of war, who conſequently had no paſs ſent him; which of the two hiſtorians are we to believe? In order to get rid of this uncertainty, and reconcile theſe authors in ſome meaſure, I fancied it would be beſt to divide my confidence, and give part of it to Caourſin, particularly with regard to the facts that paſſed at Rhodes, to which he was an eye-witneſs, and reſerve the other for Jaligni, and follow him in his account of that prince after his arrival in France. This expedient ſeemed to me at firſt reaſonable enough, but when I came to apply it, I found my ſcruples ſpringing up, and the ſame difficulties occurring over again.

For if the Turkiſh prince, as Caourſin aſſerts, and which indeed is likely enough, did not enter Rhodes till he had a paſs, and might enjoy entire liberty in that place; if it be true, as he advances, that this prince went into France of his own accord, the better to avoid the ſnares that his brother might lay for him ſo long as he ſhould continue in the eaſt, and in hopes of obtaining powerful ſuccours from Louis XI. to ſet him upon the throne of his fathers: Jaligni ought to have told us for what reaſon, and at what time and place he was arreſted in France, whereas he does not mention the leaſt ſyllable of it. If we believe Caourſin, Zizim enjoyed a full liberty at Rhodes: we find him likewiſe free at his leaving Rhodes, and at the time of his imbarkation; and if we follow Jaligni, the prince was a priſoner all the time he was in that kingdom. The French hiſtorian ſpeaking of his abode in France, calls him not ſo often by his own name as by that of THE PRISONER: this tranſition from a ſtate of liberty to his being confined in a tower, ought it not to be taken notice of by this writer? Why has he not told us whether the poor prince was arreſted in the veſſel of the order that carried him from Rhodes into France?

or whether they waited till he was landed in ſome part of that kingdom; in fine, whether they did not put him in priſon till after the tower built for that purpoſe was finiſhed? Is it allowable in an event of ſo rare and ſingular a nature, to be either in the dark as to the principal circumſtances of it, or to ſuppreſs them? The Rhodian, in my opinion, is more particular in this reſpect; and it is eaſy to be ſeen from his narration that they made no open attempt upon Zizim's liberty, till orders came from Rhodes to that purpoſe, purſuant to the treaty made between the grand ſeignior and the grand maſter. As the order by that treaty engaged it ſelf in conſideration of a penſion of forty five thouſand ducats of gold, to keep the Turkiſh prince in their power, they certainly thought it neceſſary to keep him in confinement, in order to prevent his eſcape. 'Twas in this treaty that they trafficked for the liberty of this unfortunate prince, and his impriſonment was the ſeal of the new alliance between the Turks and the Chriſtians: but for fear of putting any biaſs upon the reader's judgment, we have thought proper to annex to this diſſertation an extract of the two hiſtorians, by which he will be enabled to make a judgment whether there ever was a paſs granted, and whether ſuch ſafe conduct was violated by the grand maſter and the knights of Rhodes.

TEXTE DE JALIGNI.

LE Roy, dit Jaligni, étant encore à Paris ledit mois de Janvier, mil quatre cens quatre-vingt & huit, il arriva per devers lui un Ambaſſadeur de l'Empereur des Turcs, qui conduiſoit un Ambaſſadeur du Roy de Naples. Par cet Ambaſſadeur, le Turc écrivoit au Roy des Lettres de créances: la cauſe pourquoi le Turc écrivoit, & envoyoit ſon Ambaſſadeur, étoit pourcequ'en France étoit ſon frere aîné, à qui appartenoit toute la Seigneurie, & y avoit été amené il y avoit déja quatre ou cinq ans: car en l'an mil quatre cens quatre-vingt & un, l'Empereur des Turcs mourut, lequel délaiſſa à deux de ſes enfans la plus grande Seigneurie du monde, pourcequ'il poſſedoit deux Empires, & onze Royaumes, & tenoit ſous ſon obéiſſance la Turquie, la Grece, & la plûpart de l'Aſie. Après ſa mort, pourceque ſon fils aîné étoit fort éloigné de Conſtantinople, où le Turc a coutume de faire ſa réſidence, & qu'il étoit occupé en une guerre, ſon frere puîné durant cette abſence, s'aſſura des gens d'armes qui étoient autour de ſon pere, & de plus s'empara de toutes ſes finances, & uſurpa le titre de la Seigneurie. L'aîné d'autre part, ſçachant les nouvelles du decès de ſon pere, ſe mit en chemin par mer pour venir prendre poſſeſſion de cet Empire, comme Seigneur naturel; mais en venant, il apprit que ſondit frere s'étoit ſaiſi de tout; & lui, étant encore ſur mer, il rencontra des gallées en courſe, que ſon frere avoit envoyées pour le guetter & le prendre au paſſage; & fut tellement preſſé d'icelles gallées, qu'il fut contraint de ſe mettre en fuite, & ſe ſauver, pourcequ'il étoit bien aſſuré de ſa mort s'il étoit pris. Il fut donc tellement pourſuivi qu'il lui convint ſe jetter à refuge dedans le Port de Rhodes; laquelle choſe étant venue à la connoiſſance du Grand Maître & des Chevaliers, incontinent ils ſe ſaiſirent de ſa perſonne, étant fort joyeux de l'avanture qui leur étoit advenue; & eſperant d'en bien faire leur profit, ils donnerent bon & ſûr ordre pour la garde de ſa perſonne. Auſſi-tôt que le frere qui uſurpoit la Seigneurie, ſçut comme ſondit frere étoit ainſi échapé, il en fut très-déplaiſant; toutefois incontinent après, il envoya une grande & ſolemnelle

ambaſſade devers le Grand Maître de Rhodes, pour pratiquer, s'il ſeroit poſſible, de ravoir ſon frere, ou à tout le moins d'être aſſuré qu'il ne lui pût nuire à l'avenir. Enfin il fut conclu entre eux que ledit frere jouiſſant donneroit par chacun an une bonne & grande penſion au Grand Maître de Rhodes. Et en outre, qu'il fourniroit autre grande ſomme d'argent pour la dépenſe de ſon frere ſpolié, & pour ſa garde: outre quoi alliance fut faite, & toute ſûreté baillée à ceux de Rhodes de leurs terres & Seigneuries. Or combien que le Grand Maître de Rhodes eût lors un avantageux parti avec le Turc, toutefois il fut en doute qu'à la longue la Seigneurie de Rhodes n'en fût brouillée, & en danger, s'il détenoit continuellement ſon priſonnier à Rhodes, croyant bien que le frere jouiſſant, ſeroit inceſſamment à l'aguet pour l'avoir, ou par amour, ou par trahiſon, ou de force. D'autre part, il redoutoit les enterpriſes des voiſins, comme du Souldan, des Venitiens, du Roy de Naples, & autres, & penſoit que chacun d'eux emploieroit ſes cinq ſens pour trouver moyen de l'avoir, & en faire chacun ſon profit: auſſi étoit-il fort requis par le Pape de le lui bailler, pour le profit & l'avantage du Saint Siege Apoſtolique. Enfin pour éviter tous ces inconveniens, il délibera de le mettre en lieu ſûr; & pourcequ'il étoit natif de France, de la Comté de la Marche, & de la Maiſon d'Aubuſſon, il réſolut de l'envoyer en ce Royaume, conſiderant que le Roy étoit fort éloigné des Seigneuries du Turc, & qu'il n'auroit gueres d'intereſt ſur le fait de cet Empire Ottoman, à qui il demeurât des deux freres. Toutesfois avant que de l'envoyer en France, il envoya ſçavoir du Roy Louis onziéme de ce nom, ſi ſon plaiſir ſeroit de le vouloir bien ſouffrir en ſon Royaume; laquelle choſe le Roy accorda volontiers. Après donc que ledit Maître de Rhodes eût ainſi eu le congé & la permiſſion du Roy, il prépara le voyage de ſon priſonnier, & l'envoya deſcendre au pays de Languedoc; de là il le fit mener en ladite Comté de la Marche, en la Maiſon du Seigneur du Bocalami, qui étoit parent d'icelui Grand Maître; & là fut détenu ce priſonnier, qui avoit pour ſa garde aucuns Chevaliers de Rhodes, leſquels étoient pour la plûpart parens dudit Grand Maître. Il étoit fort bien entretenu de ſa perſonne en toutes ſes neceſſitez & beſoins; auſſi ſon frere Empereur payoit bien ſa dépenſe. Ce priſonnier avoit oui parler du Roy Louis, & de la grandeur de ſon Royaume, & de ſa Seigneurie, & auſſi de ſes faits; parquoi il deſiroit fort de le voir & de parler à lui. Les Chevaliers qui l'avoient en garde le firent ſçavoir au Roy, lequel fit réponſe, que pour la grande renommée que ſon pere avoit eue, qui en ſon temps étoit juſqu'alors le plus grand Prince de la Loi de Mahomet, & lequel avoit le plus fait de belles conquêtes qu'aucun autre, il le verroit volontiers, & communiqueroit de trèsbon cœur avec lui; mais que bonnement il ne le pouvoit faire, attendu qu'il n'étoit pas de ſa Loi; & ordonna de plus qu'on lui dît, que s'il vouloit embraſſer la Religion Chrétienne, il lui promettoit d'employer toute ſa puiſſance afin de lui aider à récouvrer les Seigneuries de ſon Empire; & de plus, il lui donneroit de quoi entretenir ſon état: & ſi d'avanture il vouloit cependant demeurer en ſon Royaume, qu'il lui donneroit des heritages & Seigneuries, avec la jouiſſance deſquelles il pourroit vivre comme un Prince. Les Chevaliers firent ſçavoir tout cela à leur priſonnier; mais pourquoi que ce fût il ne voulut délaiſſer ſa Loi, & demeura encore en la Comté dite de la Marche, en la maiſon du ſuſdit Bocalami, juſqu'audit mois de Janvier mil quatre cens quatre-vingt & huit, qu'apres pluſieurs pourſuites & inſtances que le Pape & le Saint Siege Apoſtolique avoient faites envers le Roy, afin d'avoir ce priſonnier, pour le grand profit & intereſt du Saint Siege; & qu'à cette cauſe il y avoit en embaſſade en voyée exprès devers le Roy, laquelle y étoit encore. Le

Roy ſe montrant vrai fils de l'Egliſe, & voulant enſuivre l'amour que ſes prédeceſſeurs avoient eu envers le Saint Siege, dont à cette cauſe ils ont acquis le titre de très-Chrétiens Rois de France; il livra & remit ce priſonnier aux Ambaſſadeurs du Saint Pere pour le mener à Rome: ce qui arriva un peu auparavant que l'Ambaſſadeur du Turc arrivât à Paris, lequel Ambaſſadeur offroit de la part de ſon Maître au Roy de grands partis & avantageuſes conditions, comme de bailler toutes les Reliques de Dieu notre Sauveur, des Apôtres, & des Saints & Saintes, que ſon pere avoit trouvées à Conſtantinople lorſqu'il fit la conquête de cette Ville, & dans toutes les autres Villes qu'il avoit conquiſes ſur la Chrétienté; de plus, il offroit de faire tout ſon effort pour conquerir la Terre Sainte, & puis de la remettre ès mains du Roy; auſſi offroit-il une groſſe penſion pour l'entretenemente de ſon frere, pourvû que le Roy le retînt dans ſons Royaume. Lorſque ces grandes offres ſe firent, le priſonnier étoit encore dedans le Royaume, & l'eût bien pû le Roy recouvrer & s'en rendre le maître; & même aucuns diſoient que vû ces grandes offres, le Roy les devoit accepter: mais il ſe voulut bien montrer vrai Fils de l'Egliſe, & ne voulut pas préferer l'avarice & l'interêt à la liberalité, & à la loyauté, en diſant que puiſqu'il l'avoit fait livrer aux gens du Pape, & qu'il lui en avoit accordé la délivrance, il vouloit tenir ſa parole, & qu'il ſeroit bien joyeux que le Saint Siege en fît ſon profit, & en pût tirer quelque avantage. Il fut donc mené à Avignon; & de-là il fut mis ſur mer, & conduit à Rome. D'Ailleurs, le Grand Maître de Rhodes pourſuivoit auſſi de ſa part qu'il fût mis ès mains du Saint Siege; & par ce moyen il fut fait Cardinal, & obtint de grands privileges & biens pour tout l'Ordre de Saint Jean de Jeruſalem. Le Roy fit au reſte très-bien entretenir & traiter l'Ambaſſadeur du Turc, & celui du Roy de Naples, qui le conduiſoit, & les fit défrayer, & leur fit de beaux dons.

TEXTE DE CAOURSIN.

Zyzymy Rex legatos mittit Rhodum.

Cette relation a été imprimée à Ulme en 1496; on a ſuivi ici l'ortographe & la ponctuation de l'original.

MITTIT itaque rex Zyzymy Rhodum legatos: ad quos prius literas dederat. ſed nuncium terreſtre iter agentem: regis Bagyazit milites intercipiunt. Legati Cilicie littoribus rhodiam birrenum caſu repertam conſcendunt: rhodumque navigant. Interea navigium apud ea littora ſtationem habens Zyzymy conducit. ut ſi caſus exegerit: repente eo conſcenſo ſaluti quoquo modo conſulat. Legati ubi rhodum appulerunt: juſſu equitum magiſtri Petri d'Aubuſſon ſenatu coacto in hanc loquuntur ſententiam.

Oratio legatorum in ſenatu Rhodiorum.

PRECELLENTISSIME princeps & magiſter: Preſtantiſſimique equites. Nobiliſſimus adoleſcens ac ſublimi loco natus Zyzymy rex: othumannides Maximi regis nepos. Splendidiſſimi imperatoris filius: ac potentiſſimi tyranni germanus. adverſis rebus ad tempus cedens: cupit ad te ſapientiſſimum principem & victorioſiſſimum magiſtrum. voſque fortiſſimos athletas: confugere. quorum prudentia conſilio atque ope: rebus afflictis mederi poſſit.

ſit. Quam propere mittendam claſſem eſſe petit : que ipſum excipiens Rhodum deuehat. fidemque publicam implorat : qua tutus in veſtram ditionem pateat aditus. hoc loco referre non libet : que veſtros quidem preſtantiſſimos animos perſuadeant : ut regium adoleſcentem : non reiciatis. Nobiles viri eſtis : & multa prediti prudentia. ſatis ſuperque intelligitis : quanti ponderis exiſtant poſtulata & quot vel quales fructus inde excerpi poterint. Scimus enim vos preclariſſimos viros armis aſuetos : res magis quam verba impellere : quare prolixiori ſermone ſuauiſſimas aures non obtundemus. Potentiſſimum regis natum : ad vos accedentem (licet profugum) ne floccipendatis. Indecorum enim eſſet aſillum regi claudere. quod vel homonciis : & puſilis ſemper patuit. Celebre quidem eſt veſtrum (apud exteras nationes) nomen : quod & caucaſos montes tranſcendit & indos penetrauit. Quin armis vim repellere non ignorat : & profugos fouere aſilo tutiſſimo non faſtidit generoſus veſter animus. Littere in ſenatu recitate : idem poſtulant.

Senatus Conſultum.

LEGATIS curia excluſis : magiſter patres quoque de re conſultant & multa mente agitant. que modo ſuadent : ut regem Zyzymy excipiant. modo : ut reiciant impellunt. Tandem ex rationum controuerſiis (ſeu ex calculorum colliſione ignea ſcintilla) una reſultat ſententia : decernuntque regem excipiendum alendum atque fouendum : quia ejuſce eventus occaſio chriſtiane religioni profutura ſit. Intromiſſis legatis : ſenatus conſultum editur. actis gratiis : petunt. ut res quantotius parentur : ne mora diſcrimen afferat.

Claſſis paratur : & Ciliciam nauigat ad Zyzymy deuehendum.

ONERARIA igitur nauis triremes : nauigiaque parantur. prefectus inſignis eques deſignatur : qui claſſe conſcenſa clara militum hieroſolimorum comitatus caterua in Ciliciam nauigat. vbi illic appulit : rex Zyzymy nauigium de quo ſupra mentionem fecimus : citato equorum curſu vrgentibus germani militibus iam conſcenderat. fama eſt cum a littore paululum elongaretur : perbreuem quidem epiſtolam Zyzymy conſcripſiſſe & ad fratrem dediſſe : quam ſagitte inuoluit nexuitque : & ſitico arcu in terram contorſit. exceptam eſſe ferunt epiſtolam a fratris militibus qui regium iuuenem perſequuti ſunt : & fratri redditam : quam ubi germanus perlegit : parumper lacrimatus eſt. animoque conſternatus diu ſiluit : & aditu prohibito papilione ſe continuit. egre certo tulit. quod frater mahumetee legis cultor (quod permaximum crimen mahumetei ducunt) ad chriſtianos confugerit. ad eos preſertim qui othumannidum familie infenſiſſimi fuere : & genitorem grauiori affecerunt ignominia. quodque fratrem chriſtiano adherentem nomini. legi mahumetee grauiſſimum afferre poſſet dedecus. quorum ſe conſcium profitetur : qui tanta atrocitate ſit eum perſequutus. Series epiſtole : fuit.

Rex Zyzymy Rhodiorum claſſem conſcendit.

Ubi nunciatum eſt: rhodios ſui cauſa adventaſſe. firmatus animo: nauim conſcendit. & hieroſolimorum equitum fidei: ſeſe credit. Nauis prefectus: Regulum othumannidem humanitate honore obſequioque proſequitur. littora patrii ſoli linquens: & paternum auitumque regnum deſerens rex. turbato animo aliquot ſiluit horas: mente poſtmodum recepta. navis prefectum: his alloquitur verbis:

Zyzymy claſſis prefectum alloquitur.

Nedum ago tibi vir illuſtris gratias: verum habeo ingentes. cumulateque redderem ſi ſors a ſublimi loco me non deieciſſet. Quod me deſtitutum profugum animo extorremque tanto zelo afficias. Sed ab ingenuis viſceribus magnanimoque: non niſi illuſtria proficiſci poterunt. generoſi quidem ſunt: qui te ad me excipiendum miſerunt. tu quoque ex coetu eorum nobilis es & vir dignus. qui mandata exequi accurate pro tua innata prudentia & ſcis & ſtudes. Non poſſum tamen non parum admirari: quod tanti affectus iudicium in me exhibeatur. qui ejus natus ſum: qui ſeuicia crudelitate ac immanitate (dum ſpiritus alebat artus) rhodios perſequutus eſt. in quo: & tuam & tui principis ac ſenatus rhodiorum nobilitatem predico. prudentiam admiror ſimul & magnanimitatem (que iniuriarum obliuiſcitur) extollo. Si res proſpere ſuccedent: tanti quidem in me officij memorem & gratum intelligent rhodij. Cui ait: claſſis capitaneus.

Reſponſio capitanei.

Clarissime princeps: hoc a natura illuſtrioribus animis datum eſt. vt ſoleant precellentes viros: honore afficere digno. tu qui ſummo loco natus es: quamvis profugus & extorris contemtui tamen non eſſe debes. Id quippe vilium hominum cenſetur: qui nonniſi bene fortunatos colere ſciunt. At magnanimi viri quos virtus aut ſanguis proſapia illuſtrat: vel hoſtes armis poſitis reuerentur colunt atque obſeruant. Te excipimus ut hoſpitem: non hoſtem. hoſpitis quidem iura: non hoſtis ſequimur. Nec enim mirari licet: quo te affectato corde proſequimur. cuius genitor: ſeuo rhodios perſequutus eſt odio. Pater tuus legis mahumetee ſectator: quod ſibi cordi eſt molitus. Nos vt hoſti: pro virili per te conſtanter arma obiecimus. licet caduca quedam terrena & vilia proſtrarit: que quam totius erecta ſunt glorie tamen famam quam nulla oblitterabit etas: rhodiorum nomini attulit. Poſteritas namque omnis rhodiorum victoriam: e celo demiſſam nullo tempore reticebit. Leonis profecto brutorum principiis animalium mos eſt: proſtratis blandiri ſeuaque animalia grauiori imbuere ira. Milites quoque chriſti: leonis mores imitati. qui ad eos amice confugiunt: humanitate excipiunt. qui ſeuicia vtuntur: ſtrictos gladios fortiter objiciunt.

Pompa

Pompa qua exceptus eſt a Rhodijs rex Zyzymy.

INTEREA Regis aduentu nunciato: parantur que pompe deceant. ſtruitur ad mare ligneus pons; qui deſcendentem excipiat regem: pontis enim longitudo in mare protenſa decem fere paſſuum fuit. Latitudo quatuor: quibus equo gradu plures incedere poſſent. attrebatum pannis auro argenteo ſerico lanaque contextis: pro gallorum belgarum more (qui huiuſce artis inuentores & peritiores putantur) pons ornatur. via enim qua pedum veſtigia incedentes premerent: thurcorum pictis tapetis ſternitur. vici qua parte eundum fuit: mirto floribus ſuauem quidem odorem ſpirantibus reſperſi ac varietate ſunt diſtincti. Primores ac plebeia gens que ad ſpectaculum conuenerat: vias obſident. Matrone ac nupte innupteque puelle: ad feneſtras ſedent. Reliquum vulgus tecta conſcendit: vt venientem conſpiciant regem. Nauim ante portus hoſtium anchoris ſubnixam Rhodia triremis propinquans: regem excipiens ad pontem vehit. Premiſſi ſunt preſtantes ſenatorij ordinis equites: qui Zyzymy deſcendentem conſalutent. Hos ſequitur longus famulorus ordo: inſignis magiſtri redimitorum gallicos cantus vibrancium. deinde iuuenes prime lanuginis milites hieroſolimitani: lucentibus equis inſidentes. Torque veſte ſericea & ſplendido ornatu: diſtincti incedunt. Magiſtrum poſt hos inſignis vehit ſonipes: ſpumancia frena mandens. Aureis fibulis phaleriſque ornatus: qui hynnitum ſepius edens. ſuperbe graditur: vt ne quidem magiſtro quempiam adherere laciniori inceſſu permittat. Senatus quidem grauis: equis vectus ſubſequitur. Edem ſancti Sebaſtiani foro ſitam de induſtria magiſter non tranſit: illucque obuiam venit rex Zyzymy. ſuperbo inſidens equo: fidis comitatus profugis. Poſtquam magiſtrum rex conſpexit: ter digito labellum compeſcuit. qui mos eſt barbarorum principum: cum mutua reuerencia ſeſe afficiunt. Magiſter autem pro more principem reueretur. Reddita ſalutatione dextras iungunt. & per interpretem confabulantes: ad edes equitant paratas. Ubi ad palacia francorum equitum (magnifice ad hec ornata) ventum eſt: eo dimiſſo magiſter ſuas edes petit. Rex vero ex equo in pedes ſeſe agiliter excipit: ac duorum medius thurcorum honoris cauſa vlnas ſuſtentantium ſcalas conſcendens penetralia ingreditur. barbaricoque ſago abiecto: lectiſternio pro thurcorum more flexis poplitibus ſedit. Ea die artubus ſale tabentibus: quies data eſt.

Zyzymy ad Magiſtrum verba.

POSTRIDIE eius diei: magiſtrum coram alloquitur rex his verbis. Preſtantiſſime magiſter inclitiſſimeque princeps: germani ſeuicia me perſequente. cumque ſors eo me redegiſſet: vt aduerſis cedere quam in fortunam conari ſalubrius viſum eſſet. multa menti occurrunt: huc atque illuc animum conuertens ad quos confugerem non ſatis proſpicio. Demum tu preclariſſime athleta occurriſti: ſubijtque mentem tui quidem nominis fama percelebris. que nedum chriſtianos: verum exterorum fines & vſque ad indos penetrauit. Accedit ad hoc fidei integritas: animi generoſitas mentiſque magnanimitas. qua tu: tuique commilitones prediti ſunt. Preterea precellentis triumphi gloria: quam (obſidione qua genitor meus Rhodios oppugnauit) adepti eſtis illuſtre quidem facinus: othumannorum familiam (ſupra octingentos annos tropheis triumphis atque ouationibus celebratam) virtute veſtra propulſaſſe. ingenti itaque tue virtutis admiratione allectus:

te tuorumque militum cetum. nedum dilexi: verum amaui colui & magnifeci. Veſtre quippe: virtutis tante ſunt vires vt nedum ſue gentis: verum exterarum nationum animos alliciant. Nec parum attulit mihi fiducie: quod tu chriſtianorum principum fauorem gratiamque haud immerito complecteris. Et per te: tui quidem nominis ſplendor in orientem late diffunditur. Nulli certe mirum videri debet: ſi perſonam tue fidei crederemus. qui magnanimus & ſapientiſſimus genitoris preteritas Iniurias paruipenderes: & filium tiranni ad te confugientem· non contempneres: verum conſilio auxilio atque preſidio foueres. Sed tacitus forſitan cogitas: quo iure cum germano de regno hic contendit qui minor eſt natu. Fateor fratrem prius in lucem prodiſſe: hac quoque ratione imperio excluſum iri contendo. Patre enim genitus eſt non rege: qui (nondum principatum adeptus) ipſum genuit. Poſſideat igitur: quorum pater (dum eum ſuſcepit) potitur. Ego vero a patre rege imperialibus inſulis ornato: genitus natus educatuſque ſum. Nec patrem vidi cognoui atque colui: niſi regem imperatorem ac principem rerum potitum. Quo fit: vt optimo iure quod pater (cum me genuit) poſſedit: mihi debeant nato At: mittamus hec. Potuit ne me regno paterno auitoque prorſus expellere: & regio iuueni dignam portionem denegare? Regiam gazam: precellentemque ſupellectilem inuadere ſibi aſcribere ac diripere. Commilitones (vt mihi inſenſi eſſent) donis corrumpere allicere atque mouere: & me ad interitum vſque vrgere. O fratris ſeua crudelitas? O germani contumax tyrannis? O ſanguinis ceca cupiditas? Pudet hec: de fratre queri. Sed quod non erubuit: me paterna hereditate ſpoliare· equum eſt: me (iniuria ſpoliatum) coram his ad quos confugio haud verecunde conqueri. *Qui enim medici operam petit: dolorem & vulnus detegat neceſſe eſt.* Ad te confugi Rhodiorum feliciſſime princeps: voſque amplector fortiſſimi milites. faceſſant igitur paterne contumelie: ad calamitatem (qua premor) mentem conuertere velis inclitiſſime athleta. qui hoſtium armis audes reſiſtere: & principum calamitati ſcis ſubuenire. Percuciam quippe cum chriſtianis perpetuum fœdus: nec eos armis laceſſire conabor: paternique imperij portione non indigna contentus: armis poſitis quieſcam. Nec immemor beneficiorum (a te ſuſceptorum) ero. Imploro tuum preſidium. inuoco principum chriſtiane religionis auxilium: vt & mihi & ipſis conſulant germani ſeuiciam vindicantes. pro inimico amicum: pro hoſte hoſpitem. pro infido fidum: R. P. chriſtianorum vendicabunt. Rege ſilente: magiſter ita loquutus eſt.

Reſponſio Magiſtri.

Verba tua illuſtriſſime Rex: prudencia ſunt plena. Quod me & rhodios equites tantopere laudaris: tue quidem modeſtie aſcribimus. Si quid enim glorie fame aut dignitatis in noſtro relucet cetu: deo gratiarum infuſori attribuimus. Ex cuius prouidentie fonte: cuncta manant fluunt ac deriuantur. Nec te moueat: quod chriſtiani & cruce ſignati ſumus. Rhodiorum quippe ciuitas cunctarum gentium aſilum refugium & portus fidiſſimus eſt· ad quam (patrum noſtrorum memoria & tue gentis & aliarum non contempnendi principes) qui confugere: gratiam cum humanitate reportarunt. Nec enim decet generoſos animos; cum de fœdere agitur hoſtilium armorum reminiſci: Si genitor fuit acerrimus Rhodiorum oppugnator: putauit ſue legis decori id conducere. Egit vt hoſtis: nos autem vt hoſti gladios obiecimus. Deus tandem clementiſſimus iuſtiori fauit parti:

& victorie angelum rhodijs mittere dignatus eſt. Tu vt hoſpes amicuſque accedis: iura quidem hoſpicij beniuolencie ac dilectionis prebeamus decens eſt. bono ac erecto ſis animo: pro virili parte rerum euentui conſulere quodque tibi & nomini chriſtiano conducat: exequi non paruipendemus quantum & ingenioli: & fortunarum facvltas ſuppeditarit. Romanus quidem pontifex: reges potentatuſque catholici. Qui religionis chriſtiane tenent gubernacula: potentia ſapientia ac propenſiore in R. P. chriſtianorum voluntate prediti ſunt. qui tui aduentus occaſione frui ſcient: te non deſeremus, ſed nos huic cauſe: propicios comperies. Placuitque plurimum tui iuris ſummam intelligere: vt iuſte cauſe inniti videamur. Grateque ſunt oblationes: que non niſi ab animo grato & generoſa mente (que omnem reſpuit ingratitudinis labem) proficiſcuntur. His dictis regeque ſalutato edes reuiſit.

Conſultationes Rhodiorum.

Totis diebus frequens ſenatus cogitur: vbi ſapientiſſima conſultatione res agitantur. Placuit tandem principi ac rhodiorum ſenatui: in eam quoque ſententiam cunctorum animi inclinantur ad Romanum pontificem imperatorem reges & principes catholicos: literas dari nuncioſque mitti. qui regis zyzymy ad rhodios confugium nuncient: oportunitatemque a deo oblatam ſignificent. quo. R. P. chriſtianorum: conſuli poſſit. Optimumque viſum eſt: vt profugus princeps ſub tutela magiſtri & rhodiorum equitum ad occiduas migret prouincias. Facto S. C. litere nuntijque expediuntur. Ac nauis oneraria paratur que regulum deuehat. cuius conductores deputantur preſtantes rhodiorum milites: qui kalendas ſeptembris M. cccc. lxxxij. Navim conſcendentes portu feliciter ſoluunt. Ea quoque pompa & ornatu: quo Zyzymy vrbem introiuit. Poſtquam dies duo & quadraginta moram traxiſſet: Rhodo diſceſſit.

Guillelmi Caourſin Rhodiorum vicecancellarij de admiſſione regis Zyzymy in Gallias & diligenti cuſtodia aſſeruatione: exhortatio.

Nullus eſt orthodoxe fidei tam imbecillis cultor: qui pro virili parte aggredi non debeat quod chriſtiani nominis honori ſalutique conducat. Etſi corporis vires non ſuppetunt: voluntas tamen merito adſit. in qua vera ſolidaque virtus locata eſt. Haud igitur abſonum erit: ſi ab ignauo puſilloque ingenio viro Quedam dicuntur, que fortaſſis: ſapientum illuſtria ingenia & potentum manus excitent. Hinc chriſti zelus diuini nominis amor: in eccleſiam catholicam affectus haud temere mouit. Hinc deflenda orientalis plage labes: immaculatarum animarum lapſus· ſcelerum atrocitas: promere impellit. Que ingenioli debilitas: balbuciens lingua tremulaque manus edere poſſit. Arduum eſt enim quod aggredimur: egetque precellenti intellectu viro. qui eloquentia ſuaſione atque exhortatione preſtet: & auditores facile moueat. Durum quippe eſt etate noſtra (mundialibus curis implicitis catholicis perſuadere: vt que noſtri maiores patreſque ex incuria perdidere chriſtiane religioni reintegrentur. Jampridem plerique viri doctrina & dignitate pollentes: operam pariter & induſtriam his in perſuadendis perdidere. Loquutiores quoque habiti ſunt: quo labores &

impendia ſubire ſuadent. nec propterea deſiſtere cepto decreui: ſi vel mihi temeritas aut inſania aſcribatur. perſpicaci quidem ſapientiſſimorum iudicio doctorumque ſeuero examini editionem ſubmittens: dicendi initium aggrediar. ingeniorum profunditas: quod ex proditis equum redolet libat faſtidiatque quod inconcinum abſurdum atque inſulſum conceperit. Si animo deſtinauerim iacturas clades ſtrages & ignominias deſcribere: quas chriſtiano nomini mahumetes thurcorum princeps (qui nuper e vita exceſſit) crudeliter attulit. Nec vires nec tempus: nec dicendique facultas certe ſuffecerit. Js quippe tyrannus Nerone crudelior. Rege Aſſuero: potentior. Ac Holopherne eſt proteruior. Jmperia enim duo: Regna non pauca. validiſſimaſque ditiones: mahumetee legi ſubegit. Potentiſſimaſque ac preclariſſimas vrbes: tributum ſubire compulit. Jn qua quidem atrociori perſequutione ſcelerum tam immenſa colluuies nata eſt. Ut ea Nec mens excogitare Nec lingua promere Nec Calamus exarare poterit. Que terſo grauique ſtilo plerique doctiſſimi: toti orbi nota reddidere. vt ſuperfluum fuerit: hunc dicendi latiſſimum campum ingredi. Preſertim: quod in animo eſt deuotas mentes. attrocitate non afficere: nec obductum vulnus refricare. verum pro ingenioli facultate: ab omnipotenti deo oblatam oportunitatem. Jmperiales Conſtantinopolitane vrbis ſedem: vniuerſamque greciam (que europe portio eſt) ſubigendi & in chriſtianam poteſtatem redigendi demonſtrare intendimus. modo adſit: qui voluntate ſapientia & poteſtate fruatur. ſine quorum fœdere: nullum perfectum proderit opus. Libet enim pauliſper mente coniectari: que cauſa fuerit tantarum cladium enormitas. Quique tam ſeuus immanis ſceleſtus ac prepotens vir: tam inſignes victorias ſit aſſequutus. Nec id: qui tunc rerum gubernacula tenuerunt: ignauie aſcripſerim: quam permulti accuſare nituntur. Potiſſimum fuiſſe iudico: mahumetis illius mirandam inauditamque obedientiam. Cui nec puſillo nec magno in ditione ſua degenti: refragari fas fuit. At tremebundi attonitique dicto parentes: vel interitus pericula non formidarunt. vt omni ſtudio principi parerent Nec fuit qui de throno imperij cum eo contenderet. His quippe turpiter occiſis: aut veneno enectis, qui thronum conſcendere conarentur: ditionis imperijque monarcha colitur. nec audet aliquis ceruicem erigere: ſed pauidi ad tyranni pedes procumbunt. Hinc oritur inſolentia: hinc potentia. hinc obedientia naſcitur: hinc fines ampliandi cupido inceſſit. & dum longinqui priuatarum rerum ſtudioſi) thurco vicini fidei tuitionem credunt: horrida ſanies nos inficit. Eſt profecto othumannorum domus inter mahumeteos illuſtriſſima: tyrannis ſemper referta chriſtianis moleſta & formidoloſa. Atque poſtquam yſthmum aſie minoris (ſub heraclio principe: pipino rege apud gallias regnante) intrauit: grandes iacturas attulit & mahumeteum cultum auxit. Potuit enim parua manu extingui: cum in principatus exordio locata eſt. Sed paruipenderunt: qui enſes ei obicere potuiſſent. Sicque torpentibus animis: pedetentim traiecto heleſponto Europam adijt. in qua haud incelebres ditiones: ſuo adiecit imperio. ad poſtremum quoque etate noſtra: imperialem patriarchalemque ſedem ſue fecit ditionis. Poſt cuius expugnationem: vicinis ac inſulis preſertim rhodiis cruce ſignatis moleſtiſſima habita eſt. quos etiam deuincere extinguere atque proterere: conata eſt. At diuina pietas chriſti veros athletas: a tyrannidis iugo protegit. Cuius repulſe ignominia affectus: draco ille ſceleſtiſſimus mortem obijt atque damnatam euomit animam. O immenſa: dei clementia. O inſcrutabilis: ſapientia. O inuicta: potentia. que mira veteris legis renouans: inauditum edidit miraculum. potentiſſimum quidem ditiſſimum atrociſſimumque chriſticolarum perſequutorem : puſillo principatui & cruce ſignatorum cetui ſubicit. Quem quoque validiſſime vrbes triumphatorem conſpexere. clara rhodus : victum preſſum & tandem ignominia repulſe affectum ridet. dignata quidem eſt diuina poteſtas etate noſtra oſtendere : quam vile quam imbecille quam eneruatum ſit thurcorum fetidum nomen. vt chriſtianorum animos : priſtinis iacturis attonitos erigeret conſolaretur ac ſolidaret : deuotaſque mentes augeret. ad exercitus comparandos. Qui Biſantium & Europam : haud indignam ſitus & orbis portionem (mahumetea polutione) liberent. Debuit certe Rhodiorum inſignis victoria (diuinis miraculis redimita) fideles animos mouere : vt vniverſo fœdere iuncti in nephandum draconem vires inſtaurarent. At reiecto diuino ſuaſu tabeſcit humana poteſtas : nec audit mouentem mundi creatorem. Qui pulſans iterato : haud paulopoſt terremotibus in Aſia & Rhodo editis. crudelem tyrannum Rhodijs minitantem : Jam iamque imminentem. vt exoſam ſibi vrbem peſſundet. Repentina etenim morte occidi permittit. Hinc oritur in aſia europaquoque thurcorum tumultus : potentum ſimultates germanorum nepotumque tyranni diſſidia : imperij thronum appetentium. Germanique Bagyazit & Zyzymy : mutuis cladibus ſeſe conficiunt. Que res maxime chriſtianam potentiam excitare potuit. vt vindictam de tyrannica domo ſumeret : & ab Europa tyranni iugum excuteret. Dormit etiam latina potentia : nec pulſanti deo creatori aditus patuit. Communeque bonum : priuato affectui. Algore rigens occidua fortitudo : poſtponit. O quam dura eſt preſens etas : O quam tarda. O quam lenta : minori certo de cauſa noſtri maiores illuſtria aggreſſi ſunt facinora. & inſignem triumphum : quandoque de barbaris fidei hoſtibus reportarunt. Erat quippe in eis chriſti ſanguis feruentior : qui precordia commouit impulit atque roborauit. Non enim miſericors deus cordis ferrea duricia commotus : illuſtriori occaſione chriſticolarum mentes hortari ſtatuit. Qua permittitur fraternum diſſidium diuturnius preſtare : ne aut vi aut dolo aut toxico interiret. Noui quidem thurci : qui nunc biſancijs imperat. frater Rex Zyzymy : (omni preſidio deſtitutus) ad Rhodios confugit : ab his quoque qui patri infenſiſſimi fuere. & qui potentiam eius retruſerunt : tutamen preſertim implorans. Preſtat enim profugo clariſſimus Rhodiorum Magiſter vitam : quem a furore gladij fraterni eripit fouet nutritque ſuis opibus. ut ſuperſtes frater terrori anxietati atque tremori fratri ſit imperitanti. Agendis quoque prudenter conſulens principem namque Zyzymy in occidentem miſit : ne fratri propinquus imperitanti vim dolos & inſidias ejus ſubiret. felix quippe profugium : quod apertam oportunitatem (Res aggrediendi preclaras) affert. Non eſt enim qui ignoret : quantas clades & ruinas. ciuium diſcordia. affinium diſſidium fraternumque odium : imperijs ac regnis Reipublice attulerit. Sacre quidem gentiliumque litere : huius labis referte ſunt exemplis. Nec enim noſtra etas : horum haud expers cenſetur. Non certe aliter Romanorum R. P. (olim potentiſſima) interijt. Nec ſecus Athenarum ciuitas aratrum paſſa eſt. & Grecorum imperium chriſtum colens : non multos exactos annos hoc affectum malo prorſus occidit. Ait enim : ſapiens quidam. *Concordia parue res creſcunt. Diſcordia : maxime dilabuntur.* Saluator quoque noſter ſumma veritas : id explicans ait. Omne regnum in ſe diuiſum : deſolabitur. Hinc orta eſt (ſtrenuiſſimi thurcorum ducis Achmat Baſie ydronti expugnatoris) nex repentina : cuius tanta fuit inſolentia procacitas & audacia. Ut non niſi aſſiduo cogitatu : ytaliam attingere cupiuerit. Eoquidem ſuperſtite : numquam erant vicini quieturi. ingenteſque clades : minabatur ſeſe illaturum. Erat profecto animo audaciſſimus manu promptus valido corpore armorumque peritus : qui numquam quieſcere aſſueuerat. Hunc quidem terrore fraterni profugij: Nouus thurcus impulſus dolo necari juſſit. Hic quoque commilitonum ſatellitumque noui thurci lateri adherentium: conſpiratio tumultuſque naſcitur. Qui ſui principis ſomnolentiam faſtidientes: Regis Zyzymy deſiderio ducuntur. Hinc opum profuſio editur: vt ſibi animos nouus thurcus alliciat. Hinc aſſidua: in Europe portione (que ſibi paret) atque aſia trepidatio. tantaque inquietudine ac terrore thurcus afficitur: vt iamiam germanum imminere adeſſe & aggredi ſeſe putet. Nec vigilijs nec ſomno: aliud cogitat aliud voluit aliudque videt quam Zyzymy Regem. Hinc illud inſigne inauditumque monſtrum natum eſt: ut thurcum non puduerit. quadraginta milia nummum auri Rhodiorum magiſtro triumphatori Petro Daubuſſon mittere. pacto inito: vt germanus attentius (ne ſibi moleſtie terrorique ſit) aſſeruetur. Princeps quidem potentiſſimus terrore fraterno impulſus: Rhodiorum magiſtro tributi conditonne ſeſe reddit obnoxium. O dei inſcrutabilis: prouidentia. O inenarrabilis: iuſtitia. O ineffabilis: bonitas. crudeliſſimi quidem tyranni oppulentiſſimus potentiſſimus ſuperbiſſimus natus: Rhodiorum principi cruceſignato aureorum pactorum vectigal ſoluit apud quem germanus vitam fouet: quem tanto amore nephandus genitor proſequutus eſt. formidoloſus quippe Bagyazit terrore perculſus ſtatim fœdus cum vicinis percutere non diſtulit. Rhodioſque illuſtriori fœdere inſignit: equis quidem conditionibus pactis Nec audet trepidus Bagyazit: exercitus in chriſtianos parare claſſem inſtruere enſemque obicere. ne germanus adſit: latinorum manu ſuccinctus. O quam precioſum profugium: O quam illuſtre exilium. O quam inſigne regis Zyzymy confugium quod tantam attulit latinis commoditatem quietem & honorem. Ex quibus certo facile quis viderit (mentis tamen caligine prius abducta) quanta ſit (ab omnipotenti creatore) oblata oportunitas Conſtantinopolim & greciam recuperandi: latinorumque ditioni redintegrandi. Si modo pronior voluntas. potentiam & ſapientiam ſibi copularit. vtinam adeſſent illi: qui olim tanto animi ardore barbaros peſſundare cogitarunt. quique nulla porrecta oportunitate graui vero difficultate: magna ſunt aggreſſi: aſſequerentur certe nunc quod optarunt. Sic Ludouicus ſanctus Francorum Rex: ſic perilluſtres alij principes Qui ſepius graui incomoditate: ab illuſtrioribus bellis ſunt retracti. Auſim affirmare. Si parua claſſe Zyzymy vectus adſit. & non numeroſus terreſtris exercitus (qui danubio traiecta) ſeruiam intret: Thurcorum potentia europa diſcedet. Si enim minoris aſie fines: profugus rex Zyzymy tetigerit. Repente Bagyazit qui nunc imperat (heleſponto tranſmiſſo) europam terreſtribus chriſtianorum copijs patentem deſeret: vt germano ſe obiciat. Ita haud difficulter: europa mahumetea ſecta liberatur. Sunt enim hec haud obſcura: qui orientem: & thurci fines accolunt ejuſque mores noſcunt. Sed qui longo ſitus tractu a nobis diſtant: nauias fabulaſque commentari nos putant. Quicquid quoque dicimus: queſtus gratia dictum arbitrantur. Sunt quippe auro fulciti: ſub deauratis tectis latentes delicatiſque cibis nutriti: qui thurcorum horrida non gnorunt arma. Rerum enim affluentia: non ſinit hec proſpicere. Non deſunt quoque inuidi quidam: mordaci dente hec deprauantes & quod mirabilius deteriuſque exiſtit: pacta pecunia cum thurco initoque conſilio. Regem Zyzymy: ſtudioſa attentione toxico enecare conantur. vt ſublata a deo oportunitateque data: nouus thurcus in regni ſolio firmetur. Cogitetque ſtabilis & intrepidus: permagnas vires in chriſtianos exercere. Quas germano ſuperſtite manuque Rhodiorum aſſeruato: ſopitas eſſe neceſſe eſt. O ſcelus: inauditum. O atrox: iniquitas. O deteſtanda: inuidia. horum qui humani hoſtis inuitatione ſugeſtioneque dyaboli: chriſtianorum rempublicam turbare ſubuertere ac eneruare ſtudent cupiuntque ac expetunt. Nec aduertunt ſeſe primum interituros: & exterminium perpeſſuros. Si Rabidus canis (fratre ſublato) inſoleſcaat: animum refocillet vires reſumat mentemque recipiat. Obcecata quidem mens turrita ſuperbia: alterius gloriam videre nequit. veniat in mentem: exterminium ſtrages iacturaque. Quam priſcis illis temporibus: Bothi Uvandali Huni. ſtrenuiſſimi quidem barbari. latino nomini attulerunt. Quod profecto principum tenebroſe illius etatis: ignauia inuidia diſſidioque contigit. Reuoluant horror hyſtoriarum celebres libros: claraque monimenta & qua rerum qualitate verſamur: compertum habebunt atque conſpicient: quantam deus ſit elargitus gratiam quam pertinaci animo non noſcunt & audire faſtidiunt & queque (in hanc ſententiam) deuota mente prolata: in reprobum interpretantur ſenſum. Has igitur inſidias: prudentiſſimus Rhodiorum magiſter ſubtili ingenio ab emulis excogitatas ſentiens. Arbitratus quoque principem Zyzymy tutius apud gallias defendi cuſtodiri atque protegi. Quibus certe preeſt Rex chriſtianiſſimus: qui catholicam fidem gratia & preſidio (maiorum exemplo) proſequitur. vbi & ſumma ſinceraque viget religio: fideſque quoque relucet orthodoxa; vbi monſtra non gignuntur: ubi carent inſidijs ac vbi toxici tabes ignoratur. His cauſis ſuaſus in franciam Zyzymy Regem mittit. vt robuſtiſſimis (cruce ſignatis) comitibus ſuccinctus: opido hieroſolimorum in ampliſſimo francorum Regno ſito aſſeruetur. Sed non deſuit commentum: quod principem Zyzymy regno interdiceret. nec ei pateret aditus: conſtitutione Regia (vti accepimus) refragante. Que Mahumeteos Judeos alienoſque (ab fide catholica) viros Regno excludit. Heu grauem Sortem: Res vero quidem equa Juſta memoratuque digna. Devoto Catholicoque regis chriſtianiſſimi pectori: vt indigna vt abſurda & vt iniqua proponitur nec clariſſimi facinoris circunſtantie qualitates atque modi: ſincere ſunt explicati. Quis enim velit (preſertim hieroſolimorum ordo: qui precipuum erectorem protectorem auctorem francorum regem colit veneratur obſeruat) immaculatum integerrimumque regnum obſcenis moribus inficere? Quis cupit: regie conſtitutioni aduerſari? Quis deſiderat: rem atrocem committere? Nullus profecto ſane mentis: id excogitarit. Non erit quippe in gallijs: Zyzymy ſempiterna mora. Sed ad tempus: quo rebus chriſtianorum conſuli poſſit. non erit cum gallis viris integerrimis & omni immundicie labe puris: Zyzymy commercium. Non erit quidem cum incolis aſſiduitas: non erit cum habitatoribus familiaritas quandoquidem in ſeceſſu concludetur: caſtelli muris cohibebitur paucis comitatus ſatellitibus. Aderuntquippe eius cuſtodie milites rhodij: qui conſtantes eorum prauitatem contempnunt & rident. Non debet quidem Gallia hunc rennuere expellere atque contempnere: cuius aſſeruatione tantum decus tantum comodum & tantum vtile emanare poteſt. Nec dubitamus pijſſimum regem ac ſapientiſſimos doctiſſimoſque ejus regni viros: haud aliter ſentire. Si modo huius principis ſtatum intellexerint. Maior quippe comoditas chriſtianis affertur Zyzymy fouendo protegendo & aſſeruando: quam inclitiſſimo regno arcendo propellendo nec non & excludendo. Nec enim regis conſtitutio: nec conditoris intentio infringitur. vbi tam clarum facinus tam grande emolimentum tamque inſigne monimentum: ex admiſſione in regnum oritur. Si autem aditus in franciam Zyzymy denegatur: exultabunt inſidiatores toxicorum portitores ficarij nephandique ſatellites. qui diſſimulato habitu iuſſu thurci: nephandorumque virorum ſue factionis paſſim vagipalantur. vt Zyzymy: vel gladio necent. vel rapiant vel veneno interimant. Excipe excipe nobiliſſima gallia & rex piiſſime virum illuſtrem: nobiliſſima mahumeteorum familia natum. Qui tanta comoda: chriſtiane religioni eſt allaturus.

Qui germanum magnum thurcum: chriſticolarum finibus arcet. Qui fratrem biſanciorum imperatorem: tuoquidem regnicole ſplendidiſſimo rhodiorum magiſtro ſubmiſſum reddit. Qui paſſionis domini noſtri iheſu chriſti monimenta: reliquiaſque in conſtantinopolitana ſubverſione raptas. & a thurco expugnatore ex induſtria cuſtoditas heredique nato dimiſſas: daturum elargiturumque ſe magiſtro pollicetur. Qui tantorum ſcandalorum: extinctio cenſetur. Qui: quietem chriſtiano nomini prebet vide ne eum repellas: qui repulſus ſcandalo & iacture futurus ſit. Si aditum prohibeas: adſunt famelici ac lupi rapaces qui regium iuuenem deuorent lacerent atque opprimant. quo ſublato Bagyazit thurcorum rex cornua eriget: rhodios perſequetur. ytalie imminebit: hungaroſque inuadet. Et qui modo timidus ſtupidus ac tremebundus pauet iacet atque latet? repente erumpet inſaniaque inſoleſcet. etiam certe animum augebit: ſublatuſquippe tremor terror ac formido erit. Ex quibus tot grauia tot horrida tot enormia ſubſequentur: que narrare nemo quidem poterit. Taceo vrbium ſubuerſiones: & iuuenum fidei abnegationem. phanarum polutiones: virginumque proſtitutiones. Quorum preterite clades: teſtimonium perhibent haud incertum. Caue toto orbe digniſſima gallia: triumphis ac tropheis priſcorum gloria clariſſima. Ne tua laudata conſtitutio: tantorum malorum cauſa ſit. Non fuit profecto legiſlatoris intentio bonum laudabile ac preclarum edicto excludere: quinimo peſſimis viris ac ſceleribus regnum purgare. At vbi tantum eminet bonum: in thurci ſcilicet ad tempus exceptione lex quidem merito atque Regia conſtitutio cedere debet. Que ſeruata: grande quidem ſcandalum Chriſtiano nomini ſit allatura. dampnant certe iura diuina pariter & humana iura luxuriam inconceſſoſque concubitus: proſtibula tamen permittuntur. ne maius ſequatur malum: omnia equidem turbentur libidinibus. Moyſeſquoque libellum repudij permiſit: vt homicidium vitetur. duellum quoque conceditur: Si ex eo publicum ſequatur comodum. Tollerantur plerumque nonnulla quamuis non equa: ne grauius ingruat malum. Qui profecto rei publice preficitur: licitum eſt minora permittere mala ne maiora contingant. At dices facienda non ſunt mala: vt eueniant bona. fateor quidem: ſi de bonis & malis ſpiritalibus intelligas ſuppoſitum. At ſi de temporalibus fiat comparatio: minora ſequi certe mala ratio ſuadet Rarus quippe & fœnici conferendus qui minimum ſpiritale bonum eligit: vt maximo temporali incomodo afficiatur. Nec prauum ſimpliciter dixerim: Zyzymy excipere regnoque admittere. qui tanta diligentia aſſeruabitur: ne iniquum afferat exemplar. Exceptio namque hec & legis infractio: non quidem malum moris ac ſpiritale cenſetur. nam nec iuri diuino nec iuri communi refragatur. Sed regie conſtitutioni: edictoque prouinciali repugnat. Quare prouinciale malum potius dici poterit. Nec enim omnes chriſticole a ſuis ditionibus: Judeos & ab fide alienos excludunt. Reſpondere profecto conor debilius quam neceſſum ſit: his qui exceptioni regiam conſtitutionem obiciunt. Sed non aduertunt: que (ipſam obſeruando) contingant ſcandala. Ordini preſertim hieroſolimorum: qui rhodijs imperat. & francorum regij dyadematis preſidio: ad hanc noſtram etatem defenſi protectique ſunt. Graviſſimum quidem ſcelus eſt ſcandalum: ex quo ſepenumero nephanda: ſequuntur ſi non cauetur modeſtia. Doctor quidem gentium Paulus apoſtolus thymoteum circumcidit: ne conuerſis iudeis ſcandalo ſit. Quedam quoque legis moſaice iam ſopite cherimoni alia ſequutus traditur ad tempus: vt ſcandalum vitaret. Scandali namque tabes: enormitatum fomes eſt. Sed forſitan quis dicet: fides publica Zyzymy data arcte eius cuſtodie repugnat. minime quidem: fides namque data Zyzymy regem rhodiorum magiſtro audientem futurum policetur.

Conſilioque eius potiturum: nec priuatos appetitus ſequuturum. Exceptus enim non eſt rex Zyzymy: vt chriſtiane religioni aut rhodiorum ſtatui obſit officiat damnumque afferat. Jpſum certe profugum a naufragio a mortis diſcrimine a germani ſanguinolentiſque manibus: precellentiſſimus magiſter eripit ſeruat atque defendit. diſſonum quippe & a ratione prorſus alienum ſi quos fautores & vite tutores ſentit cladem afferat. Terendum quidem tempus & rebus maturius conſulendum: donec etas quietior tranquillior ac feruentior reddatur: Et qui diſſident virtute: fruantur optata. Nulla ſiquidem ex eius cuſtodia oritur pecuniaria vtilitas: quamuis ampla ſit penſio. prodigum eſt ac profuſum id hominum genus: multoque cibo inſignique ſupellectili vtitur. multaſque impenſas eius cuſtodia affert: in educandis qui ſue aſſeruationi incumbunt. ſui etiam cauſa legationes ad thurcum & eius ad nos ſepius mittuntur: que amplos ſumptus faciunt. Honor quidem comodum vtilitas etiam fidei ac reipublice chriſtianorum: ad ſeruandum iuuenem nos compellit. donec qui cuncta prouidet ex eius alta ſpecula chriſtianorum tepidas mentes inflamet: vt expeditio in fidei hoſtem inſtauretur. Si chriſticole oblatam ſpernent occaſionem: ingratitudinem certe nephandam non feret deus. luentque penas quandoque: qui conatus qui ſanctum propoſitum. Quique res propicias iniquo diſturbant ingenio. Si interierit: aut manus hoſpitalariorum rex Zyzymy (quod deus auertat) effugerit. Tunc liquido patebit: quanto nunc fruimur bono. Quod pauci quidem gnoſcunt: plurimi ignorant. perplures certe: vt iniquum facinus opprimunt damnant & faſtidiunt. Docte ac fidelis lector: tuo qui perſpicaci ingenio de paucis plura coniectare poteris. & pro intellectus acumine diiudicabis: ſi equum ſit regie conſtitutioni inherere ac Zyzymy repellere. vel conſtitutionem rectius interpretando flectere: & Zyzymy admittere & in regnum introducere. Propoſitis quidem duobus: que mali ſpeciem induere videntur ſecundum ſapientis ſententiam. minus malum reiecto maiori eſt eligendum. Si quid acrius quam decuit dixerit: aut inconcinum quidpiam edidi vel abſurdum connexui. parce precor qui lectitas imbecilli ingenio: quod pondus tanti negocij ſufferre & explicare non poſſit. Cedo tibi excellenti ingenio doctori: qui potiora acutiora & prudentiora excogitabis que deuotas mentes: non ambigo in noſtram alliciant ſententiam. valeat felix: quicumque perlegerit. Datum Rhodi. xiij. kl. octobris anno incarnationis chriſti. M. cccc. lxxxiij.

PROOFS
OF THE
HISTORY
OF THE
Knights Hoſpitallers
OF
S. JOHN of JERUSALEM.

BOOK I.

PROOF I. *p. 7.*

REGNO Hieroſolymorum cum univerſa Syria & Ægypto, cum adjacentibus Provinciis, peccatis noſtris exigentibus, in manus hoſtium nominis & fidei Chriſtianæ, ſecundùm quod antiquæ tradunt hiſtoriæ, devolutis: quod tempore domini *Eraclii* Romanorum Imperatoris, invaleſcentibus contra eum Arabiæ populis, certum eſt accidiſſe: non defuerunt de Occidentalibus multi, qui loca ſancta, licèt in hoſtium poteſtate redacta, aut devotionis, aut commerciorum, aut utriuſque gratiâ, viſitarent aliquoties. Inter eos autem qui negotiationis obtentu, de Occidentalibus per illa ſecula, loca prædicta adire tentaverunt, fuerunt viri de Italia, qui ab urbe quam incolunt, dicuntur *Amalfitani.* Eſt autem *Amalfia* civitas inter mare & montes eminentiſſimos conſtituta, ab Oriente habens urbem nobiliſſimam *Salernum*, vix ſeptem miliaribus marino ab ea diſtantem itinere; ab Occidente verò *Surrentum*, & *Neapolim* Vergilianam; ab Auſtro verò *Siciliam*; ducentis miliaribus, plus minuſve modico, remotam, Tyrrheno mari interjacente. Hujus regionis habitatores, ut prædiximus, primi merces peregrinas, & quas Oriens prius non noverat, ad ſupra nominatas partes lucri faciendi gratiâ inferre tentaverunt: unde & optimas conditiones apud illarum partium præſides, pro rebus neceſſariis quas inferebant, & ſine difficultate acceſſum, & populi nihilominus gratiam merebantur. Poſſidebat illis diebus *princeps Ægyptius* univerſas maritimas regiones, à Gabulo civitate, ſita in littore maris juxta Laodiceam Syriæ, uſque in Alexandriam, quæ eſt noviſſima civitas Ægypti. Et per præſides ſingulis civitatibus deputatos, imperium ſuum latè reddebat formidabile.

Prædicti verò Amalfitani tam Regis quàm principum ſuorum plenam habentes gratiam, loca univerſa, quaſi negotiatores & tractatores utilium, tanquam merces circumferendo, confidenter poterant circumire: unde & traditionum paternarum non immemores & fidei Chriſtianæ, loca ſancta, quoties opportunitas dabatur, viſitabant: non habentes autem in eadem urbe familiare domicilium, ubi moram poſſent facere aliquantulam, ſicut in urbibus habebant maritimis: congregatis de ſuo populo, quotquot ad opus conceptum poterant convocare, Calypham Ægyptium adeunt, & obtentâ familiarium ejus gratiâ, petitionem ſuam ſcripto porrigunt, & votis conſonè recipiunt impetratum.

Scribitur ergo Hieroſolymorum præſidi, ut viris Amalfitanis, amicis, & utilium introductoribus, locus Hieroſolymis juxta eorum deſiderium, in ea parte quam Chriſtiani habitant, ad conſtruendum Dei domicilium, quale voluerint, deſignetur ampliſſimus. Erat autem civitas, ſicut & hodie eſt, in quatuor partes penè diviſa æqualiter, ex quibus ſola quarta, in qua *Sepulchrum Dominicum* ſitum eſt, fidelibus conceſſa erat ad habitandum; reliquas autem cum *Templo Domini*, ſoli infideles habebant domeſticas. Deſignatur ergo eis de mandato Principis, qui ſufficiens videbatur ad conſtruenda neceſſaria locus, ſumptâque à negotiatoribus quaſi per ſymbolum pecuniâ, ante januam Eccleſiæ *Dominicæ Reſurrectionis*, quantum vix lapidis jactus eſt, monaſterium erigunt in honore ſanctæ & glorioſæ Dei genitricis, perpetuæque Virginis Mariæ, ſimul cum & iis officinis, quæ ad uſus monachorum & ſuæ gentis hoſpitum ſuſceptionem, poterant aliquam præſtare commoditatem. Quo facto, de partibus ſuis tam Monachos quàm Abbatem transferentes, locum regulariter inſtituunt, & Domino converſatione ſanctâ reddunt placabilem. Et quoniam viri Latini erant, & qui locum fundaverant, & qui in religione conſervabant, idcirco ab ea die uſque in præſens, locus ille *monaſterium de Latina* dicitur. Accedebant etiam per illa nihilominus tempora, ut loca deoſcularentur venerabilia, ſanctæ viduæ & continentes, quæ timoris oblitæ fœminei, & periculorum quæ multiplicia occurrebant, non habentes formidinem: quibus advenientibus, cùm non eſſet intra ſepta monaſterii ubi colligerentur honeſtè, congrua ſatis proviſione procuratum eſt ab eiſdem ſanctis viris, qui locum fundaverunt, ut advenientibus devotis fœminis, non deeſſet ſeorſum oratorium, domus familiaris & locus in diverſorio. Tandemque divinâ favente clementiâ, ordinatum eſt ibi monaſteriolum in honore piæ peccatricis, Mariæ videlicet Magdalenæ; & ſorores ſub certo numero ad obſequium adventantium mulierum conſtitutæ. Confluebant etiam per illa periculoſa tempora nonnulli ex aliis gentibus, tam nobiles quàm ſecundæ claſſis homines, quibus quoniam ad ſanctam civitatem non niſi per terras hoſtium erat acceſſus, de ſuis viaticulis cùm ad urbem perveniſſent, omnino non fiebat reſiduum: ſed miſeros & inopes ante civitatis portam, tam diu cum ſummo labore, fame, ſiti & nuditate expectare oportebat, quouſque dato aureo numiſmate urbem eis licebat introire. Ingreſſis autem, & locis ſanctis ex ordine peragratis, non erat eis vel ad unum diem refectionis ſpes ulla, niſi quantum eis de prædicto monaſterio fraternè miniſtrabatur: nam omnes alii civitatis habitatores Sarraceni erant & Infideles, excepto domino Patriarchâ, & clero & popello miſero Surianorum; qui diebus ſingulis tot angariis, parangariis, & ſordidorum munerum præſtationibus vexabantur, ut vix ſibi, in ſuprema paupertate conſtitutis, in continuo timore mortis liceret reſpirare. Noſtris ergo miſeris, & ad ſupremum afflictis & egentibus, cùm non eſſet qui tectum præberet, procuratum eſt à beatiſſimis viris, qui monaſterium Latinorum incolebant, ut miſericorditer victui & tegumento detrahentes, ad opus talium, intra ambitum ſibi deſignatum, Xenodochium erigerent, ubi tales ſanos vel ægrotantes colligerent, ne de nocte per vias reperti jugularentur; & in eodem loco congregatis, de reliquiis fragmentorum utriuſque monaſterii, tam virorum quàm mulierum, ad quotidianam ſuſtentationem qualem qualem, aliquid miniſtraretur. Erexerunt etiam in eodem loco altare in honore beati *Joannis Eleymon.* Hic vir Deo placens, & per omnia commendabilis, natione fuit Cyprius: tandem ſuffragantibus meritis, factus eſt Alexandrinus Patriarcha; vir in operibus pietatis ſingulariter excellens, cujus pia ſtudia & liberales eleemoſynas in perpetuum enarrabit omnis eccleſia ſanctorum. Unde & à ſanctis Patribus vocatus eſt *Eleymon*, quod interpretatur *miſericors.* Huic autem loco venerabili, quòd ita caritativè ſe porrigebat ad homines, neque

que reditus erant, neque poſſeſſiones; ſed prædicti *Amalfitani* annis ſingulis, tam qui domi erant, quàm qui negotiationes ſequebantur, collecta inter ſe quaſi per ſymbolum pecuniâ, per eos qui Hieroſolymam proficiſcebantur, Abbati qui pro tempore ibi erat, offerebant, ut inde fratribus & ſororibus ad victum & tegumen provideretur, & de reſiduo fieret advenientibus Chriſticolis in Xenodochio aliqua miſericordia. Ita ergo per multorum annorum curricula, quouſque placuit ſummo rerum Opifici, civitatem illam, quam proprio cruore mundaverat, à ſuperſtitionibus gentilium purgare, ſub iis conditionibus manſit locus ille. Adveniente namque Chriſtiano populo & Principibus à Deo protectis, quibus regnum illud Salvator tradi voluit, in monaſterio fœminarum inventa eſt Abbatiſſæ fungens officio quædam Deo devota & ſancta mulier, *Agnes* nomine, nobilis ſecundùm carnem, natione Romana: quæ etiam poſtquam civitas reſtituta eſt fidei Chriſtianæ, per aliquot vixit annos. Et in Xenodochio ſimiliter repertus eſt quidam *Geraldus*, vir probatæ converſationis, qui pauperibus in eodem loco tempore hoſtilitatis, de mandato Abbatis & monachorum, multo tempore devotè ſervierat: cui poſtea ſucceſſit *Raimundus*. *Ex libro decimo octavo Hiſtoriæ Willelmi Tyrienſis Archiepiſcopi*, Cap. 4. p. 933.

PROOF II. *p.* 14.

ROBERTUS Wiſchardi de Normania exiens, vir pauper, miles tamen, ingenio & probitate ſuâ Apuliam, Calabriam ſuæ ditioni ſubmiſit, & Inſulam Siciliam de manu Iſmaelitarum liberavit, Rotgeriumque fratrem ſuum ejuſdem Inſulæ Comitem appellavit. Demum mare tranſiens, Durachium urbem nobilem cepit, Dalmatiamque & Bulgariam ſuper Alexium Imperatorem acquiſivit: inſuper eum ter bello fugavit, & Romanum Henricum ſemel ab urbe fugere compulit: Pontificemque Romanum, quem ceperat, ab eo liberavit. Qui cùm innumerabilia penè feciſſet probitatis indicia, hoc de illo conſtans habetur, quòd niſi morte præoccupatus fuiſſet, filium ſuum Boamundum Imperatorem faceret, ſe verò Regem Perſarum, ut ſæpè dicebat, conſtitueret, viamque Hieroſolymorum deſtructâ paganitate Francis aperiret. Nunquam victus eſt, quanquam ſæpè pugnaverit. Venetos, qui contra eum omni virtute ſuâ convenerant cum ſtolo ſuo ita profligavit, ut nec fuga, nec pelagus illis eſſet auxilio. Nec fuit terrarum locus ita remotus, in quo rumor, fama, timor Wiſchardi per omnium ferè ora non volitaret. Et ut verius de eo dici poteſt, nulli Regum aut Imperatorum Wiſchardus ſecundus extitit.

RELIQUIT Robertus Wiſchardi moriens filios duos: Boamundum, quem adhuc privatus de privata uxore genuerat, & Robertum ducem Apuliæ, quem de filia Principis Salerni ſuſceperat: quibus terram ſibi acquiſitam dimiſit. Robertus autem dux filium Willelmum genuit, & ducem poſt ſe Apuliæ reliquit qui ſine herede mortuus eſt. Boamundus verò, dum poſt mortem patris ſui Francorum Proceres Hieroſolymam tenderent, eis, relictis omnibus ut dictum eſt, ſe ſociavit, & conſortem laboris ſeſe fieri rogavit. Qui poſtea, captâ à Francis Antiochiâ, Princeps ejuſdem urbis factus magnum ob ſuæ probitatis meritum dedit poſteris documentum. *Mêlanges Curieux du Pere l'Abbé, Tome* 2.

PROOF III. *p.* 17.

LOCUTI ſunt igitur ad invicem Chriſtianorum duces, & ſponte ſuâ Boamundo ſubintulerunt: Vides quo in articulo res noſtra poſita ſit. Si civitatem ergo iſtam vel prece vel pretio, nobis etiam juvantibus, poteris obtinere, nos eam tibi unanimiter concedimus: ſalvo in omnibus quod Imperatori, te collaudante, fecimus ſacramento. Si ergo Imperator nobis adjutor advenerit, jurataſque pactiones cuſtodierit, perjuri vivere nolumus: ſed quod pace tuâ dictum ſit, nos illi eam concedimus: ſin autem, tuæ ſemper ſit ſubdita poteſtati. *Ex Hiſtoriâ Hieroſolymitanâ Baldrici, Epiſcopi Dolenſis.*

PROOF IV. *p.* 18.

POSTQUAM autem divinæ placuit pietati, ut civitatem redemptionis noſtræ per ducem *Godefridum* & alios Chriſti fideles ab impiorum dominio liberaret, & eam cultui reſtitueret Chriſtiano, vir quidam ſanctæ vitæ, & probatæ Religionis nomine *Gerardus*, qui longo tempore de mandato Abbatis in prædicto hoſpitali pauperibus devotè miniſtraverat, adjunctis ſibi quibuſdam honeſtis & religioſis viris habitum regularem ſuſcepit, & veſtibus ſuis albam crucem exterius affigens in pectore, regulæ ſalutari & honeſtis inſtitutionibus factâ ſolemniter profeſſione, ſeipſum obligavit. Cui etiam mulier quædam *Agnes* nomine, Romanâ natione, nobilis carne, ſed nobilior ſanctitate, quæ in monaſterio mulierum vicem geſſerat Abbatiſſæ, in miniſterio pauperum adjuncta eandem regulam & humilitatis habitum votivè ſuſcepit. Prædicti igitur fratres humiliter & devotè Domino ſervientes, & infirmis pauperibus de paupertate ſuâ diligenter miniſtrantes, in agro, qui dicitur *Acheldemach*, mortuos ſuos ſepeliebant. Hic eſt ager ille figuli, qui emptus eſt à Judæis in ſepulturam peregrinorum ex triginta argenteis, quos Judas in Templo projecit. Abbati autem ſanctæ Mariæ de Latinâ, qui prædicti Hoſpitalis principium extiterat, & tam ipſos quàm infirmos eorum de propriâ menſâ diu ſuſtentaverat, obedientiam & reverentiam, quandiu pauperes fuerunt, non negaverunt: primum paupertatis ſuæ patronum & coadjutorem eorum, & loci apud Dominum protectorem beatum Joannem Eleemona devotiſſimè venerantes, & ipſum dominum & advocatum ſuum confitentes; domino etiam Patriarchæ Hieroſolymitano devotè obedientes, de bonis ſuis decimas ſecundùm ſacros Canones & utriuſque Teſtamenti præcepta abſque contradictione reddebant. Orationi autem vacantes, vigiliis & jejuniis ſe-ipſos affligentes, operibus miſericordiæ affluentes, parci ſibi & auſteri, pauperibus autem & infirmis, quos dominos ſuos appellabant, largi & miſericordes exiſtebant. Panem de pura ſimila largiebantur infirmis, reſiduum verò cum furfure, ad uſus proprios reſervabant. Si quis autem inter ipſos in aliquo delinquebat, nullo modo relinquebatur impunitum, ne facilitas veniæ præberet incentivum delinquendi. Secundùm enim quod culpæ reatus exigebat, quidam ſigno Crucis à veſtimentis avulſo tanquam membra putrida prorſus ejiciebantur; alios vinculis & carceri mancipabant; alios ad pedes fratrum in terra cibum parciſſimum uſque ad condignam ſatisfactionem ſumere decernebant. Et quoniam Deus erat cum eis, ab omnibus amabantur. Unde factum eſt quòd in omnem terram Chriſtianorum exivit ſonus eorum, & in fines orbis terræ forma ſanctitatis eorum. Et quoniam ex omni natione, tribu & linguâ poſt Terræ ſanctæ liberationem Chriſti fideles Sepulchrum Domini viſitaturi Hieroſolymis confluebant, largitione Principum, & eleemoſynis fidelium modico tempore adeò ditati ſunt, quòd ab univerſis Occidentalibus Provinciis reditus copioſos colligentes, caſalia ſibi & oppida tanquam *terræ Principes* comparantes, ditioni ſuæ ſubjecerunt. *Ex Hiſtoriâ Hieroſolymitanâ Jacobi Vitriaci*, Cap. 74.

PROOF V. *p.* 19.

HAC miſerandâ ſtrage Sarracenorum completâ, in proximo die dominico fideles & primores Chriſtianorum inito conſilio, dominium urbis & cuſtodiam Dominici Sepulchri comiti *Reymundo* dare decreverunt. Quo renuente, & cæteris univerſis Capitaneis ad id officium electis, *Godefridus* dux tandem, licet invitus, ad tuendum urbis principatum promovetur. *Ex Alberto Aquenſ. pag.* 283.

POSTQUAM regnum obtinuit, paucis diebus interpoſitis, ſicut vir religioſus erat, in his quæ ad decorem domus Dei habebant reſpectum, ſolicitudinis ſuæ Domino cœpit offerre primitias. Nam protinus in Eccleſiâ Dominici Sepulchri, & Templi Domini, *Canonicos* inſtituit, eiſque ampla beneficia, quæ *Præbendas* vocant, ſimulque & honeſta domicilia circa prædictas Deo amabiles Eccleſias aſſignavit: ordinem & inſtitutionem ſervans, quas magnæ & ampliſſimæ à piis Principibus fundatæ ultra montes ſervant Eccleſiæ: plura etiam, niſi mors eum præveniſſet, collaturus. Adduxerat etiam prædictus vir Deo amabilis peregrinationem ingreſſurus, de clauſtris bene diſciplinatis monachos, viros religioſos, & ſanctâ converſatione inſignes, qui toto itinere, horis diurnis & nocturnis, eccleſiaſtico more, divina illi miniſtrabant officia. Quos, poſtquam Regnum adeptus eſt, juxta eorum poſtulationem, in *valle Joſaphat* locavit, ampliſſimumque loco, eorum gratiâ, contulit patrimonium. Quæ autem & quanta ſint, quæ Eccleſiis Dei piâ liberalitate conceſſit, longum eſſet enumerare: ex tenore tamen privilegiorum Eccleſiis indultorum, colligere eſt, quot & quanta ſunt, quæ vir Deo plenus, pro animæ ſuæ remedio locis venerabilibus erogavit. Promotus autem, humilitatis cauſâ, coronâ aureâ, regum more, in ſanctâ civitate noluit inſigniri: eâ contentus, & illi reverentiam exhibens, quam humani generis Reparator in eodem loco uſque ad Crucis patibulum pro noſtrâ ſalute ſpineam deportavit. *Ex Guillelmo Tyrienſi, pag.* 767.

PROOF VI. *p.* 20.

PASCHALIS Epiſcopus ſervus ſervorum Dei, venerabili filio Geraldo inſtitutori ac præpoſito Hieroſolymitani Xenodochii, ejuſque legitimis Succeſſoribus in perpetuum. Piæ poſtulatio voluntatis effectu debet proſequenti compleri. Poſtulavit ſiquidem Dilectio tua Xenodochium, quod in civitate Hieruſalem, juxta beati Joannis Baptiſtæ Eccleſiam inſtituiſti, Apoſtolicæ Sedis auctoritate muniri, & beati Petri Apoſtoli patrocinio confoveri. Nos itaque piis hoſpitalitatis tuæ ſtudiis delectati, petitionem tuam paternâ benignitate ſuſcipimus, & illam Dei domum, illud Xenodochium, ſub Apoſtolicæ Sedis tutelâ ſemper, & ſub beati Petri protectione perſiſtere, Decreti præſentis auctoritate ſancimus. Omnia ergo quæ ad ſuſtentandas peregrinorum & pauperum neceſſitates, vel in Hieroſolymitanæ Eccleſiæ, vel aliarum Eccleſiarum parochiis, & civitatum territoriis, per tuæ ſolicitudinis inſtantiam eidem Xenodochio acquiſita, vel à quibuſlibet fidelibus nunc oblata ſunt, aut in futurum largiente Deo offerri, vel aliis juſtis modis acquiri contigerit; quæque à venerabilibus Fratribus Hieroſolymitanæ Sedis Epiſcopis conceſſa, tam tibi, quàm Succeſſoribus tuis & Fratribus, peregrinorum illic curam gerentibus, quieta ſemper & integra ſervari præcipimus. Sanè fructuum veſtrorum decimas quos ubilibet veſtris ſumptibus laboribuſque colligitis, præter Epiſcopi, & Epiſcopalium Miniſtrorum contradictionem, Xenodochio veſtro habendas poſſidendaſque ſancimus.

DONATIONES etiam quas religioſi Principes de tributis, ſeu vectigalibus ſuis, eidem Xenodochio deliberaverint, ratas haberi decernimus. Obeunte autem te, ut ejus loci Proviſor atque Præpoſitus, nullus quâlibet ſubreptionis aſtutiâ, ſeu violentiâ præponatur, niſi quem Fratres ibidem profeſſi, ſecundùm Deum providerint eligendum. Præterea honores omnes, ſive poſſeſſiones quas idem Xenodochium ultra, ſeu citra mare, in Aſiâ videlicet, vel in Europâ, aut in præſenti habet, aut in futurum, largiente domino poterit adipiſci, tam tibi, quàm Succeſſoribus tuis, hoſpitalitati pio ſtudio incumbentibus, & per vos eidem Xenodochio in perpetuum confirmamus. Ad hæc adjicientes decernimus, ut nulli omnino hominum liceat idem Xenodochium temerè perturbare, aut ejus poſſeſſiones auferre, vel ablatas retinere, minuere, vel temerariis vexationibus fatigare. Sed omnia integra conſerventur, eorum, pro quorum ſuſtentatione & gubernatione conceſſa ſunt, uſibus omninò profutura. Sane Xenodochia, ſive Ptochia in Occidentis partibus, penes Burgum ſancti Ægidii, Aſten, Liſan, Barum, Hiſpalum, Tarentum & Miſſanam, Hieroſolymitani nominis titulo celebrata, in tuâ & Succeſſorum tuorum ſubjectione ac diſpoſitione, ſicut hodie ſunt, in perpetuum manere ſtatuimus. Si qua igitur in futurum Eccleſiaſtica, ſecularíſve perſona, hanc noſtræ conſtitutionis paginam ſciens, contra eam venire tentaverit, ſecundò tertióve commonita, ſi non ſatisfactione congrua emendaverit, poteſtatis honoriſque ſui dignitate careat, eaque ſe Divino judicio obnoxiam exiſtere de perpetrata iniquitate cognoſcat, & à Sacratiſſimo Corpore & Sanguine Dei & Domini Redemptoris noſtri Jeſu Chriſti aliena fiat, atque in extremo examine diſtrictæ ultioni ſubjaceat. Cunctis autem eidem loco juſta ſervantibus, ſit pax Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti, quatenus & hic fructum bonæ actionis percipiant, & apud diſtrictum Judicem, præmia æternæ pacis inveniant. Amen, Amen.

Ego Paſchalis Catholicæ Eccleſiæ Epiſcopus.
Ego Richardus Albanenſis Epiſcopus, ſubſcripſi.

Ego Calixtus Catholicæ Eccleſiæ Epiſcopus.
Ego Landulphus Benevent. Epiſc. legi, & ſubſcripſi, &c.

Datum Beneventi per manum Joannis Romanæ Eccleſiæ Cardinalis ac Bibliothecarii, xv. calendas Martii, indictione vi. Incarnationis Dominicæ anno M. C. XIII. Pontificatûs autem Domini Paſchalis Papæ ſecundi, anno xiiii. *Regiſtrata in Cancellario hujus Ordinis. Ex Boſio, l. 2. p. 47.*

PROOF VII. *p.* 22.

Bonifacius Epiſcopus ſervus ſervorum Dei, dilectis filiis Magiſtro & Fratribus Hoſpitalis ſancti Joannis Hieroſolymitani, ſalutem & Apoſtolicam benedictionem. Culminis Apoſtolici ſolio, ſuperne diſponente clementiâ, præſidentes, dum ſolerter attendimus, quod vos mundanis contemptis illecebris, quæ cùm blandiuntur, illudunt, divinis obſequiis ſalubriter adhæſiſtis, vos & veſtra totaliter pro illis exponere non verentes: Dum etiam conſideramus attentius quod vos ſummæ devotionis affectum, magnæque reverentiæ zelum erga nos & Romanam Eccleſiam Matrem veſtram geſſiſtis hactenus, & gerere non ceſſatis, dignum duximus & rationi conſonum arbitramur, ut vos & Hoſpitale veſtrum favoribus proſequentes uberibus, petitiones veſtras, quantum cum Deo poſſumus, ad exauditionis gratiam admittamus. Exhibita ſiquidem nobis veſtra petitio continebat, quòd olim in captione civitatis Acconenſis, Apoſtolicas literas Regulæ veſtræ ſeriem continentes, cum aliis rebus non modicis amiſiſtis: quare ſuppliciter petebatis à nobis, ut cùm vos nullas literas quondam Fratris Raimundi tunc ejuſdem Hoſpitalis Cuſtodis, qui prædictam regulam condidit, ejus plumbeo ſigillo ſignatas, in quibus Regula ipſa continetur expreſsè, prout aſſeritis, habeatis, vobis præfatam regulam ad majoris cautelæ præſidium, ſub Bullâ noſtrâ concedere dignaremur.

Nos igitur ad veſtrum & ejuſdem Hoſpitalis ſtatum proſperum, & tranquillum paternis ſtudiis intendentes, veſtris devotis ſupplicationibus inclinati, prædictam regulam, prout in ejuſdem Fratris Raimundi literis contineri conſpicitur, quibuſdam verbis, de mandato noſtro amotis & correctis in eâ, præſentibus fecimus annotari. Eamque nihilominus ex certâ ſcientiâ confirmamus & innovamus de gratiâ ſpeciali. Tenor autem literarum ipſarum talis eſt.

In nomine Domini, Amen. Ego Raimundus ſervus pauperum Chriſti, & Cuſtos Hoſpitalis Hieruſalem, de concilio totius Capituli, & Clericorum, & Laicorum Fratrum, ſtatui hæc Præcepta & Statuta in Domo Hoſpitalis Hieruſalem. In primis jubeo quòd omnes Fratres ad ſervitium venientes pauperum, tria quæ promittunt Deo, teneant cum Dei auxilio; ſcilicet, caſtitatem & obedientiam, hoc eſt, quodcunque præcipitur eis à Magiſtris ſuis; & ſine proprio vivere, quia hæc tria requiret Deus ab eis in ultimo examine. Et non quærant amplius ex debito, niſi panem & aquam, atque veſtitum, quæ eis promittuntur: & veſtitus ſit humilis, quia Domini noſtri pauperes, quorum ſervos nos eſſe fatemur, nudi & ſordidi incedunt; & turpe eſt ſervo ut ſit ſuperbus, & Dominus ejus humilis.

Constitutum eſt etiam ut in Eccleſiâ honeſtus ſit eorum inceſſus, & converſatio idonea; ſcilicet, ut Clerici ad altare cum albis veſtibus deſerviant: Preſbytero Diaconus vel Subdiaconus; & ſi neceſſitas fuerit, alius Clericus hoc idem exerceat officium: & lumen die noctuque in Eccleſiâ ſemper ſit. Et ad infirmorum viſitationem Preſbyter cum albis veſtibus incedat, religioſè portans Corpus Domini, & Diaconus præcedat, vel Subdiaconus, vel ſaltem Acolytus, ferens lanternam cum candelâ accenſâ, & ſpongiam cum aquâ benedictâ. Iterum cùm ierint Fratres per civitates & caſtella, non eant ſoli, ſed duo vel tres, nec cum quibus voluerint, ſed cum quibus Magiſter juſſerit, ire debebunt. Sed cùm venerint quò voluerint, ſimul ſtent. In inceſſu, in habitu, in omnibus motibus eorum nihil fiat quod cujuſquam offendat aſpectum, ſed quod ſuam deceat ſanctitatem. Quando etiam fuerint in domo, vel in Eccleſiâ, aut ubicunque fuerint fœminæ, invicem ſuam pudicitiam cuſtodiant. Nec fœminæ capita eorum lavent, nec pedes, vel eorum lectum faciant: Deus enim qui habitat in ſanctis, iſto modo cuſtodiat eos. Amen.

Et ſanctorum pauperum quærendo eleemoſinas, religioſæ perſonæ Fratrum de Clericis & de Laicis incedant. Et cùm hoſpitium quæſierint, ad Eccleſiam vel aliquam honeſtam perſonam veniant, & ex caritate ab eâ victum petant, & nihil aliud emant. Si verò non invenerint qui tribuant eis, menſuratè emant unum ſolum cibum, unde vivere poſſint. Et ex inquiſitione eleemoſinarum, nec terram, nec pignus recipiant; ſed ſuo Magiſtro per ſcriptum reddant, ac etiam Magiſter cum ſuo ſcripto pauperibus ad Hoſpitale tranſmittat. Et de omnibus Obedientiis, tertiam partem de pane & vino, & de omni nutrimento Magiſter ſuſcipiat; & ſi ſuperaverit, hoc quod amplius fuerit, ad eleemoſinam conjungat, & Jeroſolymam cum ſcripto ſuo pauperibus mittat.

Et non eant de ullis obedientiis ad collectas, niſi ſolum illi, quos Capitulum, & Magiſter Eccleſiæ miſerit; & ipſi Fratres, qui exierint ad collectas colligendas, in quamcunque obedientiam venerint, recipiantur; & accipiant talem victum, qualem Fratres inter ſe diſpenſaverint; & aliam vexationem ibi non faciant. Lumen ſecum portent; & in quacunque domo hoſpitati fuerint, ante ſe lumen ardere faciant. Deinde pannos Religioni noſtræ non congruos, & pelles ſilveſtres omnino prohibemus, ne amodo induant Fratres: & non comedant niſi bis in die. Et quarta feria, & die Sabbati, & à Septuageſima uſque in Paſcha, carnem non comedant, præter eos qui ſunt infirmi, & imbecilles; & numquam nudi incedant, ſed veſtiti camiſeis laneis, vel lineis, aut aliis quibuſlibet veſtimentis. At ſi aliquis Fratrum, quod utinam nunquam eveniat, peccatis exigentibus, ceciderit in lapſum carnis, ſi occultè peccaverit, occultè pœniteat; & injungatur ſibi pœnitentia congrua: ſi autem publicatus, & comprehenſus pro certo fuerit; in eadem Villa, in qua facinus perpetraverit, Dominica die poſt Miſſas, quando Populus ab Eccleſia egreſſus fuerit, videntibus præceperit, corrigiis, vel Magiſtro ſuo, vel ab aliis Fratribus, quibus Magiſter cunctis exuatur, & à virgis duriſſimè flagelletur, & verberetur; ac de omni Societate noſtrâ expellatur.

Postea vero, ſi Deus cor illius illuſtraverit, & ad domum pauperum reverſus fuerit, atque ſe reum, & peccatorem, atque legis Dei tranſgreſſorem profeſſus fuerit; & emendationem promiſerit, recipiatur; & pœnitentia ſibi digna imponatur; & per annum integrum, in loco Extranei teneatur; & in hoc ſpatio, videant Fratres ſatisfactionem ſuam; poſtea faciant quod melius ſibi videbitur. Aut ſi Frater altercatus fuerit cum aliquo Fratre, & clamorem Procurator Domus habuerit, talis ſit pœnitentia: ſeptem diebus jejunet, quarta, & ſexta feria in pane, & aqua, comedens in terra, ſine menſa, & manutergio: & ſi percuſſerit, quadraginta: & ſi receſſerit à Domo, vel à Magiſtro, cui commiſſus, fuerit, propria voluntate, ſine voluntate ejus, & poſtea reverſus fuerit; quadraginta diebus manducet in terra, jejunans quarta, & ſexta feria in pane, & aqua; & per tantum tempus permaneat in loco Extranei, quantum foris extiterit; niſi tam prolixum fuerit tempus, ut Capitulo conveniat temperari. Ad menſam etiam, ſicut Apoſtolus dicit: unuſquiſque panem ſuum cum ſilentio manducet; & poſt Completorium non bibat; & in lectis Fratres ſilentium teneant.

At ſi aliquis Fratrum non bene ſe habens, à Magiſtro ſuo, vel ab aliis Fratribus, bis, atque ter correctus & admonitus fuerit; & Diabolo inſtigante, ſe emendare, & obedire noluerit; nobis mittatur pedeſtris, & cum charta continente ſuum delictum; tamen procuratio rata ei donetur; ut ad nos pervenire poſſit, eumque corrigemus. Et nullus Servientes ſibi commiſſos, pro aliquo facinore percutiat: ſed Magiſter Domus, & Fratrum, coram omnibus vindictam accipiat; tamen juſtitia Domus omnino teneatur. Et ſi aliquis Fratrum demiſſus in morte ſua proprietatem habuerit; & Magiſtro ſuo celaverit, ac poſtea ſuper eum inventa fuerit; ipſa pecunia ad collum ejus ligetur; & ab aliquo Fratre duriſſimè aliis Fratribus Domus præſentibus verberetur; & quadraginta diebus pœniteat, jejunans quarta, & ſexta feria in pane, & aqua.

Quando etiam valde neceſſarium eſt omnibus vobis fieri Statutum; præcipiens, & præcipiendo mandamus, ut de omnibus Fratribus viam univerſæ carnis ingredientibus, in omnibus obedientiis quibuſcunque obierit, triginta Miſſæ pro ejus anima cantentur. In prima Miſſa unuſquiſque Fratrum qui aderit, candelam cum nummo offerat; qui videlicet nummi, quoticumque fuerint, pauperibus erogentur. Et Preſbyter qui Miſſas cantaverit, ſi non eſt de Domo, procurationem in Obedientia his diebus habeat; & peracto officio, Magiſter, ſibi charitatem faciat; & omnia indumenta Fratris defuncti pauperibus dentur. Fratres verò Sacerdotes, qui Miſſas cantaverint, pro ejus anima orationem fundant ad Dominum Jeſum Chriſtum; & Clericorum unuſquiſque cantet Pſalterium; Laicorum autem, 150 Pater noſter.

Et de omnibus aliis peccatis, & rebus, & clamoribus, in Capitulo judicent, & diſcernant judicium rectum. Et hæc omnia, ex parte Dei Omnipotentis, & Beatæ Mariæ, & beati Joannis, & pauperum præcipimus, & ex imperio imponimus; ut cum ſummo ſtudio, ita per omnia teneantur. Et in obedientia, ubi Magiſter, & Capitulum Hoſpitalis conceſſerint; cùm venerit ibi Infirmus, ita recipiatur: Primum peccata ſua Preſbytero confeſſus, communicetur; & poſtea ad lectum deportetur; & ibi tamquam Dominus, ſecundum poſſe Domus, omni die antequam Fratres eant pranſum, charitativè reficiatur. Et in cunctis Dominicis diebus, Epiſtola, & Evangelium in ea Domo cantetur, & cum proceſſione, aqua benedicta aſpergatur. Item ſi qui Fratrum, qui obedientias per diverſas Terras tenent, ad quamlibet Secularem Perſonam venientes, rebellando, pecunias pauperum dederint, ut eos per ſuam vim, contra Magiſtrum ſuum regnare faciat; ab univerſa Societate Fratrum projiciantur. Et ſi duo, vel plures Fratres inſimul fuerint; & unus eorum nequiter malè vivendo ſe habuerit; alter Fratrum non eum diffamare debet, neque Populo, neque Priori; ſed primum per ſe ipſum caſtiget eum; & ſi ſe noluerit caſtigare; adhibeat ſecum duos Fratres, vel tres ad eum caſtigandum. Et ſi emendaverit, inde gaudere debet; ſi autem emendare noluerit, tunc culpam ſuam ſcribens, mittat Magiſtro; & ſecundum quod Magiſter, & Capitulum juſſerit, de eo fiat; atque nullus Frater alium Fratrem ſuum accuſet, niſi benè poſſit probare; ſi autem fecerit, ipſe Frater non eſt.

Item omnes Fratres omnium Obedientiarum, qui nunc, vel in antea offerunt ſe Deo, & Sancto Hoſpitali Hieruſalem; Cruces ad honorem Dei, & ejuſdem Sanctæ Crucis, in cappis & mantellis ſecum deferant ante pectus; ut Deus per ipſum Vexillum, fidem, operationem & obedientiam, nos cuſtodiat, & à Diaboli poteſtate in hoc, & in futuro ſeculo defendat, in anima, & in corpore, ſimul cum omnibus Benefactoribus noſtris Chriſtianis, Amen. Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam noſtræ annotationis, confirmationis, & innovationis infringere, vel ei auſu temerario contraire. Si quis autem hoc attentare præſumpſerit, indignationem omnipotentis Dei, & beatorum Apoſtolorum Petri & Pauli ejus, ſe noverit incurſurum. Datum Laterani, ſeptimo Idus Aprilis, Pontificatus noſtri anno ſexto. *Collationata & correcta fuit cum ipſo codice Vaticano, die Jovis* 4. *Maii, anno Domini* 1617. *Ex Boſio, l.* 2. *p.* 68.

PROOF VIII. *p.* 24.

Alexander Papa quartus, dilectis Filiis, Magiſtro & Fratribus Hoſpitalis ſancti Joannis Hieroſolymitani, ſalutem & apoſtolicam benedictionem. Cùm Ordinem veſtrum omnipotens Dominus in Eccleſia ſua velut columnam immobilem ſuper obedientiæ baſim erexerit, ad fulcimentum Terræ ſanctæ, cujus eſtis Athletæ inclyti, robuſti, pugiles & propugnatores electi; & pro cujus defenſione ad prœliandum prœlia Domini, contra ſui blaſphemos nominis; ſalvificæ Crucis vos armis inſignibus accinxiſtis; cùm etiam vos ſitis populus Dei egregius, gens magnifica &, ſtrenua multitudo Juſtorum; conſilium & congregatio fortium Regis Regum; in quorum re vera manibus gladii ſunt ancipites & ardentes lucernæ, ad faciendam vindictam in nationibus & ſervandam Domini civitatem: dignè ipſum Ordinem & vos tanquam Chriſti milites, in quibus ſuſcitavit Dominus in illis partibus fortium Machabæorum ſpiritum & aliorum veterum earumdem partium bellatorum; congruis intendimus roborare favoribus, & condignis gratiis adaugere; illaque vobis concedere quæ ad incrementum veſtræ Religionis, dictæque Terræ ſanctæ ſubſidium redundare noſcuntur.

Sane quia intelleximus, quod inter Fratres veſtri Ordinis milites & alios nulla eſt diſtinctio per aliquam indumentorum diverſitatem, ſicut in pleriſque aliis conſimilibus eſt Religionibus obſervatum; propter quod contingit quòd multorum nobilium, qui, mundi relictis illecebris, ſub ejuſdem veſtræ Religionis habitu elegerant inſiſtere prædictæ Terræ ſanctæ præſidio, erga præfatum Ordinem Charitas refrigeſcit. Nos cupientes ut idem Ordo continuis, autore Domino, amplificetur commodis, & votivis creſcat augmentis; præſentium vobis autoritate concedimus, ut unanimiter ſtatuere, ac deinceps inviolabiliter obſervare poſſitis, quòd Fratres milites ejuſdem Ordinis Chlamides nigras deferant, ut ab aliis ejuſdem Ordinis Fratribus diſcernantur: in bellis autem, ſive in prœliis, utantur Jupellis, *& aliis ſuper inſignibus militaribus, quæ ſint coloris rubri, & in quibus etiam crux albi coloris ſit, in veſtri vexilli modum aſſuta*; ut in hujuſmodi uniformitate ſignorum, animorum identitas evidenter appareat; & ex hoc per conſequens, ſalus proveniat perſonarum. *Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc noſtræ conceſſionis paginam infringere.* Si quis autem id attentare præſumpſerit, indignationem Omnipotentis Dei, ac beatorum Petri & Pauli Apoſtolorum ejus, ſe noverit incurſurum. Datum Anagniæ, tertio idus Auguſti, Pontificatus noſtri anno quinto. *Ex Boſio lib. 20. pag. 671.*

Extrait des Statuts de l'Ordre de Saint Jean de Jeruſalem. Titre ſecond de la Réception des Freres. Article de la Diviſion de leurs Grades ou Qualitez.

Il y a trois Grades ou Qualitez de nos Freres; car les uns ſont Chevaliers, les autres Prêtres, & les autres Freres ſervans. De plus l'Ordre des Prêtres & des Servans ſe deviſe en deux: à ſçavoir celui des Prêtres en Conventuels, & d'obedience: & celui de Servans, en Servant d'armes, c'eſt-à-dire qui ſont reçus au Couvent; & en ces autres qu'on appelle Servans d'Office. Or quiconque ſe connoiſſant enclin & propre à nôtre Ordre, demande d'être reçû à la Profeſſion *en Qualité de Chevalier*, ſuivant la forme portée par nos Réglemens & par nos Coutumes, il faut néceſſairement qu'avant que prendre l'Habit & faire Profeſſion, *il ſoit honoré du Cordon de l'Ordre ou de la Milice*; c'eſt pourquoi, s'il n'a reçû l'Ordre de Chevalier de quelque Prince Catholique, ou d'un autre Grand qui ait pouvoir de le donner, il faut qu'en tel cas il en reçoive les Ornemens de la main de celui des Freres Chevaliers de nôtre Ordre, devant qu'il fera profeſſion, ou bien de quelque autre qui ſoit Chevalier du même Ordre, ſuivant la Coutume qu'on obſerve à faire des Chevaliers, & qu'enfin il faſſe Profeſſion avec l'Ordre ſuſdit. *Mais quant aux Chapelains & aux Servans d'Armes & d'Office, il n'eſt point à propos qu'ils portent pour ornement cette marque de Chevalier*; joint que cela n'eſt ni en uſage ni ainſi ordonné, & que c'eſt l'ordinaire de les recevoit à la Profeſſion, ſelon leur Grade tant ſeulement. *Baudoin & Naberat, page* 8. *des Statuts.*

Extrait des Ordonnances du Chapitre général tenu en 1603. *Titre dix-ſeptiéme des défenſes & peines.* Article 23.

Item, D'autant que par quelques rôles & cayers des Langues, il a été demandé qu'on eût à mettre *quelque difference entre les Freres Chevaliers & les Servans d'Armes*, Meſſieurs les Révérends ſeize ont pour cet effet enjoint & ordonné *qu'aucun de nos Freres Servans d'Armes ne puiſſe porter à l'avenir ſur ſon habit la Croix de nôtre Ordre, faite de toile de lin, plus grande que la moitié d'un demi pied de Canne de Sicile, & que celle de nos Freres d'Office ne ſoit plus grande que le quart d'un pied, ſans que pas un d'eux ſe doive licentier de porter la Croix d'or, ou dorée.* Qui fera le contraire, *qu'à chaque fois qu'il en ſera convaincu*, s'il eſt Commandeur, *il perde tout le revenu d'un an de ſa Commanderie*, applicable au commun tréſor. Si c'eſt un Frere conventuel, *qu'il perde un an d'ancienneté*, & ſi un Frere d'office ou d'état, qu'il en ſoit privé de même: l'autorité toujours réſervée au Grand-Maître d'en diſpenſer qui bon lui ſemblera. Enjoignant & commandant auſdits Freres Servans d'Armes & d'Office, que toutes les fois qu'il ſera queſtion de faire ſtipuler quelque Acte ou Contrat pour eux, *ils ſoient obligez d'y faire ſpecifier leur qualité.* Que ſi quelque Frere de nôtre Ordre en peut découvrir ou ſurprendre quelques-uns contrevenans à ce Réglement; qu'en tel

cas il lui ſoit permis d'en lever l'information de ſa propre autorité, & d'avertir le Grand-Maître & le Conſeil de ladite contravention, afin d'en ordonner la punition comme bon leur ſemblera. *Baudoin ou Naberat, page 260 des Statuts & Ordonnances.*

Extrait des Ordonnances du Chapitre général tenu en 1631. *Titres des probibitions & peines.*

Item, Sur la Requête qui a été préſentée dans quelques cayers & rôles des Langues, *de rendre remarquable la difference qu'il y a entre les Freres Chevaliers & les Servans d'Armes*, les R. S. ſeize ont enjoint & ordonné, que nul Servant d'Armes n'ait à porter deſormais *l'Habit ou la Croix de lin de notre Ordre, plus grande que la moitie d'un pan ou palme d'une Canne de Sicile, ni même la Croix d'or, ou dorée.* Que ſi quelqu'un y contrevient, *s'il eſt* Commandeur, *autant de fois qu'il en ſera convaincu, il perdra deux ans du revenu de ſa Commanderie, applicables* au commun tréſor. Que s'il eſt Frere Conventuel, *il perdra deux ans d'ancienneté* en faveur de ſes Fiarnaulds: Enjoignant & commandant aux ſuſdits, que toutes les fois qu'ils feront, paſſeront, ou ſtipuleront quelque Acte, Contrat, ou Inſtrument, *ils y mettent expreſſément la qualité:* & qu'il ſoit permis à tout Frére de nôtre Ordre, qui trouvera leſdits Contrevenans, d'informer contre eux de ſa propre autorité, & de donner avis de ladite contravention à Monſeigneur l'Eminentiſſime Grand-Maître & à ſon Conſeil, afin d'en faire la punition comme il leur plaira. Ajoûtant que le Grand-Maître (vu le conſentement qu'en a donné ſon Eminence) ne pourra juſqu'au prochain Chapitre général, donner permiſſion aux Freres Servans de porter la Croix d'or. *Baudoin ou Naberat, page 327 des Statuts & Ordonnances.*

PROOF IX. *p.* 25.

INNOCENTIUS Epiſcopus, Servus Servorum Dei: Venerabiſibus Fratribus Archiepiſcopis, Epiſcopis, ac dilectis Filiis Abbatibus & Prioribus & univerſis Eccleſiarum Prælatis, ad quos Literæ iſtæ pervenerint, ſalutem & Apoſtolicam benedictionem. Quàm amabilis Deo, & quàm venerandus hominibus locus exiſtat, quàm etiam commodum & utile receptaculum peregrinis & pauperibus præbeat Hieroſolymitanum Xenodochium, hi qui per diverſa maris & terræ pericula, piæ devotionis intuitu, Sanctam Civitatem Hieruſalem & Sepulchrum Domini viſitant, aſſiduè recognoſcunt. Ibi enim indigentes & pauperes reficiuntur, infirmis multimoda humanitatis obſequia exhibentur; & diverſis laboribus, atque periculis fatigati, reſumptis viribus recreantur. Atque ut ipſi ad Sacroſancta Loca Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti corporali præſentia dicata valeant proficiſci; *Fratres ejuſdem Domus, non formidantes pro Fratribus ſuis animas ponere; cum ſervientibus & equitaturis ad hoc officium ſpecialiter deputatis & propriis ſumptibus retentis, tam in eundo, quàm redeundo, ab incurſibus Paganorum defenſant.*

ILLI ſunt, per quos Deus Orientalem Eccleſiam à Paganorum ſpurcitia liberat, & Chriſtiani nominis inimicos expugnat. Et quoniam ad tam ſanctum & pium opus explendum, eis propriæ non ſuppetunt facultates; charitatem veſtram per Apoſtolica ſcripta exhortamur in Domino, quatenus de veſtra abundantia eorum inopiam ſuppleatis, & populum vobis commiſſum, ipſorum Fraternitatem aſſumere; & ad pauperum & peregrinorum ſuſtentationem collectas facere in remiſſionem peccatorum ſuorum, frequentibus exhortationibus moneatis. Hoc ſcientes, quod eandem Hoſpitalitatis Domum, cum omnibus ad ipſam pertinentibus, ſub beati Petri & noſtra protectione ſuſcepimus, & ſcripti noſtri pagina communivimus. Et quicumque de facultatibus ſibi à Deo collatis, eis ſubvenerit, & in tam ſancta Fraternitate, ſe collegam ſtatuerit, eiſque perſolverit beneficia annuatim; ſeptimam injunctæ pœnitentiæ, confiſi de beatorum Petri & Pauli Apoſtolorum meritis, indulgemus. Ob reverentiam quoque ipſius venerabilis Domus, auctoritate Apoſtolica conſtituimus, ut hi qui eorum fraternitatem aſſumpſerint, ſi fortè Eccleſiæ ad quos pertinent, à divinis officiis fuerint interdictæ, eoſque mori contigerit, eiſdem ſepultura eccleſiaſtica non denegetur: niſi fortè excommunicati, vel nominatim fuerint interdicti.

Volumus autem, ut liceat eis confratres ſuos, quos Eccleſiarum Prælati, apud Eccleſias ſuas non permiſerint ſepeliri, niſi fortè excommunicati, vel nominatim fuerint interdicti, ad Eccleſias Hoſpitalis tumulandos deferre, & oblationes tam pro eis, quàm pro aliis, qui in ſuis Cœmeteriis requieſcunt exhibitas, ſine alieni juris præjudicio, retinere. Hoc etiam addito, ut receptatores ejuſdem fraternitatis, ſive collectæ, ſalvo jure Dominorum ſuorum, ſub beati Petri & noſtra protectione conſiſtant. Adjicientes inſuper, ut ſi qui eorundem Fratrum, qui ad eaſdem Fraternitates, vel collectas miſſi fuerint, in quamlibet civitatem, caſtellum vel vicum advenerint, ſi fortè locus ipſe à divinis Officiis fuerit interdictus, in eorum jucundo adventu, ſemel in anno aperiantur Eccleſiæ, & excommunicatis ejectis, Divina Officia celebrentur. Ad majorem quoque eorum & veſtræ mercedis cumulum nihilominus, vobis mandando præcipimus, quatenus hanc noſtram Conſtitutionem per Parochos veſtros nunciari propriis literis faciatis: mandamus etiam, ut ſi qui de Clericis Eccleſiarum veſtrarum, præfati Hoſpitalis Fratribus, cum licentia Prælati ſui, ſponté, ac gratis per annum, vel biennium ſervire decreverint; nequaquam impediantur, & interim, ſua Beneficia, vel Eccleſiaſticos redditus non amittant.

Ego Innocentius Catholicæ Eccleſiæ Epiſcopus, ſubſcripſi.
Ego Joannes Epiſcopus Cardinalis Oſtienſis, ſubſcripſi.
Ego Chunradus Epiſcopus Cardinalis Sabinen. ſubſcripſi.
Ego Guillelmus Epiſcopus Cardinalis Præneſtin. ſubſcripſi.
Ego Frater Matthæus Epiſcopus Cardinalis Albanen. ſubſcripſi.
Ego Joannes Preſbyter Cardinalis Tit. Sancti Criſogoni, ſubſcripſi.
Ego Petrus Preſbyter Card. Tit. Sti. Martini in Montibus, ſubſcripſi.
Ego Gerardus Preſbyter Card. Tit. Sanctæ Crucis in Hieruſalem, ſubſcripſi.
Ego Petrus Preſbyter Cardinalis Tit. Sanctæ Anaſtaſiæ, ſubſcripſi.
Ego Joſephus Preſbyter Cardinalis Tit. Sanctæ Cæciliæ, ſubſcripſi.
Ego Anſelmus Preſbyter Card. Tit. Sancti Laurentii in Lucina, ſubſcripſi.
Ego Romanus Diaconus Card. Sanctæ Mariæ in Porticu, ſubſcripſi.
Ego Gregorius Diaconus Cardinalis SS. Sergii & Bacchi, ſubſcripſi.
Ego Guido Diaconus Cardinalis Sanctæ Mariæ in via lata, ſubſcripſi.
Ego Albertus Diaconus Cardinalis Sancti Theodori, ſubſcripſi.

Datum Laterani, per manus Haymerici, Sanctæ Mariæ novæ, Sanctæ Romanæ Eccleſiæ Diaconi Cardinalis Cancellarii, decimo Calendas Martii, Indictione octava, Pontificatûs vero Domini Innocentii Papæ ſecundi, anno primo. *Ex Boſio Tom.* 1. *L.* 3. *pag.* 108.

PROOF X *p.* 28.

In nomine ſanctæ & invidiæ Trinitatis, Patris & Filii & Spiritûs Sancti. Tempore quo *Calixtus* Papa ſecundus, & quartus *Henricus* Romanorum Imperator Auguſtus, pace eodem anno inter Regnum & Sacerdotium ſuper annuli & baculi controverſia, celebrato Romæ Concilio, Deo auxiliante, peractâ, alter Romanam Eccleſiam, alterque Regnum regebat, *Dominicus Michaelis* Venetiæ Dux, Dalmatiæ atque Croatiæ Regni Princeps, innumerâ claſſium militiæque multitudine, priùs tamen ante importuoſas Aſcalonis ripas, Paganorum claſſium Regis Babyloniæ graviſſimâ ſtrage facta, demum in Hieruſalem partes, ad neceſſarium Chriſtianorum patrocinium victorioſus advenit. Rex quippe *Balduinus* Hieruſalem ſecundus, tunc temporis, peccatis noſtris exigentibus, ſub *Balac* Principe Parthorum, Paganorum laqueo cum pluribus aliis captivus tenebatur. Propterea nos quidem *Gormundus*, Dei gratiâ ſanctæ civitatis Hieruſalem Patriarcha, cum noſtræ Eccleſiæ Fratribus ſuffraganeis, Domino *Wilelmo de Buris* Conſtabulario, & *Pagano* Cancellario, nobis cum totius regni Hieroſolymitani ſociâ Baronum militiâ conjunctâ, Achone, in Eccleſia ſanctæ Crucis convenientes: Ejuſdem Regis Balduini promiſſiones, ſecuncundùm literarum ſuarum & nunciorum prolocutiones, quas eidem Veneticorum Duci ſuos per nuncios, uſque Venetiam, Rex ipſe mandaverat, propriâ manu, & Epiſcoporum ſive Cancellarii manu paciſque oſculo, prout Ordo noſter exigit, datis: Omnes verò Barones, quorum nomina ſubſcripta ſunt, ſuper ſancta Evangelia ſubſcriptas depactionum conventiones, ſanctiſſimo Evangeliſtæ Marco, prædicto Duci ſuiſque ſucceſſoribus, atque genti Veneticorum ſimul ſtatuentes affirmavimus, quatenus ſine aliqua contradictione, quæ dicta & quemadmodum inferiùs ſubſcripta ſunt, ita & rata, & in futurum illibata, ſibi ſuæque genti in perpetuum permaneant. *Amen.* In omnibus ſcilicet ſupradicti Regis, ejuſque ſucceſſorum ſub dominio, atque omnium ſuorum Baronum civitatibus, ipſi Venetici Eccleſiam & integram rugam, unamque plateam ſive balneum, nec non & furnum habeant, jure hæreditario in perpetuum poſſidenda, ab omni exactione libera, ſicut ſunt Regis propria. Verùm in platea Hieruſalem tantum ad proprium habeant, quantum Rex habere ſolitus eſt. Quòd ſi apud Accon, furnum, molendinum, balneum, ſtateram, modios & buzas ad vinum, oleum, vel mel menſurandum in vico ſuo Veneti facere voluerint, omnibus inibi habitantibus abſque contradictione quicunque voluerit coquere, molere, balneare, ſicut ad propria Regis liberè liceat. Sed modiorum, ſtateræ atque buzæ menſuris, hoc modo uti liceat. Nam quando Venetici inter ſe negotiantur, cum propriis, id eſt, Veneticorum menſuris menſurare debent: cùm verò Venetici res ſuas aliis gentibus vendunt, cum ſuis, id eſt, Veneticorum menſuris propriis vendere debent. Quando autem Venetici ab aliquibus gentibus extraneis quàm Veneticis, commercio aliquid accipientes comparant, cum Regiis menſuris datoque pretio accipere licet. Ad hæc Venetici nullam dationem, vel ſecundùm uſum, vel ſecundùm ullam rationem, nullo modo, intrando, ſtando, vendendo, comparando vel morando, aut exeundo, de nulla penitùs cauſa aliquam dationem perſolvere debent, niſi ſolum quando veniunt, aut exeunt cum ſuis navibus peregrinos portantes: tunc quippe ſecundùm Regis conſuetudinem, tertiam partem ipſi Regi dare debent. Unde ipſe Rex Hieruſalem, & nos omnes, Duci Veneticorum de fundo Tyri, ex parte Regis, feſto Apoſtolorum Petri & Pauli, trecentos in unoquoque anno bizantios Sarracenatos, ex debiti conditione perſolvere debemus. Vobis quoque, Duci Venetiæ, & veſtræ genti promittimus, quòd nihil plus accipiemus ab illis gentibus, quæ vobiſcum negociantur, niſi quantum ſoliti ſunt dare, & quanta accipimus ab illis qui cum aliis negotiantur gentibus. Præterea illam ejuſdem plateæ, rugæque Achon partem unum caput in manſione *Petri Zanni*, aliud verò in ſancti *Dimitri* Monaſterio firmantem; & ejuſdem rugæ aliam partem, unam materiariam & duas lapideas manſiones habentes, quæ quondam caſulæ de cannis eſſe ſolebant, quam Rex *Balduinus* Hieruſalem primitus beato Marco, dominoque Duci *Ordolafo*, ſuiſque ſucceſſoribus in Sydonis acquiſitione dedit; ipſas inquam partes, beato Marco, vobiſque *Dominico Michaeli*, Venetiæ Duci, veſtris quoque ſucceſſoribus per præſentem paginam confirmamus: vobiſque poteſtatem concedimus, tenendi, poſſidendi, & quicquid vobis inde placuerit, in perpetuum faciendi. Super ejuſdem autem rugæ alia parte, à domo *Bernardi* de novo Caſtello, quæ quondam *Johannis* fuerat *Juliani*, uſque ad domum *Guiberti* de Joppen generis Laudæ, recto tramite procedente, vobis eandem quam Rex habuerit poteſtatem penitùs damus. Quin etiam nullus Veneticorum in totius terræ Regis, ſuorumque Baronum dominio, aliquam dotionem in ingrediendo, vel ibi morando, aut exeundo per ullum ingenium dare debeat: ſed ſic liber ſicut in ipſa Venetia ſit. Si verò aliquod placitum, vel alicujus negotii litigationem, Veneticus erga Veneticum habuerit, in curia Veneticorum diffiniatur. Vel ſi aliquis adverſus Veneticum querelam aut litigationem ſe habere crediderit, in eadem curia Veneticorum determinetur. Verùm ſi Veneticus ſuper quemlibet alium hominem, quàm Veneticum, clamorem fecerit, in curia Regis emendetur. Inſuper ubi Veneticus ordinatus vel inordinatus, quod nos *ſine lingua* dicimus, obierit, res ſuæ in poteſtatem Veneticorum reducantur. Si verò aliquis Veneticorum naufragium paſſus fuerit, nullum de ſuis rebus patiatur damnum. Si naufragio mortuus fuerit, ſuis hæredibus aut aliis Veneticis res ſuæ remanentes reddantur. Præterea ſuper cujus gentis Burgenſes in vico & domibus Veneticorum habitantes, eandem juſtitiam & conſuetudines quas Rex ſuper ſuos, Venetici habeant. Denique duarum civitatum *Tyri* & *Aſcalonis* tertiam partem, cum ſuis pertinentiis, & tertiam partem terrarum omnium ſibi pertinentium, à die ſancti Petri, Sarracenis tantum ſervientium, quæ non ſunt in Francorum manibus, alteram quarum, vel ſi, Deo auxiliante, utramque per eorum auxilium, aut aliquod ingenium in Chriſtianorum

rum poteſtatem Spiritus Sanctus tradere voluerit: illam, inquam, tertiam partem, ſicut dictum eſt, liberè & regaliter, ſicut Rex duas, Venetici habituri in perpetuum, ſine alicujus contradictionis impeditione, jure hereditario poſſideant. Univerſaliter igitur ſupradictas conventiones ipſum Regem, Deo auxiliante, ſi aliquando egreſſurus de captivitate eſt, nos *Gormundus* Hieruſalem Patriarcha confirmare per Evangelium faciemus. Si verò alter ad Hieroſolymitanum regnum, in Regem promovendus advenerit, aut ſuperiùs ordinatas promiſſiones antequam promoveatur, ſicut antè dictum eſt, ipſum confirmare faciemus; alioquin ipſum nullo modo ad regnum provehi aſſentiemus. Similiter eaſdem & eodem modo confirmationes, Baronum ſucceſſiones, & novi futuri Barones facient. De cauſſa verò Antiochena, quam vobis Regem *Balduinum* ſecundum, ſub eadem conſtitutionis depactione promiſiſſe benè ſcimus, in Antiocheno Principatu ſe vobis Veneticis daturum: videlicet ſic in Antiochia, ſicut in cœteris Regis civitatibus, ſi quidem Antiocheni Regalia promiſſionum fœdera vobis attendere voluerint: nos idem *Gormundus* Hieruſalem Patriarcha, cum noſtris Epiſcopis, Clero, Baronibus, populoque Hieruſalem, conſilium & auxilium vobis dantes, quod nobis Dominus Papa inde ſcripſerit, bonâ fide totum adimplere, & hæc omnia ſuperiora, ad honorem Veneticorum promittimus.

Ego Gormundus, Dei gratiâ Hieroſolymorum Patriarcha, propriâ noſtrâ manu ſupradictæ confirmo.
Ego Ebremarus Cæſarienſis Archiepiſc. hæc eadem ſimiliter confirmo.
Ego Bernardus Nazarenus Epiſcopus ſimiliter confirmo.
Ego Aſquitinus Bethleemita Epiſcopus ſimiliter confirmo.
Ego Rogerius Liddenſis ſancti Gregorii Epiſcopus ſimiliter confirmo.
Ego Gildoinus Abbas ſanctæ Mariæ vallis Joſaphat ſimiliter confirmo.
Ego Gerardus Prior ſancti Sepulchri ſimiliter confirmo.
Ego Ricardus Prior Templi Domini ſimiliter affirmo.
Ego Arnaldus Prior montis Sion ſimiliter affirmo.
Ego Wilelmus de Buris, Regis Conſtabularius, ſimiliter affirmo.

DATA apud *Achon*, per manus *Pagani*, Regis Hieruſalem Cancellarii, anno *milleſimo centeſimo vigeſimo tertio, indictione ſecunda.*
Ex Guillelmo Tyr. lib. 12. *pag.* 830.

PROOF XI. *p.* 29.

EODEM anno, quidam nobiles viri de equeſtri ordine, Deo devoti, religioſi & timentes Deum, in manu domini Patriarchæ, Chriſti ſervitio ſe mancipantes, more Canonicorum regularium, *in caſtitate, & obedientia, & ſine proprio* velle perpetuò vivere profeſſi ſunt. Inter quos primi & præcipui fuerunt, viri venerabiles, *Hugo de Paganis*, & *Garfuedus de ſancto Aldemaro.* Quibus, quoniam neque Eccleſia erat, neque certum habebant domicilium, Rex in palatio quod ſecus templum Domini, ad auſtralem habet partem, eis ad tempus conceſſit habitaculum. *Canonici* verò *Templi* Domini, plateam quam circa prædictum habebant palatium, ad opus officinarum, certis quibuſdam conditionibus conceſſerunt. Dominus autem Rex cum ſuis proceribus, dominus quoque Patriarcha cum Prælatis Eccleſiarum, de propriis dominicalibus certa eis pro victu & amictu beneficia, quædam ad tempus, quædam in perpetuum contulerunt. Prima autem eorum profeſſio, quodque eis à domino Patriarcha, & reliquis Epiſcopis, in remiſſionem peccatorum injunctum eſt; *ut vias & itinera, ad ſalutem Peregrinorum, contra latronum & incurſantium inſidias, pro viribus conſervarent.* Novem autem annis poſt eorum inſtitutionem in habitu fuerunt ſeculari, talibus utentes veſtimentis, quales pro remediis animarum ſuarum populus largiebatur. Tandem nono anno, Concilio in Francia apud *Trecas* habito, cui interfuerunt Dominus *Remenſis*, & Dominus *Senonenſis* Archiepiſcopi, cum Suffraganeis ſuis; *Albanenſis* quoque Epiſcopus, Apoſtolicæ Sedis Legatus; Abbates quoque *Ciſtercienſis*, & *Clarevallenſis*, & *Pontiniacenſis*, cum aliis pluribus, inſtituta eſt eis regula, & habitus aſſignatus, albus videlicet, de mandato domini *Honorii* Papæ, & Domini *Stephani* Hieroſolymitani Patriarchæ. Cumque jam annis novem in eodem fuiſſent propoſito, non niſi novem erant: ex tunc cœpit eorum numerus augeri, & poſſeſſiones multiplicabantur. Poſtmodum verò, tempore D. *Eugenii* Papæ, ut dicitur, cruces de panno rubeo, ut inter cæteros eſſent notabiliores, mantellis ſuis cœperunt aſſuere, tam equites quàm eorum fratres inferiores, qui dicuntur *Servientes.* Quorum res adeò crevit in immenſum, ut hodie trecentos plus minuſve in conventu habeant Equites, albis chlamydibus indutos: exceptis fratribus, quorum penè infinitus eſt numerus. Poſſeſſiones autem tam ultra, quàm citra mare adeò dicuntur immenſas habere, ut jam non ſit in orbe Chriſtiano Provincia, quæ prædictis Fratribus bonorum ſuorum portionem non contulerit; & regiis opulentiis pares hodie dicantur habere copias. Qui, quoniam juxta Templum Domini, ut prædiximus, in palatio Regio manſionem habent, *Fratres militiæ Templi* dicuntur. Qui cùm in honeſto ſe conſervâſſent propoſito, profeſſioni ſuæ ſatis prudenter ſatisfacientes, neglectâ *humilitate (quæ omnium virtutum cuſtos eſſe dinoſcitur; & in imo ſponte ſedens, non habet unde caſum patiatur)* D. Patriarchæ Hieroſolymitano, à quo & Ordinis inſtitutionem, & prima beneficia ſuſceperant, ſe ſubſtraxerunt, obedientiam ei, quam eorum prædeceſſores eidem exhibuerant, denegantes: ſed & Eccleſiis Dei, eis decimas & primitias ſubtrahentes, & eorum indebitè turbando poſſeſſiones, facti ſunt valde moleſti. *Ex Guillelmo Tyr. lib.* 12. *pag.* 814. *c.* 7. *lib.* 1. *p.* 50.

PROOF XII. *p.* 34.

AD ſeptimum Idus Septembris, anno milleſimo centeſimo trigeſimo quarto inſignis ea clades ad Sarinienam Oppidum accepta eſt. Magnus Imperator, animi vigore præſtanti, atque eo ſeculo Chriſtiani nominis decus & gloria, cum hoſte novies & vicies ſigna contulit, ut vetuſtus auctor affirmat, plerumque victor, regnavit annis triginta. Reliquit teſtamentum ante tres annos nuncupatum in ipſa obſidione Baionæ urbis, quam in extrema ora Galliæ expugnâſſe, etiam noſtrates Scriptores ſuſpicantur. Petrus Lara Comes, ab Alfonſo Jordano Toloſate, ex provocatione in ſingulari certamine, in ea obſidione peremptus eſt. In eo teſtamento Templis & Monaſteriis tota Hiſpania, multa oppida & arces legata: & cum prole careret, Templarii & Hoſpitalarii milites, præterea cuſtodes Sepulchri Hieroſolymitani ex aſſe omnes, ſinguli ex triente ordines, regni hæredes ſcripti: exemplo liberalitatis, quod admirarentur poſteri, improbarent æquales. Sed tanti erat religionem chriſtianam bello amplificare, partumque in Syria imperium armis tueri, ut certatim viri, fœminæ, principes & privati prædia, arces, oppida in ſumptus bellicos ſuppeditarent.

MILITES Hieroſolymitani, qui regni jura ex Alfonſi Aragonii Regis non ita pridem defuncti teſtamento repetebant, aliqua ratione conciliandi erant: Veneratque ea de cauſa Raymundus militiæ Divi Joannis Magiſter, quo agente convenit tandem, ut Cæſarauguſtæ, Calatayubæ, Oſcæ, Barbaſtri & Darocæ aliiſque oppidis, quæcunque Mauris eriperentur, Hieroſolymitani milites ex ſingulis regionibus Chriſtianis, Mauris, Judæis ſingulis familias ſubjectas haberent: eæque ipſorum auſpiciis juſſuque militarent, alii præterea reditus, opimaque prædia tota ditione data, unde magno quamvis numero milites vitam militiamque ſuſtentarent. Jaccæ aliiſque locis domiciliis conſtituendis deſcriptæ deſignatæque areæ. Illud in primis eſt cautum, ut Raymundo ipſo ſine prole defuncto, regnum rediret ad Milites, iis conditionibus paſciſcendis, retractandiſque, aliquot anni elapſi: quas Guillelmus Patriarcha Hieroſolymitanus cæterique Milites divi Joannis ſuo diplomate ratas Hieroſolymæ habuerunt, ad quartum Kalend. Septembris ſalutis anno milleſimo centeſimo quadrageſimo primo. Acceſſit Fulconis Hieroſolymitani Regis conſenſus, ac Hadriani tandem quarti, qui poſt aliquot annos Romanam Eccleſiam regendam ſuſcepit, approbatio. Eo fœdere Templarii etiam Milites comprehenſi; quibus quod æquior eſſet Raymundus, cum recenti memoria Raymundus Berengarius ejus Pater eam militiam eſſet profeſſus, plura attributa ſunt. Montio aliaque oppida & arces magno numero donata: decima Regiorum vectigalium: quinta eorum quæ bello Maurorum quæſita eſſent: immunitate Milites omnes donati: neque niſi eorum conſenſu, pacem genti cum Mauris fore conceptis verbis promiſſum juratumque.

Hæc gerundæ pacta conventaque, Guidone Cardinale Pontificis Romani Legato præſente, diſceptanteque vigeſimo-ſeptimo Novembris die, anno milleſimo centeſimo quadrageſimo-tertio. *Mariana lib.* 10. *cap.* 15.

PROOF XIII. *p.* 45.

Anastasius Epiſcopus ſervus ſervorum Dei, dilecto filio Raymundo Magiſtro Xenodochii civitatis Hieroſolymitanæ, &c.

Decernimus ut receptores veſtrarum fraternitatum, ſive collectarum, ſalvo jure Dominorum ſuorum, in B. Petri & noſtra protectione conſiſtant, & per terras in quibus fuerint pacem habeant.

Quia verò omnia veſtra ſuſtentationibus peregrinorum, & pauperum debent cedere, ac per hoc nullatenus aliis uſibus ea convenit applicari, conſtituimus, ut de laboribus, quos veſtris ſumptibus colitis, nullus omnino Clericus, vel laicus decimas à vobis exigere præſumat.

Statuimus ut nulli Epiſcopo, in Eccleſiis à vobis ſubditis, interdicti, ſuſpenſionis, vel excommunicationis ſententiam liceat promulgare. Verumtamen ſi generale interdictum fuerit in locis illis prolatum, excluſis excommunicatis, & nominatim interdictis, clauſis januis, abſque campanarum pulſatione, plane divina Officia celebrentur.

Fratribus veſtris ſemel . . . . . . in ſacro veſtro Collegio receptis, poſt factam Profeſſionem, & habitum Religionis aſſumptum, revertendi ad ſæculum interdicimus facultatem. Nec alicui eorum fas ſit, poſt factam Profeſſionem, ſemel aſſumptam Crucem Dominicam, & Habitum veſtræ Profeſſionis abjicere, vel ad alium locum, ſeu etiam monaſterium, majoris ſeu minoris Religionis obtentu, invitis ſive inconſultis Fratribus, aut eo qui Magiſter extiterit, licentia tranſmigrare, nullique eccleſiaſticæ ſecularique perſonæ ipſos ſuſcipiendi aut retinendi licentia pateat.

Præterea honores omnes, ſive poſſeſſiones, quas idem Xenodochium ultra ſeu citra mare, in Aſia, vel in Europa, aut in præſenti juſtè habet, vel in futurum rationabilibus modis Deo propitio poterit adipiſci, vobis pro hoſpitalitatis ſtudio enitentibus, & per vos jam dicto Xenodochio confirmamus. Nulli ergo, &c.

Dat. Lateran. per manum Rolandi S. R. E. Preſbyteri Cardinalis & Cancellarii 12. Kalend. Novembris, indictione quarta, incarnationis Dominicæ 1154. Pontificatus Domini Anaſtaſii quarti anno ſecundo. *Ex magno Bullario t.* 1.

In nomine Domini Dei æterni, ac Salvatoris noſtri Jeſu Chriſti, anno incarnationis ejuſdem milleſimo centeſimo trigeſimo-ſeptimo, indictione undecima, Rogerius divina favente clementia; Rex Siciliæ, Ducatus Apuliæ, & Principatus Capuæ. Quoniam in multis offendimus omnes; non tam meritis noſtris, quàm ſanctorum Religioſorum Virorum precibus, Chriſti miſericordiam aſſequi confidimus. Scriptum namque eſt: Multum valet deprecatio juſti aſſidua; ideo pium eſt & rationabile, omnium Creatori quatenus de bonis, quæ in nobis omnipotentis Dei miſericordia habere conceſſit, pauperum Chriſti, & ſervientium Deo uſui, dum in præſenti verſamur naufragio, manu adjutrice ſubveniamus, qui pro nobis orationibus aſſiduis interpellant Regem Cœlorum, & ut nobis janua Paradiſi aperiatur, pulſare aſſiduis precibus non deſiſtunt. Hac igitur ducti compunctione laudabili, conſiderantes, *Magiſtri Raymundi Podio*, & Fratrum Hoſpitalis ſancti Joannis Hieroſolymitani honeſtam vitam, & eleemoſynarum largitionem pio nomine approbatam, quam facit ſanctum Xenodochium de Hieruſalem, in receptione & recreatione pauperum & infirmorum undique confluentium, pro honore & reverentia Jeſu Chriſti, qui ſe in paupere recipi profitetur. Nos igitur quem Deus in Regni Siciliæ primo ſolio voluit præſidere, pro ſalute animæ Patris noſtri glorioſæ memoriæ Rogerii Comitis, matriſque noſtræ Adelartæ Reginæ, & mei, noſtrorumque exinde parentum; Magiſtrum & Fratres Hoſpitalis Hieruſalem, omneſque Domos Hoſpitalis, quæ in Regno noſtro ſunt, cum Confratribus, hominibus, poſſeſſionibus, ac omnibus juſtitiis, & rationibus ſuis ſub ſpeciali protectione & defenſione noſtra, noſtrorumque hæredum recipimus & habemus. Et quicquid per totum Regnum ubique, aut intra civitates, ſive extra, à dicto Hoſpitali, præſenti noſtro tempore eſt obtentum, & in futurum conceſſione Pontificum, liberalitate

ralitate principum, oblatione Fidelium Hoſpitali fuerit attributum, concedimus & robore perpetuo confirmamus.

Volumus inſuper, ut hoſpitale præfatum habeat libertatem herbarum, aquarum pro animalibus ſuis, & uſum ſiccorum lignorum, ac viridum pro Domibus reparandis, & aliis neceſſitatibus ſuis quæ ab omnibus Domibus Hoſpitalis præfati, & hominibus ſuis per Regnum noſtrum, tàm in terra, quàm in mari, penitus indulgemus; & ut liberè vendere, & emere poſſint ubicumque, ſive extrahere undecumque voluerint, pro utilitate Hoſpitalis ejuſdem. Concedimus etiam, quod Dominus nos, & noſtros hæredes manu teneat & conſervet, ut Rectores & Fratres ipſius Hoſpitalis ubicumque facere voluerint Hoſpitale vel Receptaculum infirmorum, liberè inde habeant poteſtatem. Et quicquid in eleemoſynam à Chriſti Fidelibus, ſive indigenis, aut alienigenis, de univerſis Provinciis venientibus fuerit elargitum; ſine contradictione noſtra, noſtrorumque Fidelium, pro infirmis confortandis, pauperibus ſuſtentandis, recipiat abſolutè ſicut fuerit legatum. Nec aliquis magnus, vel minor, nobilis, vel ignobilis, Fidelium aut Baillirorum noſtrorum, Fratribus vel Domibus Hoſpitalis prædicti, aliquam violentiam inferat, vel jacturam; nec de aliquibus rebus, vel poſſeſſionibus, quas dictum Hoſpitale Hieruſalem in Regno noſtro noſtro poſſidet, ſine juris ordine, diſtrahere præſumat. Si quis autem, quod abſit, hujus noſtræ donationis, vel conceſſionis paginam temerario auſu, in aliquo interrumpere, vel violare præſumpſerit, indignationem omnipotentis Dei, & noſtri culminis ſciat ſe incurſurum. Ad hujus autem noſtræ donationis & conceſſionis indicium, per manum videlicet noſtri Notarii, Scribæ, noſtrique Tiparii, Bulla plumbea inſigniri præcepimus. Datum Panormi, per manus Guarini Cancellarii, ſexto idus Octobris, anno verò Regni Rogerii glorioſiſſimi Regis Siciliæ, Ducatus Apuliæ & Principatus Capuæ, undecimo feliciter. Amen. *Ex Archiv. Vaticano in Regiſtro Innocentii quarti, t.* 3. *Ep.* 255.

PROOF XIV. *p.* 47.

Post hæc autem, antequam cætera proſequatur autor, digreditur ad profectionem Patriarchæ Hieroſolymitani in Italiam, ad conveniendum Hadrianum Pontificem, dum in his bellicis occupationibus occupatus detineretur. Cauſam autem ejus profectionis fuiſſe narrat controverſiam inter ipſum & milites hoſpitalarios ratione decimarum obortam, cujus cauſa fuit ipſi cum ſuis ſummus Pontifex conveniendus, eò quòd (ut præmiſit) iidem Hoſpitalarii privilegio Pontificio exempti eſſent à juribus Patriarchæ, & ſubjecti tantummodo Romano Pontificì, qui de ipſis & in ipſos jus diceret: poſtquam ergo (pergit Tyrius) ſæpe ac ſæpius tàm D. Patriarcha, quàm reliqui Eccleſiarum Prælati apud eoſdem Fratres ſua jura repoſcendo non proficiebant (ut præmiſimus) ad Romani Pontificis hinc inde proceſſum eſt auditorium. Aſſumens ergo D. Patriarcha ſibi, licèt longævus eſſet & ferè centenarius, de Eccleſiarum Prælatis D. Tyrienſem Archiepiſcopum, & de Suffraganeis ejus D. Fridericum Acconenſem Epiſcopum, Almaricum Sidonienſem Epiſcopum, D. Balduinum Cæſarienſem Epiſcopum, Dominum Renerum Sebaſtenum Epiſcopum, D. Hebertum Tiberiaclenſem Epiſcopum, vernalis temporis gratia reſpirante, cùm primum mare flatibus exagitatum hybernis, ſpirante Favonio, cœpit ſe reddere placabilius, iter aggreſſi, autore Domino, Hydruntum Apuliæ urbem maritimam proſpero curſu attigerunt.

Interea dum Pontifices Orientis una cum D. Patriarcha fines attigiſſent Apuliæ (ut præmiſimus) Conſtantinopolitanus Imperator verbum Domini Papæ proſecutus, immiſſis de Principibus ſuis cum infinita pecunia, conſentientibus eis illarum partium proceribus, regionem violenter invaſerant, ita ut poſtquam D. Patriarcha cum ſuis ab Hydrunte uſque Brunduſium perveniſſet, D. Imperatoris familia urbem prædictam, tradentibus eam civibus, jam recepiſſet in ſuam, ſolo præſidio civitatis, in quo pauci erant, in fidelitate D. Regis perſeverante. Comes quoque Robertus de quo ſuperiùs fecimus mentionem, cum iis qui partes ſuas tam Regis odio, quàm ejus gratiâ ſequebantur, Tarentum, Barum, egregias Metropoles, & omnem maritimam regionem uſque ad Regni terminos violenter occupaverat. Prædicti verò magni & inclyti viri, Robertus, Princeps Capuanus, & Comes Andræas univerſam Campaniam, quæ vulgari appellatione dicitur, Terra laboris, uſque ad Salernum, & uſque Neapolim, & uſque ſanctum Germanum ſibi vendicaverant: eratque tota regio in tanto motu, ut nuſquam

quam quies, nuſquam ſecuritas eſſet tranſire volentibus. Romanorum etiam Imperator D. Fridericus circa partes Anconitanas cum exercitibus ſuis moram faciens, tam in legionibus, quas in Italiam introduxerat, cladem patiebatur, ut deficientibus majoribus & nobilioribus Imperii Principibus, vix decimus quiſque ſupereſſet. Unde eos qui ſupererant, & propria redire volentes, cohibere non valens, ipſe quoque ad reditum, licèt invitus accingebatur. Multa enim ſupererant negotia, & maxime contra eundem Siculum Regem, quæ ejus exigebant præſentiam. Hoc ipſum erat tempus quo Willelmus deprecabatur quam inſtantiſſimè pacem, nec audiebatur, ut dictum eſt ſuperiùs. Preſſus enim tot tantiſque undique hoſtibus iiſdem potentibus, reſpirandi ſibi neque dabatur locus. Quæ autem poſt hæc ſequuta ſint, ſuo loco ſequenti anno dicentur.

MODO autem una cum Willelmo Tyrio proſequamur res geſtas à Patriarcha Hieroſolymitano, cum pluribus Epiſcopis ab Hieroſolymis ad Hadrianum Pontificem properante: D. porro Patriarcha (inquit Tyrius) cum ſuis conſortibus itineris anxie deliberabat, quâ viâ ad D. Papam in tanto tumultu poſſet accedere: undique enim prælia, undique ſeditiones omnem videbantur aditum præcluſiſſe. Anſquetinus quoque quidam Regis Siciliæ Cancellarius urbem obſedit Beneventanam, nuntiiſque D. Patriarchæ qui ad hæc miſſi fuerant, ut ei à prædicto Cancellario ducatum implorarent, omnino negavit per partes illas tranſitum, quæ tamen via multo cæteris erat compendioſior. Tandemque habito quorumdam prudentum conſilio, viam maritimam ſecutus, cum omni comitatu ſuo Anconam pervenit: miſſis inde ex latere ſuo quibuſdam Epiſcopis, qui D. Imperatorem Romanorum, jam, ut diximus, ad propria redeuntem, verbis ejus ſalutarent, & pro negotiis ejus ad D. Papam litteras obtinerent imperiales. Quod & factum eſt, licèt ipſe Imperator urbem Senogallias, & Piſaurum jam pertranſiiſſet pro redeundo ſollicitus.

AT vero D. Patriarcha cum ſuo comitatu Romam verſus iter dirigens, D. Papam à civitate Narnienſi egreſſum, quaſi fugientem proſequabatur. Tandem Romam veniens, ibique per dies aliquot facta mora; cùm ei nuntiatum eſſet, apud urbem Ferentinum D. Papam greſſum fixiſſe, illuc incunctanter properat, ut de negotio pro re qua venerat, experiri tentaret. Dicebant quidem (nempe Papæ adverſarii, à quorum ipſe ore pendebat) D. Papam, ut eum tedio afficeret, & gravaret ſumptibus, eum ſtudio ſe declinare: nam muneribus infinitis corruptus, in partem Hoſpitalariorum dicebatur ſe dediſſe proclivem, qui jam ad eum multo ante prævenerant. Alii dicebant urbis Beneventanæ gratiâ, quæ obſidione claudebatur, ut diximus, eum tamen maturato adveniſſe itinere. Illud tamen erat evidens, favorem ſuum & familiarium ſuorum Hoſpitalariis nimis indulſiſſe; D. verò Patriarcham cum ſuis quaſi adulterinos filios faſtu quondam & indignatione à ſe repellere quaſi indignos. Poſtquam igitur Patriarcha ad prædictam urbem pervenit, obtulit ſe de more Apoſtolicis aſpectibus: ubi & male receptus, & pejus habitus, invitis ex plurima parte Cardinalibus, certum de D. Papæ mentis conceptu, & habitatione reportant argumentum. Ille tamen quorumdam prudentum amicorum ſuorum fretus conſilio, totum hoc diſſimulans, ſicut homo ſeverus erat, D. Papam frequentabat, diebus feſtis aſſiduus erat in Conſiſtorio, Epiſcoporum ſuorum cœtu venerabiliter circumſeptus: cui etiam Stolvocatorum turba, quoties opus erat, jugis aſſiſtebat, officium adimplere parata.

DATA igitur utriſque partibus audientia, cum jam per multos dies utrimque inutiliter eſſet decertatum; videns D. Patriarcha, & per quoſdam familiares amicos ſuos intelligens, quod non proficeret: ſumpta licentia, conditionem referens deteriorem, confuſione indutus & reverentia, aggreſſus eſt ad propria redire. De tanta autem Cardinalium turba vix reperti ſunt duo vel tres, D. videlicet Octavianus, D. Joannes de ſancto Martino, qui ejuſdem D. Patriarchæ, dum eſſet Tyrenſis Archiepiſcopus, Archidiaconus fuerat, qui Chriſtum ſequentes, ejus miniſtrum in cauſa ſua pie vellent fovere. Alii omnes abeuntes poſt munera ſecuti ſunt vias Balaam filii Boſor.

EN vides, Lector, quàm fuerit Patriarcha deceptus, qui nefarios homines, factioſos, Pontifici adverſarios prædicat ſanctos, reliquos verò magni nominis Cardinales ex vitæ ſinceritate & literis undique conſpicuos ita infamiæ nota reliquerit ſcriptis inuſtos. Sed qui boni, qui verò mali fuerint, adeo ſuis ipſorum factis univerſo Chriſtiano orbi declaratum eſt, ut illi non indigeant commendatione,

tione, iſtis inutilis ſit prorſus omnis defenſio. Pergit verò Tyrius: D. verò Papa, urgentibus eum curis domeſticis, tranſcurſa Campania, Beneventum pervenit. *Bar. t.* 12. *an.* 1155. *p.* 252.

PROOF XV. *p.* 48.

CUM præcipua Philoſophia Chriſtianorum ſit cogitatio mortis; prudentium eſt, diem mortis prævenire; & ſic ſuper bonis ſuis diſponere, ut poſſint de immortalitate ſperare. Idcirco, ego in Dei nomine, Guio Furcarquerienſis Comes, temporalibus æterna, tranſitoriis permanentia cupiens comparare; pro ſalute animæ meæ, & Parentum meorum, dono Deo, & Hoſpitali Hieroſolymitano, & Pauperibus, in perpetuum, Manoaſcam, Burgum, & Caſtellum, & totas auras, cum toto territorio, & omnibus ad Manoaſcam pertinentibus; hoc eſt, uſque ad territorium montis Furonis, & uſque ad territorium ſancti Martini, & uſque ad territorium Dalfini, & uſque ad territorium de Vols, & uſque ad flumen, quod vocatur Durencia: Et me ipſum eidem Hoſpitali, & Pauperibus in perpetuum ad ſerviendum contrado. Reliqua bona mea ubicumque ſint, filiis fratris mei relinquo: Et eos per fidem ſuam rogo, ut hanc donationem, hoc ſalubre relictum, quod pro redemptione animæ meæ in Pauperes confero; firmum, illibatumque confirment. Quod ſi violare vel perturbare præſumpſerint; eis omnia quæ reliqui aufero; & Guinanno, & Bertranno Raimbaldi omnia bona mea relinquo; ut quod reliqui Hoſpitali & Pauperibus, firmum manere faciant, & tam ipſi, quàm hæredes eorum, perpetuò defendant. Sciendum tamen eſt, quòd in his omnibus, quæ filiis fratris mei relinquo, matrem meam, dum vixerit, uſum fructuum habere volo. Præterea matri meæ, jure proprietatis relinquo id totum, quod ejus induſtria, Caſtro quod vocatur Pertus accrevit. Facta eſt hæc diſpoſitio anno ab Incarnatione Domini, milleſimo centeſimo quadrageſimo-nono, tertio kalendas Junii, luna viceſima-prima, regnante Imperatore Conrado, in præſentia D. Petri Siſtercienſis Epiſcopi, autoritate cujus, & teſtimonio eſt confirmata. Præterea, iſti omnes teſtes exiſtunt: Garſendis Comitiſſa mater ipſius Guionis Comitis, Bertrannus Raimbaldi, Hugo Boſo, Aicardus de Segnone, Iſnardus de Mota, Feraldus de Feirol, Wilelmus Raimundi de Bellomonte, Wilelmus Raimundi de Caderachia, Wilelmus Cornutus, & Wilelmus Cornutus filius ejus; Bermundus Leotaudus, & Wilelmus Bermundi filius ejus; Raimundus de Bona Villa, Bertrannus Nigrellus, Wilelmus Nigrellus, Petrus Adam, Hugo de Auſonigas, Wilelmus de Climans, Wilelmus Rainoardus, Aicardus de Manoaſcha, Raimundus de ſancto Martino, Raimundus Roſtagnus, Aicardus de Roca ſancti Petri Siſtercienſis Epiſcopi. *Boſio Lib.* 5. *p.* 177. *ad ann.* 1149.

PROOFS
OF THE
HISTORY
OF THE
Knights Hoſpitallers
OF
S. JOHN of JERUSALEM.

BOOK II.

PROOF I. *p. 59.*

SALAHADINUS primitus quidem leno gentilis apud Damaſcum, poſt ab Eufrido de Turone illuſtri Paleſtinæ Principe Chriſtiano miles factus, cùm apud Ægyptum militaret, Molanum Regem Ægypti proditiosè perimens totius Ægypti obtinuit principatum. Unde ſi rerum pretia judicio non opinione metimur, quantalibet terrenæ felicitatis potentia vilis eſt æſtimanda, quam peſſimi & indigni ſæpius nanciſcuntur; nam leno ille cujus vita in proſtibulis, militia in tabernis, ſtudium in aleis & aliis, ſubitò ſublimatus ſedet cum principibus, immo major Principibus ſolium gloriæ Ægypti tenens toti ferè Orienti poſtea imperavit. *Ex Chronico Guillelmi de Nangis, ſive Nangiaci monachi Sancti Dioniſii in Francia ordinis Sancti Benedicti.* Tome 11. p. 444.

PROOF II. *p. 61.*

ILLUSTRISSIMO atque excellentiſſimo domino Ludovico, Dei gratiâ Regi Francorum benigniſſimo, Gilbertus eâdem gratiâ ſancti Hoſpitalis Hieruſalem cuſtos, licèt indignus, cum omni fratrum conventu, ſalutem, & ſacrarum orationum Hieruſalem æternam participationem. Inter cætera caritatis opera quibus ad Regna fit aſcenſus cœleſtia, eleemoſyna præcipuè ſummum locum obtinet, omni tam veteris quàm novi Teſtamenti pagina verum ſuper hoc perhibente teſtimonium. Hujus itaque devotionis intuitu, regalis veſtræ Majeſtatis magnificentia Spiritu Sancto divinitùs illuſtrata, ſanctiſſimam domum pauperum Hoſpitalis Hieruſalem, placentem Deo & per omnia acceptabilem, devotè diligere, manu tenere, veſtrarumque beneficiis eleemoſynarum largâ manu ditare ac recreare ſemper conſuevit. Super quo non eſt dubium quin propter ſincerum veſtræ benignitatis affectum, quem ſpecialiter pro regno cœlorum adipiſcendo erga Deum, & erga omnia quæ ſibi pertinent, in toto regno veſtro conſiſtentia, caritativè exhibetis. Tot barbaræ gentes, tantæque diverſorum populorum nationes, veſtræ de die in diem ſubjunguntur ditioni. Dignum enim & juſtum eſſe judicamus, ut qui Deum diligit, ejuſque mandatis puro corde obtemperare nititur in bonis & de bonis Domini gaudeat, teneat, atque victorioſè poſſideat. Si enim protoplaſtus Adam, quia inobediens fuit voci dominicæ, mundum cum omnibus in eo creaturis adverſarium atque contrarium ſibi habere promeruit: ita ſi aliquis fidelis voluntati Domini bene obediens aliquando invenitur, quod raro contingit, tam mundum quàm omnia mundana beneplacito ſuo debet habere ſubjecta, & ſine omni obſtaculo invenire parata. Ut igitur divinæ bonitatis clementia, ſine cujus nutu nihil boni fieri poteſt, hæc prædicta, Rex illuſtriſſime, juxta veſtri affectum animi, concedere dignetur, Deum ſemper præ oculis habete, & ea quæ Dei ſunt, in regno veſtro ſalva & ſecura cuſtodite: & præcipuè & ſpecialiter prædictam domum ſanctorum pauperum Hoſpitalis Hieruſalem, in qua verè Chriſtus in membris ſuis ſuſcipitur, ſicut veſtris aſpexiſtis oculis, diverſiſque modis ſervitur, ſolitæ veſtræ pietatis more diligite, manutenete, & ab omni hoſtili manu, tanquam bonus patronus, protegendo deffendite, ut beatorum precibus & interceſſione pauperum, quibus regnum cœlorum à Chriſto traditum eſt, in præſenti proſperitatem mentis & corporis, pacem in regno veſtro & tranquillitatem, de hoſtibus triumphum; & poſt hujus vitæ tranſitum, ſtolam immortalitatis cum eiſdem pauperibus in regno cœlorum feliciter adipiſci mereamini. Amen. *Ex geſtis Dei per Francos.* Pag. 1177.

PROOF III. *p.* 64.

CAUSSAM porro & incentivum hujus mali, ut aiunt, miniſtrabat Gerbertus cognomento Aſſalit, Magiſter Domûs Hoſpitalis quæ eſt Hieroſolymis, vir magnanimus & quadam liberalitate donandi profuſus, tamen inſtabilis & mente vagus. Hic omnes ejuſdem Domûs theſauros exponens, inſuper & infinitæ quantitatis pecuniam mutuam ſumens, omnia militibus erogavit, quoſcumque invenire potuit ſibi alliciens, unde prædictam domum tanta æris alieni mole gravavit quod non erat ſpes ſolutum iri. Ipſe etiam poſt modum deſperans, officium ſuum deſerens & adminiſtrationi renuncians, in centum millibus aureorum dimiſit domum obligatam; ea tamen conſideratione tot & tantas miſiſſe dicitur expenſas, quod capta & ſubjugata Ægypto, Belbeïs quæ olim dicta eſt Peluſium cum univerſo territorio ſuo juri ejuſdem domûs ex pacto priùs eum Rege inito cederet in perpetuum. *Ex Guillelmo Tyrienſi*, p. 978.

PROOF IV. *p.* 64.

EODEM anno Gilbertus dictus Aſſaily *ſummus Magiſter* Hoſpitalis Hieruſalem venit in Normaniam ad Henricum Regem à quo honorificè ſuſpectus eſt, & accepta à Domino Rege licentia transfretandi in Angliam, venit uſque ad Depé, & ante feſtum ſancti Michaëlis navem quamdam quæ jam ferè per annum in arena maris fracta & deſiccata conſederat, & jam aliquantulum dealbata & refecta & in altum deducta fuerat, cum multis tam clericis quàm laicis, qui jam longa expectatione fatigati fuerant intravit, ſed mox navis illa extra portum in altum ducta velut lapis in profundum deſcendit compagibus diſſolutis, & ipſe Gilbertus & cæteri univerſi qui in ea erant præter octo tantum qui beneficio naviculæ evaſerunt, ſubmerſi ſunt decimo-tertio kalendas Octobris, *Roger de Hoveden ſub ann.* 1183. *in Henrico ſecundo fol.* 622.

PROOF V. *p.* 73.

ALEXANDER Epiſcopus, ſervus ſervorum Dei, dilectis filiis, Magiſtro & Fratribus militiæ Templi ſalutem & apoſtolicam benedictonem.

QUANTO religio veſtra & Fratrum Hieroſolymitanorum Hoſpitalis Deo & hominibus creditur magis grata exiſtere, & terræ Orientali amplius neceſſaria & opportuna probatur, tanto de veſtra & ipſorum unitate majus debemus gaudium lætitiamque concipere, &, ut ſemper inter vos vinculum dilectionis ſervetur, toto ſtudio laborare; hac itaque ratione inducti, pacem & concordiam, quam cum dilectis filiis noſtris, Magiſtro & Fratribus Hoſpitalis de omnibus querelis, quæ inter domum veſtram & ipſorum à longo tempore fuerant agitatæ, tam de terris & poſſeſſionibus, quàm etiam de pecuniis, vel quibuſlibet aliis rebus, de illorum aſſenſu feciſtis, non ſolum gratam, verùm etiam ratam habentes, autoritate Apoſtolica confirmamus, & perpetuis temporibus firmam illibatamque manere cenſemus; quam utique de verbo ad verbum his litteris duximus annotandam.

IN nomine Patris, & Filii, & Spiritûs Sancti, Amen. Notum ſit omnibus, tam futuris, quàm præſentibus, quòd per voluntatem omnipotentis Dei, & per D. Papæ Alexandri, cui ſoli, poſt Dominum, obedire tenemur, præceptum & ammonitionem, ego Frater Odo ſancti Amantis, humilis Magiſter militiæ Templi, & ego Rogerius de Mulinis Magiſter Domûs Hoſpitalis Jer, conſilio & voluntate Capitulorum noſtrorum, firmam pacem & gratam concordiam fecimus de omnibus querelis, quæ inter domum Templi & domum Hoſpitalis fuerant uſque ad hanc diem ventilatæ, tam de terris & poſſeſſionibus, quàm etiam de pecuniis, vel quibuſlibet aliis rebus; ſopitis ita cunctis querelis, tam citra, quàm ultra, quod nulla deinceps ſuſcitari poſſit vel repeti.

HANC autem pacem & concordiam, univerſarum querelarum terminationem, nec non & ad invicem fraternam dilectionem, univerſis Fratribus Templi & Hoſpitalis tenere, conſervare & fovere ſtatuimus & præcipimus, ſalvis abhinc in perpetuum, quietéque ac pacificè remanſuris utrique domui rebus & poſſeſſionibus, quas hodie domus utraque, tam ultra mare, quàm citra, noſcitur tenere.

SI qua vero querela deinceps inter nos, vel ſucceſſores noſtros, ſeu etiam inter Fratres noſtros, citra mare, vel ultra ſurrexerit, per utriuſque partis Fratres, ſicut in mandatis à D. Papa præcepimus, eam ſtatuimus terminari; taliter videlicet, quod præceptores illarum domorum vel provinciarum, inter quas orta fuerit quæſtio, aſſumptis quiſque diſcretioribus Fratribus, querelam illam diſſolvere, & pacem inter ſe ſtudeant conſervare, ſine fraude & ſine gravamine alterutrius partis, quantum poterunt, cavere.

SI vero per ſe nequiverint Fratres illi querelæ finem imponere, aſciſcant ſibi de ſuis amicis communiter, quorum conſilio & mediatione quæſtio valeat terminari; ſic ſcilicet, quod, in quo major pars Fratrum illorum convenerit vel amicorum, in ea finis querelæ imponatur, & inter fratres pax ſemper integra & dilectio firma conſiſtat.

SI autem nec ad id pacis adhuc poterint pervenire, querelam ad nos ſcriptam tranſmittant, & nos illam, Deo volente, terminabimus; ipſi verò Fratres nihilominus pacem & benevolentiam inter ſe teneant.

SI quis verò Fratrum, quod abſit, ab hac pace paciſque ac dilectionis conſervatione diſſiluerit, ſe contra Magiſtri ſui præceptum & Capituli Hieroſolymitani conſtitutionem ſciat egiſſe; reatumque ſuum hujus modi nullatenus poterit expiare, quouſque Magiſtri ſui & Capituli Hieroſolymitani conſpectui ſe præſentet.

HIS autem duximus adnectendum, quod Fratres utriuſque Domûs ſe ubique diligant & honorent, & alter commodum alterius mutua caritate, & unanimitate fraterna perquirant & obſervent; ut, duarum domorum exiſtentes per profeſſionem, unius eſſe pateant per dilectionem.

DECERNIMUS ergo, ut nulli omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam noſtræ confirmationis infringere, vel ei auſu temerario contraire.

Si quis autem hoc attentare præſumpſerit, indignationem omnipotentis Dei, & beatorum Petri & Pauli Apoſtolorum ejus ſe noverit incurſurum. Dat. Sign. iv. Non. Auguſt. *Rymer Tom.* 1. *pag.* 61. *ad ann.* 1182. *lib.* 2. *p.* 149.

PROOF VI *p.* 78.

Lucius Epiſcopus ſervus ſervorum Dei Henrico illuſtri Anglorum Regi Salutem & Apoſtolicam Benedictionem.

Cum cuncti Prædeceſſores tui præ cæteris terræ Principibus armorum gloria, & animi nobilitate longè retrò claruerint, eoſque fidelium populus habere in ſua didicerit adverſitate patronos, meritò ad te non tantum regni, ſed paternarum virtutum hæredem, quadam ſecuritate præſumpta, recurritur, ubi populo chriſtiano imminere periculum, immò exterminium formidatur, ut per brachium regiæ magnitudinis, membris ejus impendatur præſidium, qui te, ut ad tantæ gloriæ, & prælationis apicem perveniret, ſua pietate conceſſit, & te contra ſui nominis impugnatores neſarios murum inexpugnabilem ordinavit. Primum noverit ſerenitas tua jam crebris & moleſtis ſuper hæc pulſata querelis, qualiter terra Jeroſolymitana, ſpecialis hæreditas Crucifixi, in qua noſtræ ſaluti ſunt prænunciata myſteria, & ipſius rei exhibitione completa, quam ille, qui cuncta condidit in ſuam ſortem peculiari privilegio deputavit, perfidæ & ſpurciſſimæ gentis attrita, & convallata preſſuris, niſi ei celeri remedio ſuccurratur, prona ſit ad ruinam; & inde, quod abſit, ſuſtineat irreparabilem Religio Chriſtiana jacturam. Ille enim Saladinus ſancti & tremendi nominis immaniſſimus perſecutor, ita ſpiritu furoris incanduit, & totius nequitiæ ſuæ vires ad internecionem populi fidelis exercet, ut niſi immanitatis ejus vehemens impetus, quaſi objectis obicibus reprimatur, certam ſpem, fiduciamque ſuſcipiat, quod Jordanis influat in os ejus, & terra aſperſione vivifici ſanguinis conſecrata ſpurciſſimæ ſuperſtitionis ipſius contagio polluatur, & quam glorifi, & nobiles Prædeceſſores tui à dominio gentis incredulæ multis laboribus, & periculis exemerunt, rurſus neſando tyranni nequiſſimi dominio ſubjugetur. Ob hanc itaque neceſſitatis, & imminentis doloris inſtantiam, magnificentiam tuam Apoſtolicis Litteris duximus exorandam, imò dilatatis præcordiis ſumma acclamatione pulſandam, quatenus ad honorem ipſius reſpiciens, qui te conſtituit in ſublimi, & juxta nomen magnorum, qui ſunt in terris, nomen tibi contulit glorioſum, ad deſolationem præfatæ terræ pietatis ſtudio te convertas, & ut ejus confuſio in hac parte tollatur, qui pro te in ipſa terra voluit haberi ludibrio, operam adhibeas efficacem; quatenus Prædeceſſorum tuorum veſtigia ſubſecutus, quam ipſi de principis tenebrarum faucibus eripuerunt, in cultu magni Dei per tuam diligentiam, auxiliante Domino, conſerves. Eo autem curioſius celſitudinem tuam in tanta oppreſſionis anguſtia convenit laborare, quod terram ipſam Regis intelligis præſidio deſtitutam, & totam ſpem defenſionis ſuæ ipſius proceres in tuæ magnitudinis duxerunt patrocinio collocandam. Quod inde clarius tua ſerenitas poteſt agnoſcere, quod ſummos terræ illius, & magnificos Defenſores venerabilem fratrem noſtrum Eraclium Patriarcham, & dilectum filium noſtrum Magiſtrum Hoſpitalis ad tuam excellentiam deſtinarunt, ut ex ipſorum præſentia conſiderata dignitate perpenderes, quanta fuerit neceſſitatis anguſtia, pro qua eorum ſuſtinent tam diu carere præſidio, ut per ipſos facilius ad vota ſua tuam devotionem inclinent. Viros igitur præfatos, tanquam ab ipſo Domino tibi deſtinatos benigne ſuſcipias, & debita charitate pertractes, eorumque poſtulationibus tanto facilius acquieſcas, quanto gravitatis, & honeſtatis intuitu favor eſt eis & gratia exhibenda. Sane recolat prudentia tua, & ſollicita ſecum meditatione revolvat promiſſionem illam, qua de impendendo ſæpe dictæ terræ præſidio tuam celſitudinem obligâſti; & ita in hac parte te cautum, & ſtudioſum exhibeas, ut te in tremendo judicio tua conſcientia non accuſet, & ejus, qui non fallitur, diſtricti judicii interrogatio non condemnet. *Roger de Hoveden pag.* 628.

PROOF VIII. *p.* 86.

Epiſtola Terrici Præceptoris Templi de captione Terræ Jeroſolymitanæ.

FRATER Terricus pauperrimæ domus Templi dictus magnus Præceptor, omniſque fratrum pauperrimus & fere omnino adnihilatus conventus, univerſis præceptoribus, & fratribus Templi, ad quos litteræ iſtæ pervenerint, Salutem, & in illum ſuſpirare, in quo Sol & Luna mirantur. Quot quantiſque calamitatibus ira Dei, noſtris peccatis exigentibus, nos in præſenti flagellare permiſerit, nec litteris, nec flebili voce, proh dolor, explicare valemus. Turci enim immenſam ſuarum gentium multitudinem congregantes, Chriſtianorum noſtrorum fines acriter invadere cœperunt; contra quos nos noſtrarum gentium phalanges coadunantes, infra octavas beatorum Apoſtolorum Petri & Pauli in eos congredi, & verſus Tyberiadem (quam violenter, caſtro ſolo relicto, ceperant) iter arripere præſumpſimus. Cum nos in ſcopulis peſſimis impuliſſent, nos iter acriter impugnaverunt (quod Sancta Cruce & Rege noſtro captis, & omni multitudine noſtra interfecta, & fratrum noſtrorum (ut in veritate credimus) eodem die ducentis, & tricenis decollatis, exceptis illis ſexagenis qui prima die Maii interempti ſunt) vix Dominus Comes Tripolis, & Dominus Reginaldus Sidonis, Dominuſque Ballovius, & nos de illo miſerabili campo vix evadere potuimus. Deinde Pagani Chriſtianorum noſtrorum ſanguine debacchati, verſus civitatem Accon, cum omni ſua multitudine venire non diſtulerunt; quam violenter capientes, totam terram fere invaſerunt; Jeruſalem, & Aſcalon, & Tiro, & Beriton nobis, & Chriſtianitati ſolis adhuc relictis. Iſtas etiam civitates omnibus earum fere civibus interfectis, niſi divinum & veſtrum præſto ſit auxilium, nullo modo retinere poterimus. Civitatem etiam Tyrum in præſentiarum acriter obſidentes, violenter die, noctuque expugnare non ceſſant, & tanta eſt eorum copia, quod totam terræ faciem à Tyro uſque ad Jeruſalem, & uſque ad Gazam velut formicæ cooperuerunt. Nobis ergo, & Chriſtianitati Orientis, ad præſens omnino deperditæ quantocius ſuccurrere dignemini, ut per Deum, & veſtræ fraternitatis eminentiam, reſiduas civitates veſtro fulti adminiculo ſalvare poſſimus. Valete. In eodem prœlio quo captus fuit Rex Guido Hieruſalem, captus fuit Rogerus de Mulbrai, quem in anno ſequenti Fratres Hoſpitalis & Templi redemerunt de manu Paganorum, qui paulo poſt obiit, & in eodem prœlio Hugo de bello campo interfectus eſt. *R. Hoveden* 1187. *lib.* 2. *pag.* 637.

PROOF IX. *p.* 88.

Epiſtola Terrici Præceptoris Templi ad Henricum Regem Angliæ.

CHARISSIMO Domino *Henrico*, Dei gratiâ illuſtri Anglorum Regi, Duci Normaniæ, & Aquitaniæ, & Comiti Andegaviæ, Frater *Terricus*, quondam magnus Præceptor domûs Templi Hieruſalem, Salutem in eo qui dat ſalutem Regibus.

SCIATIS quod Hieruſalem cum arce *David* reddita eſt *Saladino*. Syrii autem habent cuſtodiam ſepulchri uſque ad quartum diem poſt feſtum ſancti *Michaelis*: & ipſe *Saladinus* in domo Hoſpitalis permiſit remanere decem de Fratribus Hoſpitalis ad cuſtodiendum infirmos uſque in unum annum. Fratres verò Hoſpitalis de Belliverio optimè reſiſtunt Sarracenis adhuc, & duas jam carvanas Sarracenorum expugnaverunt, in quorum alterius captione, omnia arma & utenſilia, & victuaria quæ erant in caſtro Fabæ, quod Sarraceni deſtruxerant, viriliter lucrati ſunt; adhuc etiam reſiſtunt *Saladino* Gracchus montis regalis, & mons regalis, & Saphet Templi, & Gracchus Hoſpitalis, & Margatum, & Caſtellum Blancum, & terra Tripolis, & terra Antiochæ. Capta autem Hieroſolyma, *Saladinus* Crucem de Templo Domini deponi fecit, & eam per duos dies per civitatem in oſtentum fuſtigando portari fecit: Deinde fecit Templum Domini aqua roſata intus & exterius, ſurſum & deorſum, lavari, & legem ſuam deſuper illud per quatuor partes miro tumultu acclamari. A feſto verò ſancti *Martini* uſque ad Circumciſionem Domini obſedit Tyrum, tredecim perrariis die noctuque lapides in eam inceſſanter jactantibus: In vigilia ſancti *Silveſtri* D. *Conradus*

Marchio milites, & pedites per murum civitatis diſpoſuit, & armatis ſeptemdecim galeis, & decem aliis naviculis, cum auxilio Domûs Hoſpitalis, & Fratrum Templi, adverſus galeas *Saladini* dimicavit, eaſque expugnans undecim ex eis retinuit, & magnum Alexandriæ Amiraldum cum octo aliis Amiraldis cepit, Sarracenorum multitudine interfecta. Reliquæ verò galeæ *Saladini* Chriſtianorum manus evadentes ad *Saladini* exercitum confugerunt; quibus præcepto illius ad terram extractis, ipſe *Saladinus* igne appoſito in cinerem & favillam fecit redigi: nimioque dolore commotus, equi ſui auriculas, & caudam amputans, equum illum per totum exercitum videntibus omnibus, equitavit. Valete. *Ex Rog. Hoveden, ann.* 1187. *Lib.* 2. *pag.* 645.

PROOF X. *p.* 90.

CANTUARIENSI Archiepiſcopo Cunradus filius Marchionis de Monte ferrario, Salutem.

TURBANTUR elementa, & catholicæ fidei derogatur, cum *Hieroſolymitana* Sedes Apoſtolicæ Sedi ſubtrahitur. Nam ſicut ex quatuor mundi machina creditur elementis conſtare, ſic à quatuor ſedibus Apoſtolica fulgente Orthodoxorum fides ferebatur gubernari. Sed cecidit *Alexandria*, & flos ejus penitus deſiccatur. Periit *Hieroſolyma* & Chriſtianorum inertia à *Sarracenis* viliſſime pertractatur, quia loca ſacra facta ſunt prophana. Fœdatur namque Dominicum ſepulchrum, deſtruunt Calvariæ locum, nativitatis contemnunt, & Virginis *Mariæ* ſepulchrum de valle *Joſaphat* eradicarunt. *Antiochena* quidem Sedes in extremis laborare dinoſcitur. *Conſtantinopolitana* quippe *Romanæ* Sedi nullam exhibet reverentiam: maximam quippe capitis diminutionem Sedes patitur Apoſtolica, cùm civitates & libertates amittit, & ſuo jure privatur. Amiſit quippe ramos, quomodo fructus portabit? Hæc autem omnia Chriſtianorum deſidia noſcuntur eveniſſe. Sed eminentia mala Chriſtianorum cordium debent penetrare arcana.

LUGENDA & lamentanda eſt *Hieruſalem* civitas ſancta quæ ſuis eſt expoliata cultoribus. Habitatores ejus peccatis exigentibus ſub tributo *Saladini* redacti cenſu capitis ſoluto longe à regno ſunt ejecti. Muri *Hieruſalem* viduati ſunt de heremitis habitatoribus ſuis. Deus quaſi malorum noſtrorum pullulatione ſeceſſit, & *Machumet* ſucceſſit, & ubi Chriſtus per conſtitutas diei & noctis horas deprecabatur, nunc *Machumet* excelſa voce laudatur. Quæ autem & quanta pro Chriſtianorum ſalute in *Tyro* ſuſtinuerim, ſatis clementiæ veſtræ credo propalatum. Et quia *Tyrum* conſervavi & conſervo *Guidoni de Liſigniaco* quondam Regi & Magiſtro Templi, & ciſmarinis magnatibus moleſtum eſt & inportabile, & meo invident & derogant nomini, & per ſe & ſuos juvamina omnia ſubtrahere, &, quod gravius eſt, elemoſinam Regis Angliæ Templi Magiſter ſubtraxit; unde & Deo & vobis conqueri cum lacrimis non deſiſto. De Hoſpitalariis vero Deo & vobis gratias uberes expono, qui bene incipientes in eadem perſeverant, & ultra elemoſinam Regis *Angliæ* de propriis pluſquam octo milia *Brab.* in obſequio *Tyri* expendidere. Veſtræ igitur non deſiſto ſupplicare paternitati quatenus calamitatum *Hieruſalem* miſereri dignemini, ut Reges confortetis, populos commoneatis, ut patrimonium *Jeſu Chriſti* vendicetur, expulſi & exhæreditati in integrum reſtituantur, captivorum vincula ſolvantur, & terra ſacratiſſima Salvatoris pedibus calcata, veſtra potentia veſtroque pio eloquio de Paganorum poteſtate liberetur. Præſentium quidem latores Magiſtrum *Bandanum* nomine providum Cancellarium meum & Secretarium ac fidelem, & *Johannem* probum militem, ac mihi familiarem ad vos tranſmitto, quos ſpeciales meos legatos cognoſcatis, quibus in his quæ pro me vobis dixerint tanquam præſens loquerer credere non dubitetis. Exoro etiam, ut auxilia & conſilia veſtra pietatis intuitu, & mei contemplatione eis tribuere dignemini. Data *Tyro* xii. kal. Octobris. *Radulf. de Dicet. Lib. pag.* 642.

PROOF XI. p. 94.

CELESTINUS Epiſcopus, ſervus ſervorum Dei, Dilectis in Chriſto Filiabus, Prioriſſæ & Sororibus de Sixena, tam præſentibus, quàm futuris, regularem vitam profeſſantibus, I. N. P. P. M. Prudentibus Virginibus, quæ ſub habitu religionis, accenſis lampadibus, jugiter ſe præparant ire obviam Sponſo, Apoſtolica Sedes ſuum debet patrocinium impertiri, ne fortè cujuſlibet temeritatis incurſus, aut eas à propoſito revocet, aut robur (quod abſit) ſacræ religionis infringat. Ea propter, dilectæ nobis in Chriſto Filiæ, veſtris juſtis poſtulationibus clementer annuimus; & Monaſterium veſtrum, in quo eſtis Divino obſequio mancipatæ, ſub beati Petri, & noſtra protectione ſuſcipimus, & præſenti ſcripto privilegio communimus. Imprimis ſiquidem ſtatuentes, ut ordo canonicus, qui ſecundum Deum & Beati Auguſtini Regulam, in eodem loco noſcitur inſtitutus, perpetuis ibi temporibus, inviolabiliter obſervetur. Præterea, quaſcunque poſſeſſiones, quæcunque bona, idem Monaſterium juſtè & canonicè poſſidet, aut in futurum, conceſſione Pontificum, largitione Regum, vel Principum, oblatione Fidelium, ſeu aliis juſtis modis, Deo propitio, poterit adipiſci, firma vobis, veſtriſque Succeſſoribus illibata permaneant: In quibus hæc propriis duximus exprimenda vocabulis: Villam novam, Preſinenam, Senam . . . . . Novalium, veſtriſque propriis manibus, vel ſumptibus, colitis; ſive de nutrimentis animalium veſtrorum, nullus à vobis Decimam exigere, vel extorquere præſumat. Liceat quoque vobis Perſonas liberas & abſolutas, è ſeculo fugientes, ad converſationem veſtram recipere, & eas abſque contradictione aliqua retinere. Prohibemus inſuper, ut nulli Sororum veſtrarum, poſt factam in veſtro Monaſterio profeſſionem, fas ſit, abſque Prioriſſæ licentia, niſi arctioris Religionis obtentu, de eo diſcedere; diſcedentem vero, abſque communium literarum cautione, nullus audeat retinere. Cùm autem generale interdictum Terræ fuerit, liceat vobis, clauſis januis, excluſis Excommunicatis & Interdictis, non pulſatis campanis, ſuppreſſa voce divina Officia celebrare. Ad hæc auctoritate Apoſtolica prohibemus, ut nulli liceat in vos, vel Monaſterium, ſine manifeſta & rationabili cauſa excommunicationis vel interdicti ſententiam promulgare. Præterea Inſtitutiones à venerabili Fratre noſtro Oſcen. Epiſcopo, & dilecto Filio Magiſtro Hoſpitalis Empoſtæ & aliis viris religioſis, de aſſenſu chariſſimæ Filiæ noſtræ Sanciæ Illuſtris Reginæ Aragonum, in ipſo Monaſterio rationabiliter factas, auctoritate Apoſtolica confirmamus. Obeunte vero te nunc ejuſdem loci Prioriſſa, vel earum aliqua, quæ tibi ſucceſſerit, nulla ibi quâlibet ſubreptionis aſtutiâ ſeu violentiâ præponatur, niſi quam Sorores communi conſenſu, vel Sororum major pars conſilii ſanioris, ſecundum Dei timorem & Beati Auguſtini Regulam, providerint eligendam.

DECERNIMUS ergo, ut nulli omnino hominum liceat præfatum Monaſterium temerè perturbare, aut ejus poſſeſſiones auferre, oblata retinere, minuere, ſeu quibuſlibet vexationibus perturbare. Sed omnia integra conſerventur, eorum pro quorum ſuſtentatione conceſſa ſunt, uſibus omnino profutura; ſalva Sedis Apoſtolicæ auctoritate & Magiſtri Hoſpitalis Empoſtæ debita reverentia. Si qua igitur in futurum Eccleſiaſtica, ſeculariſve Perſona, hanc noſtræ conſtitutionis paginam ſciens, contra eam temerè venire tentaverit; ſecundo, tertiove commonita; talis, niſi reatum ſuum digna ſatisfactione correxerit, poteſtate, honoribuſque, ac ſui careat dignitate; reumque ſe divino judicio aſſiſtere, de perpetrata iniquitate cognoſcat, & à ſacratiſſimo corpore, ac ſanguine Dei & Domini Redemptoris noſtri Jeſu Chriſti aliena fiat, atque in extremo agmine, diſtrictæ ultioni ſubjaceat. Cunctis autem, ſuo loco jura ſervantibus, ſit pax Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti, quatenus & hic fructum bonæ actionis percipiat, & apud diſtrictum Judicem præmia æternæ pacis inveniat. Amen.

DATUM Laterani per manus Egidii Sancti Nicolai in Carcere Tulliano Diaconi Cardinalis, iii Nonas Junii, Indictione xi. Incarnationis Dominicæ anno MCXCIII. Pontificatus vero Domini Celeſtini Papæ Tertii, anno tertio.

PROOFS
OF THE
HISTORY
OF THE
Knights Hoſpitallers
OF
S. JOHN of JERUSALEM.

BOOK III.

PROOF I. *p.* 105.

MAGISTER Hoſpitalis Hieruſalem Priori Angliæ ſalutem.

PERCUSSIT Deus virga potentiæ ſuæ Babylonicas regiones, in flumine illo Paradiſi, quod aggeres hoſtium irrigabat, ne flueret, nec anno præterito fluctus emiſit. Propter quod, in fame pereunt, & eorum animalia perdiderunt; nec plures eorum veriti ſunt patres filium vendere, dives pauperem, potens debilem; ut ſic vitam ſuam à fame conſervent. Quam ſiccitatem fluminis, ſi nutu Dei, præſenti anno non fluxerit, arva non irrigaverit, in magno diſcrimine vitæ ſuæ erunt. Quorum jam infinita multitudo, neceſſitate compulſa & famis auſteritate, terram noſtram, ſicut locuſtarum agmina replevit, pro ſuſtinendis corporibus ſuis; ubi quidam terras Eccleſiæ moliuntur; quidam more beſtiarum, ſylveſtribus herbis veſcuntur, quidam fame necati, per loca ſylveſtria mirativè reperiuntur, vermibus & avibus comedendi.

Nos igitur in Domino ponentes ſpem noſtram, qui, quando vult, prœliis finem ponit, ſperamus quod populo Chriſtiano dat initium miſerendi, cùm ipſorum conterit inimicos. Datur etiam gentibus materies admirandi, quod quidam Sarracenus, ætate juvenis, origine vilis, inter paſtores à pueritia ſimpliciter nutritus; qui novus ſic omnibus penitus apparet, ut omnes ſapientiam ejus admirentur; & nomen Jeſu Chriſti publicè prædicet. Ita quod ipſi jam duo millia Paganorum, & eo amplius concredentes; ejus exhortationibus, fidem noſtram ſuſceperunt, & fonte ſacri Baptiſmatis ſunt renati; & Circumciſionis ſuæ condolent ſuſtinuiſſe dolorem. Immenſo tamen inimici noſtri exultant

tant gaudio, quia nos paucos ſciunt, & pecunia pauperes, & armatorum copia ſentiunt derelictos.

Quapropter ad vos voce lamentabili clamamus, & miſericorditer exoramus; quatenus nobis tam apud majores, quàm minores, conſilio & auxilio veſtro ſubvenire dignemini; & Dominum Regem Angliæ, & quoſcunque poteritis, ad ſubventionem noſtram efficaciter inducere, & diligenter monere procuretis. Nos enim infinitas trementes divitias, cùm ſibi propter opes multorum ſubveniant mercimonia Mercatorum, non minus ſolito more conterimur univerſi; & cùm de uno tantùm Regno Babylonis, aut Damaſci, univerſus terræ promiſſionis populus vix bene ſe tueri ſolebat; nunc duo Regna uni Domino conjugata, nobis tantilli reſidui numeri, terrorem pariunt, & minantur. Hic eſt certè verus ſtatus Terræ promiſſionis, & inimicorum Chriſti: quo taliter permanente, ſi bonum Chriſtianorum haberemus auxilium, gratia propitiante cœleſti, & Chriſti injurias, & dedecus Chriſtianorum crederemus vindicare.

Propterea, bone Frater, quia pauca dicere ſufficit; ſatis noviſtis quæ & quanta nobis incumbunt neceſſaria. Et nunc audite quid ultra modum nos affligit. Terra Regni Siciliæ jugiter deſtruitur à Teutonicis, & Longobardis: Domus noſtra Baruli relicta fuit: Fratres intus in civitate manent; domus extrinſecæ, à quibus auxilium noſtrum procedebat, ad nihilum deductæ ſunt; nùllus in civitate perſiſtit. Poſtquam autem à Terra receſſiſtis, nihil de Regno Siciliæ nobis ſubvenit; ad præſens jam, & per annum, frumentum, vinum & hordeum, carnes & caſeum, & quæque neceſſaria emimus, pro univerſis Domibus & Caſtris noſtris; in quibus omnibus, ſine numero neceſſaria eſt expenſa. Pecuniam, niſi ab ultramarinis domibus receperimus, aliunde aliter habere nequimus, & jam diu eſt, quod nihil ferè recepimus ad comparationem expenſæ. Noveritis quod in debitis plurimis ſubjacemus; expectantes auxilium veſtrum, & aliorum bonorum Fratrum noſtrorum. Amore divino, & noſtro vos monemus, ut quantumcunque poteritis, in primo Martii paſſagio ſubveniatis. Valete. *Ex Roger. de Hoveden Annalibus, part. poſt. de Joanne Rege, pag.* 827.

PROOF II. *p.* 107.

Innocentius Papa Tertius, Magiſtro & Fratribus Hieroſolymitani Hoſpitalis ſalutem & apoſtolicam dictionem.

In totius Chriſtianitatis diſpendium, Apoſtolicæ Sedis opprobrium, & animarum veſtrarum periculum controverſia quæ inter vos & dilectos filios noſtros Fratres militiæ Templi, ſuper quibuſdam poſſeſſionibus conſtitutis in tenimento Margati & Valeniæ, vertebatur, nocendi magnitudine ferè univerſas hujus temporis controverſias excedebat: utpote quæ toti erat Chriſtianitati damnoſa, injurioſa nobis, mortifera partibus, utilis inimicis fidei Chriſtianæ, quibus & nocendi audaciam & detrahendi materiam miniſtrabat. Armaverat in ſe invicem Chriſtianos, Religioſos (ſi Religioſi tamen dici debeant qui nimis injurioſè proprias injurias perſequuntur) in gravem Religioſorum perniciem excitarat, & manus contulerat in ſeipſas, quæ in Chriſtianorum defenſionem acies conſueverant Sarracenicas expugnare. Non enim ſufficiebat partibus diſceptare judicio, ſed ſibi in propria cauſa jus dicentes, violentiam ſibi mutuò irrogare & vim vi repellere, non ſolùm non ſervato moderamine inculpatæ tutelæ, ſed etiam tranſgreſſæ ultionis exceſſu, temerè contendebant; & qui conſueverant in hoſtes fidei Chriſtianæ communes copias communiter congregare, terga vertentes hoſtibus, non ſolùm verbis, ſed & factis & ſcriptis, ſe invicem graviter offendebant. Cùm autem propter controverſiam ipſam dilecti filii Digiſius Prior Baroli & Og Præceptor Italiæ, Fratres veſtri, & ex parte adverſa Petrus de Villaplana & Terricus, Fratres militiæ Templi, ad noſtram præſentiam acceſſiſſent, præſentato nobis arbitrio quod inter partes protulerant peregrini cum ultra marinæ terræ Prælatis; licèt plenè nobis de jure liqueret, maluimus tamen etiam perſonaliter ad pacem intendere, ac cauſam ipſam amicabili compoſitione ſopire, quàm judicio terminare. Fratres igitur tam eorum quàm veſtros convocantes in unum, ac de compoſitione tractantes, de voluntate ipſorum,

rum, præſente ac conſentiente Seguino milite, dictas poſſeſſiones cum fructibus inde perceptis plenè reſtitui de Fratrum noſtrorum conſilio Fratribus militiæ Templi mandavimus; ita tamen ut poſtquam ipſi per mentem pacificam poſſeſſionem habuerint, eidem militi, qui proponit ad ſe poſſeſſiones illas de jure ſpectare, vel filiis ejus poſt citationem veſtram teneantur in veſtra curia reſpondere; ſic ſcilicet quòd vos de Principatu Antiocheno, & de Comitatu Tripolitano viros idoneos ad judicium convocetis, qui Fratribus militiæ Templi eſſe non debeant de ratione ſuſpecti. Quòd ſi forſitan eorum aliquos de jure ſuſpectos habuerint, ipſos eis liceat ſine malitia recuſare, ut judicium penitùs ſine ſuſpicione procedat; præſertim cùm ipſis ſub obtentu gratiæ noſtræ dederimus in mandatis ut nullum ſine certa ratione recuſent. Quòd ſi, prout diximus, citati venire contempſerint, ex tunc militem ipſum vel filios ejus in poſſeſſionem cauſá rei ſervandæ mittatis. Viri autem vocati juramento firmabunt quòd odio, gratiâ, & timore poſtpoſitis, ſine aliqua perſonarum acceptione, cauſam audient, & ſecundùm approbatam terræ conſuetudinem terminabunt. Quòd ſi fortè noluerint, venerabilibus Fratribus noſtris Patriarchæ Antiocheno, Archiepiſcopo Nazareno, Valenienſi Epiſcopo dedimus in mandatis ut eos ad præſtandum hujuſmodi juramentum per cenſuram Eccleſiaſticam appellatione remota compellant, nec liceat partibus ab eis ante ſententiam appellare. Si verò poſt ſententiam alterutra partium duxerit appellandum, cùm appellationem fuerit interpoſitam proſecuta, nos, ut per eos cauſa eadem meliùs terminetur, quibus meliùs poterunt ejus merita ex locorum vicinitate liquere, ipſam aliquibus de provincia, appellatione poſtpoſita, committemus; qui, penſata conſuetudine, cauſam ipſam juſtitia mediante decident. Quorum ſententiam faciemus, auctore Domino, inviolabiliter obſervari. Per hoc autem quod pro bono pacis hac vice mandavimus, nullum alterutri partium volumus præjudicium generari. Cæteræ verò quas habetis vel habituri eſtis ad invicem quæſtiones, ſecundùm compoſitionem inter vos & eos antiquitus initam, & à bonæ memoriæ Alexandro Papa prædeceſſore noſtro & à nobis poſt modum confirmatam, tractentur, concordia vel judicio terminandæ. Ideóque diſcretioni veſtræ per apoſtolica ſcripta mandamus, & ſub obtentu gratiæ noſtræ excommunicationis interminatione, in virtute Spiritûs Sancti, & ſub obteſtatione divini judicii diſtrictè præcipimus quatenus vos ad invicem diligentes, tam cauſam ipſam quàm alias honeſtè, ſicut condecet, pertractetis, non per violentiam, vel injuriam, contendentes; ſed quæ pro utraque parte videntur facere, in judicium rationabiliter deducentes. Scituri quòd ſi qua partium contra tam expreſſam inhibitionem venire præſumpſerit, nos ſuper eam duriſſimè manus noſtras curabimus aggravare. Datum ut ſuprà. *Ex Epiſtolâ* 567 *Innocentii tertii, Lib.* 1. *pag.* 324.

For the third Proof, which is in page 114, *ſee the Citation at the bottom of the ſame page.*

PROOF IV. *p.* 115.

REVERENDISSIMO in Chriſto Patri & Domino Innocentio, Dei gratia Sanctæ & univerſalis Eccleſiæ ſummo Pontifici: Livonus per eandem & Romani Imperii gratiam, Rex Armeniæ, Sanctitatis ſuæ ſervus, Sanctæque Romanæ Eccleſiæ nova devota & obediens Planta, cum omnimoda reverentia, grata ſervitia & pedum oſcula; reverendæ, ac recolendæ dominationi veſtræ cupimus innoteſcat, venerabiles Magiſtrum & Conventum Sanctæ Domus Hoſpitalis, præterita æſtate, menſe videlicet Auguſto, Sanctæ Sedis Apoſtolicæ amore atque reverentia, non ſolum nobis, verum etiam univerſæ Chriſtianitati, magnum & neceſſarium contuliſſe ſuccurſum, contra infinitam Paganorum barbariem, ſupra nos & Regnum noſtrum aggregatam, quàm Deus diſperdat. Pro quo, à Beatitudine veſtra, tanquam viri ſtrenui, vicem Machabæorum gerentes, promeruerunt dignius commendari. Ea propter, Reverende Pater & Domine celeberrime, pro tam fortunato ac neceſſario ſuccurſu, nobis & Chriſtianitati ab eiſdem collato, Deo, à quo bona cuncta procedunt, Sanctæ Romanæ Eccleſiæ & vobis, ipſius vices digne gerenti, copias exolvimus gratiarum actiones, & à Beatitudine veſtra illos petimus inde regratiari.

Unde quia dignus eſt operarius mercede, ex regalis largitatis noſtræ munificentia, pro ſalute animæ noſtræ, noſtrorumque omnium Progenitorum, habentes præ oculis cordis, quia ſicut aqua extinguit ignem, ita eleemoſyna extinguit peccatum, donamus & concedimus Sanctæ Domui Hoſpitalis, à modo in perpetuum, reſpectu & reverentia Sanctæ Sedis Apoſtolicæ atque bonorum meritorum ſuorum exigentia, Civitatem Saleph, Caſtellum novum & Camard, cum omnibus pertinentiis ipſorum & diviſionibus ſignatis, & cum omni jure per terram & per mare ſibi pertinente; ſecundum continentiam ſcripti inde privilegii ſigillo noſtro regali muniti & corroborati. Inſuper, de Sanctitate ac Religione eorum plenam habentes ſpem & fiduciam, venerabilibus Fratribus Guarino de Monte acuto Magiſtro & Conventui Sanctæ Domus Hoſpitalis, ſpecialiter Perſonam noſtram, & Perſonam Nepotis noſtri Raimundi Ruppini legitimi hæredis noſtri, & totam terram noſtram quam modo habemus & quam Domino dante acquiſituri ſumus; poſt Deum & Dominum veſtrum, in vita noſtra & poſt deceſſum noſtrum attentius recommendamus. Cujus donationis & conceſſionis noſtræ beneficium & recommendationem factam venerabilibus prædictis Fratribus, à circumſpecta Dominatione veſtra flagitamus, per Apoſtolica Privilegia confirmari & corroborari, ut ne quis deinceps, cognito hujus noſtræ conationis & recommendationis tenore, Apoſtolica auctoritate confirmato, in aliquo auſu temerario contraire præſumat. Datum Tharſi Ciliciæ, medio menſis Aprilis. Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam noſtræ confirmationis infringere, vel ei auſu temerario contraire. Si quis autem hoc attemptare præſumpſerit, indignationis Omnipotentis Dei & Beatorum Petri & Pauli Apoſtolorum ejus, ſe noverit incurſurum. Datum Laterani, tertio Nonas Auguſti, Pontificatus noſtri, Anno decimo tertio. *Ex Regiſtro Innocentis tertii, tom. 4. fol. ver. 28.*

For the fifth Proof, which is in page 129, ſee the citation at the bottom of the ſame page.

PROOF VI. *p. 136.*

Gregorius Papa Nonus, Dilecto Filio noſtro Friderico Romanorum Imperatori, ſemper Auguſto, Salutem & Apoſtolicam benedictionem. Si verè deſideras, ſicut decet, ut Terræ Sanctæ negotium non turbetur, ſed potius dirigatur, expedit ut Hoſpitalarios & Templarios, per quos terra illa eſt inter multas anguſtias hactenus gubernata, & ſine quibus nequaquam poſſe creditur gubernari, nulla moleſtatione fatiges; ſed potius beneficentiæ gratia proſequaris; Sic agens proprium intereſſe, ut apud Deum incomparabile tibi meritum compares, & apud homines nomen bonum. Sanè ut taceamus quod nobis mordaciter exprobatur, quod quaſi momentanea videtur fuiſſe poſſeſſio de illis quæ per nos ſibi reſtituta fuerunt; nunc illorum gravamen, & amaritudine plenam, non poſſumus obaudire querelam; lamentantium quod nuper ſunt & aliis ſpoliati; cùm nec vellent, nec valerent juris ordinem declinare. Quare non eſt dubium, quin exinde gravia poſſint Terræ Sanctæ diſpendia imminere; cùm indigentia laborantes, non habeant unde Terram ipſam valeant more ſolito defenſare. Ut igitur conſcientiæ proprio, nec non famæ tam noſtræ, quàm tuæ provide conſulas; Imperialem Celſitudinem rogamus, monemus, & hortamur in Domino; quatenus eligens potius vinci miſericordiæ pietate, cui cæteræ virtutes cedere minimè dedignantur; quàm juſtitia exaſperata notari; dictis Hoſpitalariis, & Templariis, ablata reſtitui facias univerſa; Ita quod divinam evites offenſam, & nos manſuetudinem tuam poſſimus meritò commendare: cùm alias patientiam noſtram variis detractionibus exponere videreris. Ut autem ſuper hoc plenius tibi noſtrum inſinuemus affectum, in ore Dilecti Filii Abbatis Caſemarii poſuimus verba noſtra; quibus te credere volumus incunctanter. Datum Laterani, quarto kalendas Martii, Pontificatus noſtri anno quarto. *Ex Regiſtro Gregorii noni t. 2. fol. 51.*

PROOF VII. *p. 140.*

Gregorius Papa Nonus, Dilectis Filiis Magiſtro, & Fratribus Hoſpitalis Sancti Joannis Hieroſolymitani, Salutem & Apoſtolicam benedictionem. Rogamus Univerſitatem veſtram, & hortamur attentè, per Apoſtolica vobis ſcripta, in virtute ſanctæ obedientiæ præcipiendo mandantes; quatenus provida meditatione penſantes, quod chariſſimo in Chriſto filio noſtro Friderico Romanorum Imperatori, &c. Ex eo favoribus debeamus & præmii, quod in obſequiis Matris Eccleſiæ, ſicut ſuam Excellentiam decuit, promptus & efficax ſtuduit inveniri, Bajulo, & Legato ſuo in prædictis partibus conſtituto, omne quod poteritis, in Imperalium conſervatione jurium, conſilium & auxilium, ſublato difficultatis obſtaculo, præbeatis. Studium & curam habituri, ut, ſi fortè nobilis Vir Joannes de Hibelino, ac Populus Acconenſis, ejuſdem ſuggeſtionibus inſtigatus, ad obſidendum Civitatem Tyri, vel aliquam Terrarum ad dominium Imperiale ſpectantium, procedere ullatenus attentaverit, efficacem opem, & operam apponatis; ut ipſi à ſuo conatu corruant, & adverſus Imperatorem eundem ſe ulterius erigere non præſumant. *Ex Regiſtro Gregorii noni, tom.* 5. *fol.* 58.

PROOF VIII. *p.* 141.

INNOCENTIUS Epiſcopus, Servus ſervorum Dei, venerabilibus Fratribus Archiepiſcopis, Epiſcopis, & Dilectis Filiis Archidiaconis, ad quos litteræ iſtæ pervenerint, Salutem & Apoſtolicam benedictionem.

CUM Dilecti Filii Fratres hoſpitalis Jeroſolymitani nullum habeant Epiſcopum vel Prælatum, præter Romanum Pontificem, & ſpeciali prerogativa gaudeant libertatis, non decet vos in eos, vel Clericos aut Eccleſias eorum, in quibus poteſtatem Eccleſiaſticam non habetis, abſque mandato noſtro, excommunicationis vel interdicti Sententiam promulgare. Sed ſi quando, vos, vel Subditos veſtros injuſtè gravaverint, per vos aut nuntios veſtros id Romano Pontifici ſignificare debetis, ac per ipſum de memoratis Fratribus juſtitiam obtinere. Inde eſt quod univerſitati veſtræ per Apoſtolica ſcripta præcipiendo mandamus, quatenus in prædictos Fratres ſive Clericos aut Eccleſias eorum in quibus auctoritatem nequaquam habetis, excommunicationis vel interdicti Sententiam promulgare nullatenus præſumatis: nec eos, aliàs, indebita vexatione gravetis: Sed erga ipſos vos taliter habeatis, quod non habeant adverſus vos materiam querelandi. Scituri quod ſi mandatum noſtrum neglexeritis in hac parte, dimittere non poterimus cum iiſdem Fratribus in ſua juſtitia. Si apud nos querelam iterum depoſuerint, efficaciter providere curemus. Datum Lugduni ſeptimo idus Decembris, Pontificatus noſtri anno ſeptimo. *Ex Raynald. ad ann.* 1240.

PROOF IX. *p.* 142.

GREGORIUS nonus Magiſtro & Fratribus Hoſpitalis Sancti Joannis, &c.

DOLEMUS & turbati referimus quòd, ſicut intelleximus, vos meretrices in veſtris caſalibus ſub certis appactionibus retinentes incontinenter vivitis, & proprium præſumentes improprie poſſidere eorum, qui confratariam veſtram aſſumunt, datis in anno quatuor aut pluribus denariis defenſores vos facitis, ac latrones & interfectores peregrinorum, & hæreticos in veſtris domibus & caſalibus receptatis. Vatacio Dei & Eccleſiæ inimico in equis & armis, terris propter hoc & caſalibus ab ipſo receptis, præbere contra Latinos auxilium non veremini; conſuetas pauperum eleemoſynas diminuitis, teſtamenta & alias ultimas voluntates in Hoſpitali veſtro decedentium non ſine falſitatis vitio immutatis, ac infirmantes ibidem aliis Sacerdotibus quam Fratribus veſtris & Capellanis conductitiis, quos habetis, non permittitis ſine veſtra ſpeciali licentia confiteri, alia plura committentes enormia, per quæ Deus offenditur, & ſcandalum in populo generatur. Cæterum plures ex Fratribus veſtris de hæreſi probabili haberi dicuntur ratione ſuſpecti: propter quod quia ex modico fermento multa maſſa corrumpitur, ne peſtis hæc latius ſerpat in alios, non immerito formidatur. Ideoque mandamus quatenus infra tres menſes à receptione præſentium vitam veſtram in melius reformantes præmiſſa & alia quæ in eodem Hoſpitali fuerunt corrigenda, ſecundùm Deum & veſtri Ordinis inſtituta corrigere penitus, & emendare curetis. Alioquin venerabili Fratri noſtro Archiepiſcopo Tyrenſi noſtris damus literis in mandatis, ut ex tunc, niſi ei de hujuſmodi correctione legitimè conſtiterit, perſonaliter accedens ad locum, & habens præ oculis ſolum Deum, inquiſita ſuper præmiſſis, & aliis plenius veritate, corrigat & reformet ibidem tam in capite quàm in membris, quæ correctionis & reformationis officio noverit indigere. Dat. Later. III. idus Mart. Pontif. noſtri ann. XI.

Cum eorundem Hoſpitalariorum tum etiam Templariorum, ac Theutonicorum Equitum domus, quæ eccleſiaſtica immunitate potiebantur, ſceleratis hominibus impunè patrandorum ſcelerum occaſionem darent, hæc decrevit Pontifex miſſis Patriarchæ Hieroſolymitano ac Suffraganeis literis: Mandamus quatenus ne confugientes ad loca Religioſorum Regni Hieroſolymitani, niſi ſint conventualia vel Eccleſiæ, ullam immunitatem debeant reportare, nec ad illam confugientes recipiantur in ipſis, ſi dolo vel inſidiis homicidia perpetrantur, auctoritate apoſtolica ſinguli in propriis diœceſibus publicè interdicere procuretis. Datum Later. VII. idus Martii ann. XI. Impoſuit eidem Patriarchæ provinciam, ut Canonicos Sepulchri Hieroſolymitani, qui avaritia perciti, ad corradendas ſimplicioribus pecunias, miracula, ac nonnulla alia aſperſa religioni graviori labe confingebant, coerceret: Intelleximus, inquit, quod Canonici Sepulchri Hieroſolymitani ignem in idem Sepulchrum de cœlo in vigilia Paſchæ deſcendere, & Redemptorem noſtrum Dominum Jeſum Chriſtum inibi incarceratum fuiſſe dicentes, locum conficti carceris ſub certo pretio non ſine ignominia divini nominis venalem exponunt. Verum quia Dominus, ut pro ipſo loquamur, mendacio noſtro non indiget, mandamus quatenus præſumptiones hujuſmodi de cætero ibidem auctoritate noſtra prohibeas attentari, &c. Dat. Lateran. VII. idus Martii ann. XI. Præterea tum ipſi tum Antiocheno Patriarchæ præcepit, ut cruce ſignatos qui abjurata hæreſi in Eccleſiæ gratiam admiſſi fuerant, atque in pœnam criminis arma in Sarracenos ad illud eluendum ferre juſſi erant, ſignum quo ab aliis cruce ſignatis diſcernerentur, circumferre juberent; præterea curarent ut Sarraceni in vinculis tenti ab audiendis concionibus, amplectendiſque ſacris Chriſtianis non arcerentur. *Ex Raynaldo, Tom.* 13. *ad annum* 1238. *pag.* 514.

PROOF X. *p.* 151.

Egressa de finibus Orientis crudelitas beſtialis, in *Hieroſolymitanam* provinciam eſt converſa. Quæ etſi diverſis temporibus à circumſtantibus *Saracenis* multipliciter vexaretur, his tamen diebus, ſopitis vicinis hoſtibus, in ſtatu pacifico reſpirabat utcunque. Excitaverunt autem in ejus excidium peccata populi *Chriſtiani* gentem incognitam, & ultorem gladium à longinquo deſævientem. Si quidem rabies *Tartarorum* totam Orientalem plagam flagello multiplici & terrore concuſſit. Qui dum perſequentes æqualiter univerſos, nullam differentiam facerent inter incredulos & fideles, prædam ab extremis finibus fugaverunt, *Chriſtianum* populum prædaturam. Ipſi etenim *Tartari* univerſalem *Perſidem* deſtruentes, in nequiores ſe ſpiritus prœlium converterunt, venantes crudeliſſimos hominum *Choroſminos*, quos quaſi dracones de cavernis eductos, de propriis partibus expulerunt. Qui cùm certum habitaculum non habentes, non poſſent propter eorum nequitias ab aliquibus *Saracenis* receptaculum adipiſci, ſolus *Soldanus Babyloniæ*, *Chriſti* fidei perſecutor, eiſdem *Choroſminis* hoſpitium in terra propria denegans, obtulit alienum, eoſdem incredulos ad inhoſpitandam vel inhabitandam terram promiſſionis advocans & invitans, quam in ſe credentibus Altiſſimus promiſerat & donavit. Illi verò, de *Soldani* præſidio confidentes, in hæreditatem Domini, quam dictus *Soldanus*, prout dicitur, illis contulerat, advenerunt cum uxoribus, & familiis, & multis millibus Equitum armatorum: quorum ſic exiſtit adventus repentinus, quòd nec à nobis, nec à vicinis partibus potuit prævideri, ut præcognita jacula vitarentur, uſque dum Hieroſolymitanam provinciam per partes *Saphet* & Tiberiadis intraverunt. Et cùm ſollicitudinem multipliciter appoſuerimus & laborem, qualiter *Terræ ſanctæ* pax & tranquillitas priſtina redderetur, novis hoſtibus perturbata, nec ad eorum expulſionem *Chriſtianorum* vires ſufficerent, præfati Choroſmini totam terram à *Turone* militum, quod eſt prope *Hieruſalem* uſque *Gazaram* occuparunt. Ex communi itaque conſilio, & unanimi voluntate, unà cum Magiſtris Religioſorum Domorum, ſcilicet militiæ *Templi*, *Hoſpitalis* ſancti *Johannis*, & præceptoris ſanctæ *Mariæ Theuſonicorum*, & Nobilium Regni, Soldanos Damaſci & Chamelæ, qui erant cum *Chriſtianis* pacis fœdere colligati, & contra *Choroſminos* habent inimicitias ſpeciales, reputantes ſe etiam per illorum adventum fore confuſos, & terram quam habebant *Chriſtiani*, juxta formam treuguarum, tenebantur defendere contra omnes alios *Saracenos*, ad *Chriſtianorum* ſubſidium duximus advocandos. Qui etſi firmiter promiſerint & juraverint ſe nobis auxilium præſtaturos, illorum tamen ſuccurſu valdè dilato & Chriſtianis, in reſpectu pauciſſimis, ſolis contra illos perfidos dubitantibus dimicare, dicti *Choroſmini* civitatem Hieruſalem propugnaculis penitus immunitam ſæpiùs invadebant. At *Chriſtiani* qui erant in illa, prædictorum ſævitiam metuentes, ad veniendum in terram *Chriſtianorum* ultra ſex millia hominum congregati, paucis in civitate relictis, confiſi de treugis, quas cum *Soldano* de *Graco* & ruſticis *Saracenis* de montanis habebant, iter cum omnibus familiis & rebus ſuis per ipſa montana ceperunt. Egreſſi verò ruſtici, partim illos gladio crudeliter occiderunt, partim miſerabiliter captivarunt, exponentes venales *Chriſtianos* utriuſque ſexus & etiam Moniales, aliis *Saracenis*. Ex quibus cùm aliqui evadentes, in Ramenſem planitiem deſcendiſſent, *Choroſmini* irruentes in illos, trucidarunt eoſdem, ita quod ex tanto populo, vix evaſerunt trecenti ſemivivi relicti. Tandem prænominati perfidiſſimi *Iſraelitanam* civitatem intrantes quaſi populo deſtitutam, *Chriſtianos* qui ibi remanſerant, ſeque infra Eccleſiam Sepulchri Dominici receptarunt, ante ipſum Sepulchrum eviſcerarunt univerſos. Et decapitantes Sacerdotes qui in altaribus celebrabant, dicebant ad invicem: Hîc effundamus ſanguinem populi *Chriſtiani*, ubi vinum libaverunt ad honorem Dei ſui, quem hîc dicunt fuiſſe ſuſpenſum. Inſuper cum dolore dicimus, & cum ſuſpiriis intimamus, quod in Sepulchrum reſurrectionis Dominicæ manus ſacrilegas extendentes, illud multipliciter deturparunt. Tabulatum marmoreum, quod circumcirca erat poſitum, funditus evertentes, & montem *Calvariæ*, ubi Chriſtus extitit crucifixus & totam Eccleſiam, ultra quam dici valeat, in omni turpitudine, quantum in ſe fuerat, fœdaverunt. Columnas verò ſculptas, quæ ante Sepulcrum Domini erant ad decorem poſitæ, ſuſtulerunt: illas in *Chriſtianorum* contumeliam ad ſepulcrum ſceleratiſſimi *Machometi*, in ſignum victoriæ, tranſmittentes. Et violatis ſepulchris fœlicium Regum in eadem Eccleſia collocatis, eorum oſſa in *Chriſtianorum* injuriam diſperſerunt. Montemque *Syon* reverendiſſimum ſine reverentia prophanantes, Templum Domini, Eccleſiam vallis *Joſaphat* ubi Virgini eſt ſepulcrum, Eccleſiam Bethleem & locum Nativitatis Domini, indignis relatu enormitatibus polluerunt, omnium *Saracenorum* nequitiam excedentes, qui licet terram *Chriſtianorum* ſæpius occupaſſent, loca ſancta utcunque veneranter conſervabant. Verùm cùm his omnibus non contenti, ad captionem & deſtructionem totius terræ ſæpe fati *Choroſmini* multipliciter aſpirarent, nec poſſent tanta mala ulteriùs tolerari quæ cujuſlibet catholicæ fidei zelatoris animum meritò poterant in mœrorem & amaritudinem irritaſſe, tot injuriis & enormitatibus laceſſiti, populus *Chriſtianus* ad reſiſtendum eiſdem, prædictorum *Soldanorum* potentiam, unà cum *Chriſtianorum* viribus, de communi conſilio duximus congregandam. Cum quibus omnibus contra illos die quarto menſis Octobris exercitus *Chriſtianus* de maritima *Acon* movere incepit, per *Cæſaream* & alia loca maritima cedendo. Ipſi verò Choroſmini, noſtrum præſentientes adventum & per diverſa loca retrocedentes, demùm ante *Gazaram* caſtra fixerunt, expectantes ibidem ſuccurſum, quem *Soldanus Babyloniæ* caput ſacrilegii, erat tranſmiſſurus eiſdem. Recepta verò ab eodem *Soldano* maxima multitudine armatorum & *Chriſtianorum* & præfatorum *Soldanorum* exercitibus appropinquantibus contra illos, eos in vigilia ſancti *Lucæ* ante *Gazaram* invenimus cum multitudine infinita, habentes acies diſponentibus, qualiter progrederentur ad bellum. Nobis etiam Patriarcha & aliis Prælatis auctoritate omnipotentis Dei & ſedis Apoſtolicæ remiſſionem indulgentibus, de pœnitentibus ſumma contritio & effuſio lacrymarum ſingulis cælitus eſt effuſa, ut mortem corporis pro nihilo reputantes, & ſperantes præmium ſempiternum, mori pro *Chriſto*, vivere reputarent. Unde etſi forte corporalis calamitas, peccatis noſtris exigentibus, ſupervenit, credendum eſt Altiſſimum, qui eſt ſcrutator cordium & cognitor ſecretorum, animarum lucrum potiùs quàm corporum acceptaſſe. Poſt hæc autem concurrentibus noſtris unà cum illis, *Saraceni* qui nobiſcum aderant, ab hoſtibus ſuperati, ſe univerſaliter converterunt in fugam, captis pluribus & interfectis ex illis. Et ſic *Chriſtiani* ſoli in prœlio remanſerunt. Cúmque in eos *Choroſmini* cum *Babylonicis* inſimul irruiſſent, eis invicem dimicantibus, *Chriſtiani* tanquam Athletæ Domini & fidei catholicæ defenſores, quos eadem fides & paſſio vere fecit germanos, fortiſſimè reſtiterunt. Et cum eſſent reſpectu inimicorum pauciſſimi, proh dolor, ſuccubuerunt in bello, hoſtibus prœliorum adverſitate cedentes. Ita quod de Conventibus domus militiæ Templi, Hoſpitalis *S. Joannis* & ſanctæ *Mariæ Theutonicorum*, tantummodò triginta tres *Templarii*, viginti ſex *Hoſpitalarii* & tres fratres *Theutonici* evaſerunt, aliis peremptis & captis. Optimates etiam terræ & milites, pro majori parte capti & interfecti fuerunt, præter ſtragem baliſtariorum & peditum infinitam. De Archiepiſcopo verò *Tyrenſi*, Epiſcopo *S. Georgii*, Abbatæ ſanctæ *Mariæ* de Joſaphat, Magiſtro *Templi* & Præceptore ſanctæ *Mariæ Theutonicorum*, & quam pluribus aliis religioſis & clericis, cùm non apparuerint, plurimum dubitatur utrum adhuc in bello obierint, vel ſint in captivitate detenti: nec de ipſis ſcire adhuc potuimus veritatem. Magiſter verò *Hoſpitalis* & Comes *Gualterus* de *Breſna*, cum multis aliis, capti in *Babyloniam* ſunt deducti. Nos verò Patriarcha, in quos, noſtris peccatis exigentibus, omnis calamitas ſupervenit, indigni à Domino martyrio deputati, evaſimus ſemivivi, apud *Aſcalonam* cum Nobilibus viris, Conſtabulario *Aconenſi*, *Philippo* de *Monte forti*, militibus & peditibus, qui evaſerunt de bello, receptaculum capientes. Et licèt nobis, qui cuncta perdidimus in bello prædicto, nulla ſit conſolatio in tot adverſitatibus & ærumnis, illud tamen quod ad præſens potuimus facientes, illuſtribus Regi *Cypri* & Principi *Antiocheno* noſtras literas & nuncios miſimus ſpeciales: eos cum omni devotione rogando & exhortando, ut in tantæ neceſſitatis articulo, ad *Terræ Sanctæ* defenſionem mittere debeant milites & armatos. Sed quid ſuper hoc ſint facturi neſcimus. Demum apud *Acon* civitatem reverſi, & morantes in illa, ipſam civitatem cum tota ultramarina provincia invenimus plenam doloribus, ululatibus, miſeriis & variis afflictionibus ac infinitis: nec erat domus vel anima quæ mortuum proprium non deploraret. Et quamvis ſit dolor magnus & gravis de præteritis, timor tamen imminet adhuc præcipuus de futuris. Cùm enim tota terra *Chriſtianitatis* gladiis acquiſita, ſit privata & deſtituta omni humano aut terreno præſidio ac ſuffragio, & defenſorum propugnatorumque ſufficientia in nihilum planè redacta extinctaque, ſuperſtites verò non tantum pauci, ſed etiam ad exanimationem deducti, nihil aliud reſtare præterea aut ſupereſſe videtur, quàm ut crucis hoſtibus reliqua omnia ad votum deſiderata ſuccedant, qui in maximam audaciam & intolerabilem inſolentiam prodeuntes, caſtra ſua poſuerunt in planitie *Acon* prope civitatem per miliaria duo. Et per totam terram uſque ad partes *Nazareth* & *Saphet* liberè, nullo reſiſtente, aut obicem ponente, longè latéque diſcurrunt, occupantes eandem & inter ſe quaſi propriam dividentes, per villas & cazalia *Chriſtianorum* Legatos & Bajulos præficiunt atque conſtituunt, ſuſcipientes à ruſticis & aliis incolis redditus & tributa, quæ antè à *Chriſtianis* præſtare & exſolvere ſolebant. Qui jam ruſtici incolæque *Chriſtianis* hoſtes effecti & rebelles, dictis Choroſminis univerſaliter adhæſerunt. Ita quòd omnes Hieroſolymitanæ Eccleſiæ ſimul ac provinciæ Chriſtianæ, aliam terram non habeant ad præſens, niſi munitiones quaſdam, quas etiam cum maxima difficultate & labore defendunt. Dicitur etiam, quòd *Babylonici* apud *Gazaram* exiſtentes, in multitudine infinita venturi ſunt ad partes *Acon*, ut ſimul cum *Choroſminis* obſideant civitatem. Recepimus etiam nuncios & literas viceſimo ſecundo die menſis Novembris, à Caſtellano & fratribus *Hoſpitalis*, qui ſunt in caſtro *Scalone*, quod exercitus *Saracenorum* de Babylonia jam obſederant caſtrum ipſum & tenebant obſeſſum, implorantibus à nobis & Chriſtianitate ſubſidium & auxilium feſtinatum. Ut autem Charitatem veſtram moveat pietas, in compaſſionis affectum ſuper excidio *Terræ Sanctæ*, eò quod communibus humeris hoc onus incumbat, cauſam *Chriſti* vobis duximus intimandam, ſuppliciter deprecantes quatenus apud Altiſſimum precibus & devotis orationibus pro *Terra* eadem miſericordiam imploretis: ut ipſe qui *Terram Sanctam* in redemptionem omnium proprio ſanguine conſecravit, in ejus ſubſidium miſeratus intendat, ipſam proſpiciens & defendens. Voſque, patres chariſſimi, ſuper hoc ſalutare conſilium & auxilium quod poteritis, apponetis, ut vobis exinde cœleſte præmium comparetis. Sciturì pro certo, niſi per manum Altiſſimi & fidelium ſubſidium ultramarinæ in hoc proximo paſſagio Martii ſuccurratur, ejus pro certo perditio imminet & ruina. Et quia cæteras neceſſitates & univerſalem ſtatum *Terræ*, longum eſſet vobis per literas

ras explicare, mittimus ad præſentiam veſtram venerabilem patrem Biritenſem Epiſcopum & Religioſum virum *Arnulphum* ordinis Prædicatorum, qui ſeriem veritatis fideliter & plenariè referent fraternitati veſtræ, Univerſitatem veſtram humiliter implorantes, ut veſtræ benignitati placeat prædictos nuncios qui ſe pro Eccleſia Dei magnis expoſuerunt periculis, navigando tempore hiemali, recipere liberaliter & audire. Datum apud *Acon* viceſimo quinto die menſis Novembris, anno Domini milleſimo ducenteſimo quadrageſimo quarto. *Matt. Paris pag.* 631. *ann.* 1244.

PROOF XI. *p.* 155.

ODONIS Epiſcopi Tuſculani ad Innocentium IV. Papam.

MAGISTER Militum Templi & Mareſcallus Hoſpitalis ſcripſerunt Regi, quod Soldanus Babyloniæ cum magno exercitu ad partes Gazæ venerat ad conciliandum ſibi Soldanos Halapiæ & Damaſci, & timebant ne fortè Joppen vel Cæſaream intenderet obſidere. Poſtea etiam ſcripſit Regi idem Magiſter, quod quidam Admiraldus Soldani Babyloniæ ad ipſum venerat, nec tamen ex parte Soldani veniebat, ut dicebat, nec literas ejus habebat, ſed venerat ad inquirendum voluntatem Regis Franciæ, quia dominus ſuus libenter cum eo pacem haberet: & ut dicitur à quibuſdam, ad requiſitionem dicti Magiſtri Soldanus ad ipſum miſerat dictum Admiraldum, quod factum valde Regi diſplicuit & omnibus Baronibus: & incontinenti Rex per literas ſuas inhibuit dicto Magiſtro, ne de cætero tales nuncios recipiat, vel cunctis colloquium habere præſumat ſine mandato ſpeciali ipſius. *Ex Spic. Tome* 7. *pag.* 214.

PROOF XII. *p.* 158.

DIE ſancti *Kenelmi*, videlicet Calendas Auguſti, Comite *Richardo* exiſtente *Londini* & ad ſcaccarium ſedente, venit ad ipſum nuncius quidam feſtinus & triſtis, rumorum & litterarum bajulus teterrimarum, hujus ſententiæ tenorem continentium. Rex *Francorum Chriſtianiſſimus*, inito conſilio univerſali, animatus rumoribus cujuſdam tribuni cuſtodis *Nayri*, de quo prædictum eſt, caſtra movit de *Damiata* versùs *Kairum*, & quoſdam in via potenter adverſantes, fortiter trucidavit. Et cùm proſperè faviſſet ei Mars per omnia, & facta quadam impetuoſa congreſſione, *Chriſtiani* de *Saracenis*, poſt longum hinc inde duriſſimum & diriſſimum conflictum, glorioſè triumpharunt. Tranſito igitur quodam magno flumine, ex alveo *Nili* prodeunte, nomine *Taſnem*, circa clauſum Paſcha per ſcaphas planas colligatas & per occultum vadum, quod ei manifeſtaverat quidam converſus quondam *Saracenus*, multi tranſierunt. *Robertus* autem frater Regis, Comes videlicet *Atrebatenſis*, aſſumptis ſecum multis nobilibus, quorum unus erat *Wilielmus longa ſpata*, neſciente Rege fratre ſuo, ad ulteriora litoris ſe contulit. Cujus erat intentio, pro omnibus ſolus triumphare & titulos aſportare, ut ei ſoli victoria aſcriberetur. Erat namque ſuperbus nimis & arrogans, atque vanæ gloriæ appetivus. Et invenientes quoſdam *Saracenos*, ipſos in ore gladii trucidarunt. *Robertus* igitur audacter progrediens, ſed inconſultè, quoddam caſale, quod ante ipſos erat, nomine *Manſor*, propoſuit violenter occupare, & trucidatis omnibus quos in eodem inveniret, illud ſubruere; & intrans violenter, ferè lapidibus obrutus, confuſus exivit, multis tamen ipſius habitatoribus interfectis. Et cùm conglomerati tractatum haberent, quid agendum, Comes *Robertus* ſperans ultima primis feliciter reſpondere, omnes ad progrediendum perſuaſit & animavit, & dixit magiſtro militiæ *Templi*, qui tunc cum ipſo fuerat, præſente *Willielmo longa ſpata:* Inſequamur hoſtes qui propè ſunt, ut dicitur, fugitivos, dum res in manibus noſtris proſperatur, dum vidimus noſtros ferventes & hoſtium cruorem ſitientes & inimicos fidei de ſalute propria deſperantes, ut omnes conterendo bellum noſtrum fine beato citiùs concludamus. Confidenter agamus, quia ſequitur nos tertia pars exercitus *Gallicani:* & ſi aliquid nobis ſiniſtri, quod abſit contingat, ſubveniet nobis ad nutum mandati, fratris ac domini mei Regis exercitus inſuperabilis. Cui magiſter militiæ *Templi*, vir quidem diſcretus & circumſpectus, in negotiis quoque bellicis, peritus & expertus, reſpondit: O domine Comes magnifice, veſtram ſatis ſtrenuitatem, & innatam magnanimitatem & audaciam commendamus, voluntariam ad honorem Domini & Eccleſiæ ſuæ univerſalis, quam novimus & ſæpè ſumus experti. Veruntamen, optamus & ſalubriter conſulimus ſupplicantes, quatenus fræno modeſtiæ ac diſcretionis hunc fervorem velitis cohibere, ut poſt hunc, quem nobis Dominus contulit, triumphum & honorem aliquantulum reſpiremus. Poſt hos enim bellorum æſtus & labores fatigamur, ſauciamur, eſurimus & ſitimus, & ſi nos honor & gloria obtentæ victoriæ conſoletur, nullus tamen equos noſtros jam deficientes & vulneratos honos vel gaudium refocillat. Revertamur igitur conſultius, ut exercitui domini Regis noſtri uniti, tam conſilio quàm auxilio ipſius roboremur, & tam equi noſtri, quàm nos, aliqua quiete recreemur. Quod cùm viderint hoſtes noſtri, modeſtam, prudentiam noſtram plus laudabunt, & amplius formidabunt. Communicato enim cum noſtratibus ampliori conſilio, ad incœpta cùm omnes congregabimur, fortiores reſurgemus, & collatis viribus confidentius roborabimur. Jam enim aſcendit clamor fugitivorum, qui velociſſimis equis rapti ipſum *Soldanum* & alios inimicos noſtros, de viribus ſuis & numeroſitate confidentes, excitabunt, & de noſtra paucitate & totius exercitus, quam ſemper deſideraverunt, præmunient, & confortabunt diviſione, & nos, ſuper his certificati, proterviùs & confidentiùs aggredientur, vires ſuas nunc effundentes in noſtram perniciem & confuſionem. Norunt enim quòd ſi nunc conterantur, exhæredati penitus cum uxoribus & liberis, irreſtaurabiliter ad *Nilum* redigentur.

Haec autem cùm Comes audiſſet *Atrebatenſis*, indignatus vehementer, irâque & ſuperbiâ turgidus & inflatus, reſpondit: O antiqua *Templi* proditio! O vetus *Hoſpitalariorum* ſeditio! O fraus diu occultata, quàm manifeſtè nunc prorupit in medium! Hoc eſt quod diu vero præcinimus augurio, & veraciter eſt prædictum, hæc tota terra Orientalis jam diu fuiſſet adquiſita, niſi *Templi* & *Hoſpitalis*, & aliorum, qui ſe proclamant religioſos, fraudibus nos ſæculares impedirent. Ecce patet ad manum captio *Soldani* & totius confuſio *Paganiſmi*, & legis perpetua exaltatio *Chriſtianæ*, quam ſuis fictis & fallacibus ſermocinationibus præſens *Templarius* conatur impedire. Timent enim *Templarii*, & formidant Hoſpitalarii, & eorum complices, quòd ſi terra viribus ſubdatur *Chriſtianis*, ipſorum expirabit, qui amplis redditibus ſaginantur, dominatio. Hinc eſt quod fideles huc adventantes, & ad negotium crucis accinctos, variis inficiunt potionibus, & *Saracenis* confœderati, diverſis interficiunt perditionibus. Nonne ſuper his *Fredericus* eorum expertus muſcipulas, teſtis eſt certiſſimus?

His igitur verbis ſatyricis & mordacibus, magiſter malitiæ memoratus cum Fratribus, & Magiſter *Hoſpitalis*, cum ſuis ſimiliter confratribus; uſque ad ſpiritus amaritudinem contriſtati, unanimiter reſponderunt: Ut quid, Comes generoſe, habitum ſuſciperemus religionis? nunquid ut eccleſiam *Chriſti* everteremus, & proditionibus intendentes animas noſtras perderemus? Abſit, abſit hoc à nobis, imò ab omni *Chriſtiano*. Et iratus magiſter *Templi* vehementer, alta voce exclamavit, dicens ſignifero: Explica & eleva ſignum noſtrum, & procedamus bellaturi, ut hodie tam mortis quàm Martis ambigua fata coexperiamur: inſuperabiles eſſemus, ſi inſeparabiles permaneremus. Sed infeliciter dividimur, ſimiles harenæ ſine calce, unde inepti ædificio ſpirituali, & cæmento charitatis expertes, materiæ depulſæ conſimiles erimus profectò ruinoſi.

Talia igitur audiens *Willielmus longa ſpata*, ſchiſma in exercitu jam ſuſcitatum vehementer formidans, impetuoſum motum animi Comitis *Atrebatenſis* ſedare cupiens, & magiſtri *Templi* iram mitigare, reſpondit dicens: Talem ſciſſuram & diviſionem ſecundum verbum Dominicum ſequitur deſolatio. Credamus igitur huic viro ſancto & autentico, ô Comes Sereniſſime. Incola hujus terræ exiſtit diuturnus, novitque vires & verſutias *Saracenorum*, experimento edoctus multiplici. Nos novi, juvenes & advenæ, quid mirum ſi Orientalium ſimus neſcii periculorum? Quantum diſtat Oriens ab Occidente, tantum diſcrepant Occidentales ab his Orientalibus. Et verſa facie ad magiſtrum *Templi*, cum ſerenitate & verbis blandis ipſum allocutus, conabatur motum animi ejus mitigare, cùm ecce Comes *Atrebatenſis* rapiens verbum ab ore ejus, more *Gallico* reboans & indecenter jurans, audientibus multis os in hæc convitia reſolvit, dicens: O timidorum caudatorum formidoloſitas, quàm beatus, quàm mundus præſens foret exercitus, ſi à caudis purgaretur & caudatis! Quod audiens W. verecundatus, & de verbi offendiculo laceſſitus & commotus reſpondit: O Comes *Roberte*, certè procedam imperterritus ad quæque imminentia mortis pericula. Erimus, credo, hodie, ubi non audebis caudam equi mei attingere, & apponentes galeas & explicatis ſignis progreſſum contra hoſtes, qui ſpacioſam planiciem, montes & valles undique cooperuerunt, continuabant. Sic igitur volens Comes *Robertus* omnia ſibi, ſi *Chriſtianos* contingeret triumphare, aſcribere, dedignabatur fratri ſuo dominio Francorum Regi, hæc præſumpta pericula nunciare. *Matth. Paris, ann.* 1250. *p.* 789.

PROOFS
OF THE
HISTORY
OF THE
Knights Hoſpitallers
OF
S. JOHN of JERUSALEM.

BOOK IV.

PROOF I. *p.* 183.

IN Cypro graves ardebant diſcordiæ inter Henricum Regem & Templarios, qui Syria à Saracenis ejecti, ad tutandum id regnum ſe receperant: ac ne ob ea diſſidia Chriſtiana res in periculum conjiceretur, ſolicitus Bonifacius, tum Jacobum de Molai Templariorum equitum ſupremum magiſtrum, ut cum Rege pacem iniret; tum Henricum, ut debita benevolentia equites complecteretur, ne deſtituta eorum ope inſula barbaricis irruptionibus pateret, eſt adhortatus: Fili chariſſime, *Henricum Regem alloquitur*, tuam volumus conſiderare prudentiam, quanta olim ipſis Magiſtris & Fratribus, *nempe Templariis*, in dicta Terra Sancta pericula contigerunt, quantis eos afflixere pericula ipſa languoribus, quanto eos fiducia duxerit ad confugiendum ad tui regni præſidia, & quibus ipſi, ſic mihi fiducialiter reſpirantes, ſint alliciendi favoribus & manſuetudinibus confovendi. Nec minus advertendum inſpicimus, quod mora eorum in dicto regno ſecuritatem maximam contra hoſtes fidei tibi & ipſi regno producit, & ſi, quod abiit, ſive per eorum ſive tuæ gentis injuriam receſſus ipſorum inde contingeret, magnum ſumerent ex hoc dicti hoſtes audaciam, & grandia tibi ac regno præfato, ac irreparabilia, forſitan propterea poſſent pericula provenire, quorum Sancta Mater Eccleſia & univerſus Fidelium Chriſtianorum populus non redderentur expertes, ſed hujuſmodi vitanda procella percelleret univerſos, &c. Dat. Romæ xiv. kal. Aprilis anno iv. Exaſperarat inter cætera Templarios vectigalia ſuis familiaribus & mancipiis duorum byſantiorum in ſingula capita pendi, ac privilegia quibus hactenus erant potiti, labefactari: ad quæ temperanda latam à Bonifacio conſtitutionem inferius viſuri ſumus. *Ex Tomo* 14. *Raynaldi ad ann.* 1298. *paragr.* 21.

Bonifacius, &c. ad futuram rei memoriam.

Ordinamus, providemus & volumus quod quædam taillia ſeu collecta, quæ vulgariter teſtagium nuncupatur, & nonnullis annis præteritis proxime fuerat in regno ipſo (nempe Cypri) recepta per regem, quantumcumque pro defenſione regni poſita diceretur, cujus etiam ipſum nomen aliquibus abominabile ac horrendum, ceſſet, nec amplius exigatur à perſonis non ſolum eccleſiaſticis, religioſis & ſecularibus, & nihilominus vel advenis dicti regni; ſed nec in poſterum etiam perſonis ipſi Regi ſubjectis ſine Apoſtolicæ ſedis licentia imponatur: diſpendium namque inde ſecutum non expedit, quod habeat recidivum. Et nihilominus ad amputandum omnis dubietatis ſcrupulum declaramus, quod tailliæ, exactiones, tributa, indicta, quocumque nomine cenſeantur, imponenda per Regem, ad Prælatos, Magiſtros Hoſpitalis Sancti Joannis Hieroſolymitani & domus militiæ Templi & religioſas & alias eccleſiaſticas perſonas, cujuſcumque fuerint Ordinis, conditionis aut ſtatus, & eorum bona, ſervos, ſclavos, homines de corpore, ſeu Angarios eorundem, nullatenus extendantur: ſed prælatis & perſonis ipſis libertates & immunitates, privilegia competentia eis de jure vel de conſuetudine rationabili & præſcripta in regno eodem, & præſertim privilegia ſedis ejuſdem ipſis ſerventur illæſa. Quin potius volumus quod dictus Rex qui nunc regnat in Cypro, & alii, qui in eodem in poſterum regnabunt, conſideratis prælationum dignitatibus & conditionibus perſonarum eccleſiaſticarum regni ejuſdem ipſas prout regiæ dignitati congruit, honorare ſtudeant & benignè tractare: ex hoc enim non ſolum à Deo primum & ab hominibus bonam famam conquirent, ſed & regnum ipſum corroborabitur atque firmabitur contra fidei inimicos, in pacis dulcedine requieſcet, & robuſtior exinde Terræ Sanctæ poterit provenire ſuccurſus, &c. Rex & Templarii jurare juſſi ſe invicem non læſuros. Dat. Anagniæ 3. Id. Januarii. *Idem ad annum* 1299. *paragr.* 37.

CUM porro antea lege vetitum eſſet Hoſpitalariis & Templariis, quorum potentiam ne in regno nimis aſſurgeret, verebatur, Rex immobilia bona ſine Regis & ſedis Apoſtolicæ conſenſu adipiſci, monuit Cyprium Regem Bonifacius, ne legem ſeverè adeo interpretaretur, ut non aliquas iis domos, quo habitarent commodius, extruere liceret: tum hortatus eſt, ut benevolentiam erga eos explicaret, quorum in bello peritiam magno ſibi emolumento eſſe cognoſceret. *Idem ad ann.* 1299. *paragr.* 38.

Henrico Regi Cypri illuſtri.

PRO bono & pacifico ſtatu regni tui & pro majori & efficaciori defenſione ipſius, & impugnatione hoſtium & depreſſione falſorum Chriſtianorum, qui arma, ferrum & alia prohibita deferunt Saracenis, nuper in te venerabiles fratres noſtros Archiepiſcopum Nicoſienſem & Suffraganeos ejus, & dilectos Magiſtros Conventus & Fratres Domorum Hoſpitalis Sancti Joannis Hieroſolymitani & militiæ Templi in Regno ipſo morantes, proviſionem & ordinationem quandam duximus faciendam. Quare ſerenitatem regiam rogamus & hortamur attentè, per Apoſtolica tibi ſcripta mandantes, quatenus pro divina & Apoſtolicæ ſedis ac noſtra reverentia, tuiſque honore, decentia & ſtatu proſpero noſtris in hac parte beneplacitis acquieſcens, proviſionem & ordinationem eandem, velut tibi & regno prædicto & per conſequens Terræ Sanctæ neceſſariam & perutilem æquanimiter feras, & inviolabiliter ſtudeas obſervare.

Verum licèt acquiſitio bonorum ſtabilium regno prædicto ſit per proviſionem hujuſmodi eiſdem Magiſtris, Conventibus & Fratribus interdicta abſque Apoſtolicæ ſedis conſenſu vel tuo; non tamen ſic ſtrictè ſumat regia liberalitatis circumſpecta, quin gratioſè & benignè permittat, quod eoſdem Magiſtros, Conventus & Fratres aliquas, modicas, ſeu minutas acquiſitiones & ædificia non ad æmulationem facere, ut poſſint in regno ipſo morari commodiùs, prædicti Magiſtri, Conventus & Fratres alias quoque ipſos quorum mora in regno prædicto poteſt eſſe valde perutilis, ſicut nôſti, ſic favorabiliter & benignè, ſic placabiliter, gratioſè ac manſuetè pertractes, quod ipſi de hujuſmodi eorum mora in affabilitate regia & regii vultus ſerenitate lætentur, & efficiantur non immerito promptiores in tuis & regni tui honoribus & profectibus proſequendis, noſque magnificentiam regiam amplioribus propterea in Domino laudibus attollamus. Dat. Anagniæ iv. Id. Junii anno v. *Idem ad annum* 1299. *paragr.* 138.

PROOF II. *p.* 185.

IN nomine Domini. Amen.

Noverint univerſi, præſentes litteras inſpecturi, quod nos Henricus & Rodulphus Marchiones de Hochberg, recognoſcimus & præſentibus profitemur, Reverendum Dominum & Patrem noſtrum Henricum quondam Marchionem de Hochberg, cùm adhuc eſſet ſui juris, haberetque jurium & rerum ſuarum plenam & liberam adminiſtrationem, ob amorem Dei, & pro remedio animæ ſuæ, favoreque Religionis, & perpetuo conceſſiſſe, donaſſe, ceſſiſſe & tradidiſſe Religioſis Viris Commendatori & Fratribus Domus Hoſpitalis Sancti Joannis Hieroſolymitani in Fryburg, omne Bannum, Advocatiam, ſeu Juriſdictionem, ſive conſtiterit in mero imperio, vel mixto, in cauſis criminalibus, vel civilibus, quæ ſibi competant, vel competere poterant, ex quacunque cauſa, jure, ſeu titulo qualicunque, in villa dicta Haiterſeum, ejuſque Banno, ſeu diſtrictu, ſuper hominibus, Advenis, ſeu Indigenis ibidem cum ſervitutibus, angariis, ſeu perangariis quibuſcunque, ſibi in dicta villa debitis. In quorum ſi quidem Banni, Advocatiæ, Juriſdictionis & ſervitutum libera, & quieta poſſeſſione, vel quaſi, dicti Commendator & fratres, præſente ſupradicto Patre noſtro in Provincia, eoque ſciente, & volente, fuerunt per xx. annos, & ultra; nobiſque ſupradictis H. & R. ſcientibus, & conſentientibus, à tempore quo dictus Pater noſter hæreditatem ſuam reliquit, ac Religionem intravit.

Quam Conceſſionem, Donationem, Ceſſionem & Traditionem, nos prædicti H. & R. Marchiones, ratificamus præſentibus, & approbamus. Et ſi fortè prædicta Conceſſio, Donatio, Ceſſio & Traditio ex aliqua cauſa, vel occaſione eſſet imperfecta, invalida, ſeu nulla; nos prædicti H. & R. Marchiones, omne jus, & beneficium, quod nobis competit, vel competere potuit, vel poterit in futurum, in Banno, Advocatiâ, juriſdictione, meri, vel mixi imperii, criminalium cauſarum & civilium, ſervitutibus, angariis, vel perangariis ſuper homines, vel in hominibus Advenis, ſeu Indigenis prænominatæ villæ, & ejus Banno ſeu diſtrictu, de novo, & ex certa ſcientia, Paternam voluntatem imitari volentes, & quieti dictorum fratrum providere cupientes; recuperando & ſatisfaciendo de damnis Commendatori & Fratribus per noſtros ſatellites datis, ſeu illatis; concedimus, donamus, cedimus, & perpetualiter tradimus, prout melius valere poteſt, dictis Commendatori & Fratribus; ſive competerit nobis ex utili dominio, vel directo, vel quacunque ex cauſa, ſeu titulo ad nos pertineret. Promittentes eiſdem, nomine eorum, & eorumdem ſucceſſorum, per ſolemnem ſtipulationem, pro nobis noſtriſque ſucceſſoribus, & hæredibus, nos numquam eiſdem ſuper juribus prænominatis, in partem, vel in totum, per nos, vel aliquem nomine noſtro, quæſtionem movere, vel moventi conſentire. Renunciantes etiam omni juri ſcripto, vel non ſcripto; beneficio reſtitutionis in integrum, & omni alio auxilio, vel beneficio, quibus contra aliquam dictarum Conceſſionum, Donationum, Ceſſionum, Traditionum venire poſſemus, vel aliquo modo jurarí.

Insuper, ſi quæ acta ſunt ſuperius non valerent, vel jure ſtare non poſſent; nos prædicti Marchiones, omnia jura ſupraſcripta, in ſpeciale beneficium, & feudum concedimus, & conceſſimus voluntariè, & ex certa ſcientia Commendatori, & Fratribus prædictis; inveſtiendo eos, & quemlibet ipſorum, de juribus, & juriſdictione ſupraſcriptis. Et remittimus eis perpetualiter juramenta homagii. Et pro univerſis ratione feudi debitis, volumus eſſe contenti rationibus dictorum Fratrum. Actum, & datum in Caſtro noſtro Suſembert, anno Domini milleſimo ducenteſimo nonageſimo ſeptimo, indictione decima; proxima ſexta feria poſt feſtum Beati Matthiæ Apoſtoli, præſentibus teſtibus infra ſcriptis, videlicet, Fratre Henrico de Hochberg Patre noſtro prædicto, nunc de Ordine Fratrum de Domo Theutonica, & Fratre Gotbaldo de Blumenberg de Ordine Hoſpitali ſupradicti, Domino Jacobo dicto Sernizer, Domino Joanne Scultett, Domino Joanne de Endigen Militibus Civibus in Nevenburg, & aliis pluribus fide dignis teſtibus, ad hoc vocatis & rogatis. In cujus rei teſtimonium, & perpetuam firmitatem, nos H. & R. Marchiones prædicti, ſigilla noſtra præſentibus duximus apponenda. *B . . . . lib.* 5. *p.* 17. *ad annum* 1297.

PROOF III. *p.* 193.

NOS igitur movent non modicum ad prædicta, quam citius commodè poterimus, exequenda, illuſtriſſimorum Regum Armeniæ atque Cypri, quibus compatimur toto corde, præſidia poſtulata: propter quod conſiderare compellimur aliquas certas vias ad ipſum negotium promovendum, ſuper quibus tecum & cum dilecto filio magiſtro domus militiæ Templi; de quorum circumſpecta probitate, & probata circumſpectione, ac vulgata fidelitate fiduciam obtinemus; deliberandum de Fratrum noſtrorum conſilio decrevimus & tractandum: præſertim quod tu & ipſe de præmiſſis viis, negotiis, atque factis, & cunctis circumſtantiis eorumdem propter locorum vicinitatem, longam experientiam, & meditationem diutinam melius quàm cæteri conſulere poteritis quid agendum: & quia negotium ipſum principaliter quàm cæteros poſt nos & Romanam Eccleſiam vos contingit. *Et infra:* Mandamus quòd ad veniendum te pares quantò ſecretius poteris bono modo, & quòd quantò pauciores poteris tecum adducas, de iis, qui ad pugnandum & reſiſtendum inimicis, terramque illam ſunt habiles gubernandi, cùm citra mare poteris tui Ordinis ſocios invenire, atque ſic providos, ſic probatos & probos, pro te & terræ defenſione, ac gubernatione vicarium, militeſque tui Ordinis, & alios utiles & neceſſarios pro te in terra illa dimittas, quod terræ illi ex abſentia tua, quæ non longa erit, Domino concedente, nullum poſſit periculum imminere. Aliquos tamen tecum adducas, qui experientia, diſcretione, ac fidelitate pollentes tecum nos dirigere valeant in agendis, Dat. Burdegaliæ id. Junii. . . .

Conjunxisse adverſus Infideles arma nonnullos Templarios ex Pontificiis literis encyclicis ad Reges, præſuleſque datis, Idibus Aprilis, colligitur, quibus ſignificavit Clemens Hymbertum Blanco equitum Templariorum in Arvernia præceptorem, ac Petrum de Leugres Maſſilienſem patritium, zelo defendendi Chriſtiani nominis incitatos, gerendi in Saracenos belli provinciam ab Sede Apoſtolica accepiſſe; quos propterea, ut ſtudiis ſuis complecterentur, hortatus eſt: quibus etiam conceptum animo reſtituendæ Chriſti cultui Paleſtinæ ardorem his verbis aperuit: Terram ſanctam, quam unigenitus Dei filius Dominus Jeſus Chriſtus, patrimonium filii & hereditatem elegit, conſpicientes feritate infidelium immaniter lacerari, & coinquinatorum pedibus conculcari, acerbas ſentimus in corde puncturas, quaſi noſtris viſceribus laceſſitis: ideoque vias & modos ſolerter exquirimus, quibus eidem terræ noſtro cooperante miniſterio, poſſint opportuna ſubſidia, donec tempora feliciora ſucceſſerint, provenire. Confirmavit aliis literis Hymbertum Blanco Templariorum præceptorem ac Petrum de Leugres prænobilem Maſſilienſem in ſuſcepto conſilio, quos fortiter adverſus Saracenos bellum aggredi ſollicitavit. *Ex Rayn. tom.* 15. *ann.* 1306.

PROOF IV. *p.* 195.

IN nomine Domini. Amen. Pater ſancte, Quæritis quid mihi videtur melius faciendum, ſive grande paſſagium, ſive parvum. Ad quod reſpondeo quòd parvum paſſagium ſecundùm ſtatum in quo terra conſiſtit ad præſens non eſſet proficuum, ſed damnoſum & vituperoſum chriſtianitati, & eſſet perditio illorum omnium qui tranſirent in parvo paſſagio: quia Chriſtiani hodie non tenent in terra illa, hoc eſt, in regno Hieroſolymitano, comitatu Tripolitano, & principatu Antiocheno, civitatem, caſtrum, vel fortalitiam aliquam, in qua ſe recolligere poſſent vel guarentire, ſi opus eſſet. Et ſi paſſagium reperiretur in aliquo loco dictarum partium, nec eſſet ita forte quod poſſet præliari cum exercitu Soldani, totaliter perderetur.

Item ſi aliquis vellet dicere quòd parvum paſſagium eſſet utile ad eundum in Armeniam ad cuſtodiam illius terræ, & pro faciendo guerram Saracenis per partes illas, reſpondeo quòd hoc eſſet periculum & perditio omnium quæ reperirentur ibidem, ſi dictum paſſagium in ſocietate Armenorum non eſſet tam forte quod poſſet prœliari contra exercitum de Sceam, hoc eſt de Hieruſalem & omnibus finibus ejus, qui poteſt eſſe numero xii. vel xv. millia equitum aut circa, & de xl. vel l. millia ſervientum archariorum: & poſito quòd poſſint reſiſtere ſupradictis, quod non credo pluribus rationibus quæ poſſent dici, reſtat adhuc exercitus Soldani Babyloniæ, qui facilè poſſet illuc venire quandocunque placeret.

Item ſi parvum paſſagium iret in Armeniam, licèt Saraceni non facerent ſibi damnum vel guerram, cum terra à ſe ipſa ita infirma eſt & mala quod ſi quatuor millia equitum tranſirent illuc, quantumcunque fortes & ſani, mirabile eſſet ſi in fine anni reperirentur quingenti.

Item eſt aliud periculum, quòd ſi Franci ſe reperirent in bello cum equitibus vel militibus Armeniæ, ex quibus pauci reperiuntur qui non ſint ſemper parati ad fugam dum vident inimicos ad pugnam contra ſe venire, quòd non relinquerent eos; & hoc eſſet maxima confuſio probis viris ſe in tali ſocietate ſentire dum eſſent in exercitio armorum, quia illi qui noverunt & noſcunt eos libenter, evitant in talibus locis eſſe cum eis.

Item ſi Franci eſſent in Armenia, & indigerent refugio, Armeni non receptarent eos in aliquo caſtro vel fortalitia ſua, quia ſemper dubitaverunt & dubitant ne Franci offerant eis terram. Et hoc divinant Armeni continuè, ſcilicet quòd Franci debent eis regnum auferre.

Item in Marchia Armeniæ ſunt tot gentes de Beria, Turchimanni, Cordommi, Beduini, quòd etſi aliæ gentes Saracenorum non intromitterent ſe, fortiter ſe defenderent, & tenerent marchiam illam cum illis qui eſſent in Armenia, quia montana ſunt magna, & paſſus fortiſſimi. Quare prædictis rationibus & aliis multis quæ poſſent dici, nullo modo conſulo parvum paſſagium fieri debere, imo contradico quantum poſſum, ac reprobo omnino pro evitando vituperio & damno chriſtianitatis.

In nomine Domini. Amen. De magno paſſagio generali faciendo omnino concordo pro deſtructione inimicorum fidei Chriſtianæ & pro reſtauratione Terræ Sanctæ Chriſti ſanguine reſperſæ. Et ſi placeret ſanctitati veſtræ & Dominis Cardinalibus quòd ex nunc quàm citiùs poſſetis bono modo, de hujuſmodi paſſagio tractaretis cum Dominis Regibus Franciæ, Angliæ, Alamanniæ, Siciliæ, Aragoniæ, Hiſpaniæ, & aliis terrarum Dominis majoribus & minoribus, quorum corda Deus illuminet ad negocium iſtud tam pium & laudabile; valde bonum & utile crederem.

Item quòd ordinaretur ex nunc Januæ, Venetiis, & in aliis terris maritimis quòd fierent naves & alia magna vaſa ad portandum equos & victualia, & quàm citiùs fieri poſſet inciperet quilibet providere ſibi de rebus neceſſariis ad dictum paſſagium.

Item non laudo galeas in facto paſſagii, ſed naves & alia magna vaſa; & hoc ideo quia naves ſunt magis proficuæ & laudabiliores quàm galeæ. Nam una navis portabit plus quàm quatuor galeæ, & una galea conſtabit plus quàm tres naves. Et non oportebit paſſagium prœliari in mari, quia inimici non poſſent in mari reſiſtere, cùm habeant modicum armamenti.

Item ſi placet audire conſilium de quantitate gentium, reſpondeo quòd Bochendar olim Soldanus Babyloniæ, qui fuit potentior & ſapientior in factis armorum quàm unquam fuiſſet aliquis in ſecta ſua & magis famoſus, multotiens dixit quòd cum exercitu ſuo obviaret xxx. millibus Tartarorum; ſed ſi plures venirent, relinqueret eis campum.

Item dixit quòd ſi in terra ſua venirent xv. millia equitum Francorum, obviaret eis & prœliaretur cum eis, ſed ſi plures venirent, recederet & dimitteret eis campum. Propter quod reducens ad memoriam dicta ipſius & alia plurima quæ audivi, ſimiliter audiendo ab eis qui fuerunt in Damiata cum Sancto Ludovico de quantitate militum & equitum ac peditum quam habuit ſecum, auderem & audeo dicere, niſi meliùs audirem. Quòd ſi generale paſſagium habet à xii. uſque ad xv. millia equitum armatorum, & v. millia peditum, cum auxilio Dei, in cujus ſervitio ſe diſponent, ſpero in Domino quòd tot gentes volentes bono conſilio credere totam Terram Sanctam acquirent & recuperabunt omnino. Sed de prædictis equitibus conſulo quòd eſſent duo millia baliſtariorum.

DE loco ubi paſſagium recolligatur nihil dico, quia hoc eſt in voluntate Dominorum Regum. Sed de applicando portu in partibus illis, modis omnibus conſulo pro meliori quòd primò applicetur in regno Cypri, & ibi refrigeret & recreet ſe paſſagium totum. Sed diſcedendo à regno Cypri, & eundo versùs Terram Sanctam, nullus debet palam conſulere de loco ſeu de patria in qua ſit portus accipiendus vel paſſagium deſcendere debeat, quia ex hoc oriretur prævisio Saracenis. Sed ſi placet vobis & Domino Regi Franciæ, dicam ſecretò tot bonas & utiles cauſas quòd credo verè quòd acquieſcetis conſilio meo, quia clarè monſtrabo quæ ſunt loca bona ad hoc, ita quòd veſtra diſcretio ſancta benè agnoſcet.

ITEM, Pater ſancte, ad hoc ut nullus poſſit dicere quòd non conſulam libenter fieri bona, ſi vobis placet mittere in Regnum Cypri aliquem ſuccurſum equitum vel peditum, poteſtis facere, & hoc eſſet conſolatio in Regno Cypri, pluribus rationibus quæ poſſent dici.

ITEM conſulo & laudo pro meliori modis omnibus quòd ordinetis quàm citiùs poteritis decem galeas & quæ præparentur hac hyeme, ita quòd in primò vere poſſint tranſire ad defenſionem Regni Cypri & ad cuſtodiendum mare, ne per malos Chriſtianos portentur vetita Saracenis. Et quòd dictæ galeæ teneantur continuè uſque ad paſſagium generale, & de pecunia percipiunda pro dictis galeis tenendis, ſi placebit, ſecundùm quod mihi videbitur ſecretò conſulam. Tamen conſilium iſtud non ſcribo, quia non eſt ponendum in ſcriptis. Sed ſpero in Domino quòd taliter lucrabuntur dictæ galeæ quòd ſatis facilè poterunt teneri.

ET conſulo quòd ponatur in dictis galeis capitaneus qui non dubitet perdere temporalia bona per potentiam civitatum maritimarum. Credo quòd Rogeronus filius quondam Domini Rogerii de Loria eſſet bonus capitaneus dictarum galearum, ſi vobis placeret. Non conſulo quòd ponatis hominem religioſum, præcipuè Templarium vel Hoſpitalarium; quia ſi dictæ galeæ damnificarent Januenſes vel Venetos, ipſi recurrerent ad naves vel bona eorum, & ſic religiones poſſent incurrere magnum damnum.

ITEM conſulo, Pater ſancte, pro bono & honore veſtro & totius Chriſtianitatis quòd placeret vobis mandare Januenſibus, Venetis & Piſanis, & aliis portum habentibus ſupra mare & expreſſè præcipere quòd non portent vel mittant bona aliqua Saracenis, quia Saraceni nimis ditantur ex hoc. Nam ſecundùm quod audivi, de omnibus quæ contrahuntur cum eis ſive dando, ſive recipiendo, tertiam partem largo modo recipiunt à Chriſtianis pro dacio ſeu theloneo, ita quòd de tribus navibus ſive de onere trium navium bene recipiunt ſeu tollunt unam, & multa damna recipiunt ex hoc Chriſtiani propter lanceas & alia arma quæ mali Chriſtiani deferunt & portaverunt eis. Unde credo quòd eſſet bonum ſi poneretis ad hoc fortiſſimam prohibitionem & ſtrictam ſententiam, & quòd ita facilè non abſolverentur à dicta ſententia in eorum reverſione ſicut aliquando fieri conſuevit. Nam quandoque deferunt eis galeas ita paratas quòd nihil reſtat niſi componere & clavare ipſas. Unde ſuper hoc faciet veſtra ſanctitas quod videbitur eſſe bonum.

NOSCAT igitur veſtra ſanctitas, Pater ſancte, quòd vobis meliùs & clariùs ore proprio exponerem prædicta quàm per aliqua ſcripta. Rogo itaque Deum omnipotentem ut vobis donet gratiam ordinandi ſuper iis quod fuerit melius & potentiam recuperandi tempore veſtro loca ſancta in quibus Dominus noſter Jeſus Chriſtus naſci & mori dignatus eſt pro generis humani ſalute.

Super unione ordinum, videlicet Templariorum & Hoſpitalariorum.

PATER ſanctiſſime, Quæſtioni quam facitis ſuper facto unionis religionum Templi & Hoſpitalis, ego magiſter Templi reſpondeo ſic. Certè recolo quòd Papa Gregorius, dum eſſet in Concilio Lugdunenſi, & ſanctus Ludovicus cum eo, & alii multi eccleſiaſtici & ſeculares, fuit etiam ibi frater Guillelmus de Bellojoco tunc magiſter Templi, & multi alii antiqui Fratres noſtri Ordinis cum eò. Fuit etiam de Ordine Hoſpitalis S. Joannis Frater Guillelmus de Corcellis cum pluribus aliis Fratribus & diſcretis ejuſdem Ordinis. Et dictus Papa Gregorius & S. Ludovicus voluerunt habere conſilium ſuper facto unionis prædictæ, & eorum intentio erat de omnibus religionibus armorum facere unam. Sed fuit reſponſum quòd Reges Hiſpaniæ nullatenus conſentirent propter tres religiones armorum quæ ſunt in patria ſua ſtabilitæ. Quare deliberatum fuit pro meliori quòd unaquæque religio deſideret in ſtatu ſuo. Item tempore Nicolai Papæ IV. propter perditionem Terræ Sanctæ quæ tunc fuit, quia Romani clamabant fortiter & alii populi eò quòd ſuccurſus ſufficiens ad defenſionem ipſius terræ non fuerat miſſus per eum, ad excuſationem quodam modo ſui, & ut appareret ſe vellere medium apponere circa negocia Terræ Sanctæ, refricavit ſeu reaſſumpſit verba unionis prædictæ, & tandem nihil fecit. Deinde Bonifacius Papa ſuper hoc fecit plurima verba, & tamen omnibus conſideratis, omnino pro meliori ceſſavit, prout ſcire poteris per aliquos Cardinalium qui fuerunt tempore ſuo.

Item, Pater ſancte, in facto unionis animadvertenda ſunt commoda & damna, honores & ſcandala quæ poſſunt ex hujuſmodi negocio provenire.

Primo quidem videtur mihi quòd non eſſet honor tam antiquas religiones, & quæ tanta bona fecerunt tam in Terra Sancta quàm alibi, nunc unire: quia timendum eſt ne contrarium accidat eorum quæ huc uſque fecerunt, quia numquam vel rarò fit novitas quæ non pariat pericula magna.

Item ſuper omnia timenda ſunt animarum pericula. Et hoc dico quia diverſiſſimum eſt & graviſſimum hominem qui ſponte Deo ſe vovit in habitu & profeſſione unius religionis compellere vitam & mores mutare vel aliam religionem aſſumere niſi velit.

Item & aliud grave periculum eſſet, ſi unio fieret, propter diviſionem hominum, ne inſtigante diabolo concertarent ad invicem dicentes: Nos melius valebamus, & plura faciebamus bona. Et per talem concertationem poſſent multa pericula provenire, quia Templarii & Hoſpitalarii habent arma. Et ſic facilè, ſi rumor inſurgeret inter ipſos, poſſet grave ſcandalum ſuſcitari.

Item ſi unio fieret, multùm oporteret quòd Templarii largarentur, vel Hoſpitalarii reſtringerentur in pluribus, & ex hoc poſſent animarum pericula provenire: quia pauci ſunt, prout credo, qui vellent vitam & mores aſſuetos mutare.

Item ſi unio fieret, maxima diminutio eſſet eleemoſynarum & bonorum quæ fiunt in qualibet religionum. Nam religio Hoſpitalariorum ſuper hoſpitalitate fundamenta eſt, & ultra hoc exercent militias, & multas faciunt eleemoſynas. Templarii verò ſuper militia propriè ſunt fundati & in omnibus eorum Baliviis ter in ſeptimana faciunt omnibus recipere volentibus eleemoſynam generalem, & donant continuè pauperibus decimam totius panis.

Item donant in conventu inter duos fratres tantum de carnibus quòd de reſiduo poſſent duo pauperes ſatiari. Unde ſi religiones eſſent unitæ, non facerent ſimul niſi quantum una facit ad præſens. Et hoc idem dicere poſſum de ſervitio Dei & divinis officiis.

Item in civitatibus & aliis locis ubi dictæ religiones habent plures domos, ſi unio fieret, una vaſtaretur, & alia remaneret in ſtatu, & quilibet vellet quòd ſua ſtatum haberet. Unde ſæpe diſcordia poſſet oriri. Et ubi duæ religiones habent plures præceptores, oporteret quòd unus eſſet præceptor & alii ſubeſſent. Unde quia malè contentarentur, facilè poſſet incurri diſcordia.

Item conventus Hoſpitalis habet Mariſcalcum, Commendatorem, Draparium, & alios plures officiales. Et hoc idem eſt in conventu Templi. Unde ex hoc poſſet briga maxima & diſcordia inter ipſos oriri, quia quilibet vellet tenere ſuos officiales in ſtatu.

Item ſi aliquis vellet objicere quòd pro extinguenda invidia quæ inter Templarios & Hoſpitalarios eſſe dicitur eſſet unio facienda, reſpondeo quòd maximum damnum eſſet Terræ Sanctæ tollere talem invidiam, & ex hoc proveniret magnum commodum Saracenis. Nam talis invidia ſemper attulit & honorem & commodum Chriſtianis, & contrarium Saracenis: quia ſi hoſpitalarii faciebant aliquod bonum exercitium armorum contra Saracenos, Templarii numquam ceſſabant niſi feciſſent tantumdem vel plus, & è converſo.

Item ſi Templarii faciebant magnum paſſagium fratrum, equorum, & aliarum beſtiarum, Hoſpitalarii non ceſſabant donec ſimilem feciſſent vel plus. Et iſta talis invidia, quæ ſemper viguit & viget inter eos, omni tempore fuit & eſt honorabilis & proficua Chriſtianis, Saracenis verò damnoſa.

Item ſi una religio habuit bonos milites & famoſos marinis & aliis bonis operibus, alia ſemper ſtuduit toto poſſe meliores habere. Et per talem invidiam utraque religio tales fecit expenſas continuè quòd ſemper gravatæ fuerunt maximis oneribus debitorum. Unde ſi duæ religiones fuiſſent in unum, non credo quòd ſuper prædictis tantum conati fuiſſent.

Item quòd per invidiam vel controverſiam quæ inter ipſos aliquo tempore fuiſſet, numquam ceſſavit fieri cavalcata contra Saracenos vel aliquod armorum officium, quin imò propter prædictam invidiam majora & meliora fiebant. Præterea numquam auditum fuit quòd ex aliqua cauſa ullus ipſorum apponeret manum violentam in alium.

Item apparet exemplum inter fratres Prædicatores & Minores, qui multos habent meliores clericos & magis famoſos quàm ſi ambæ religiones eſſent in unum: quia quælibet religio ſtudet excellentiores viros habere, & magis exercitat ſuos tam ad divinum officium quàm etiam ad ſermocinationem & prædicationem verbi Dei, quod totum redundat in honorem & commodum populi Chriſtiani.

Item quando Reges, Duces, Comites, ac etiam alii Barones populares peregrini, quicunque vadunt ad Terram Sanctam, & equitant manu armata contra Saracenos, ſemper conſuevit hoc fieri inter ipſos quòd una religio præcedit & facit cuſtodiam quæ dicitur avangarda, reliqua verò facit cuſtodiam quæ dicitur reregarda, & ſic extraneos inter ipſos cooperiunt & involvunt ſicut mater infantem. Et bene oportet hoc fieri, quia agnoſcunt modum Saracenorum, & Saraceni cognoſcunt eos, & quandocunque aliqui fecerunt cavalcatam ſine ipſis, malè ſucceſſit eis, ſecundùm quòd ſanctitati veſtræ referam cùm audire placuerit. Et ſi duæ religiones eſſent in unum, oporteret quòd alii quàm ipſi facerent ſive avangardiam, ſive reregardiam.

Item quicumque peregrini majores Domini vel minores venerunt ad Terram Sanctam, ſemper invenerunt refrigerium, recreationem, auxilium, & ſuccurſum ſive ab una, ſive ab altera religionum. Et ſi non fuiſſet niſi ſola religio, forſitan non inveniſſent ita largum remedium & ſuccurſum tam liberum. Et hoc idem dico de minimis ſervientibus, qui ſemper vel in una vel in altera religionum habuerunt bonum refugium.

Commoda verò vel profectus quæ de unione cognoſco ſunt hæc. Notorium eſt quòd omnes gentes conſueverunt habere multam devotionem ad religioſos. Quod totum videtur eſſe converſum; quia plurimi reperiuntur velle auferre religioſis quàm dare, & quaſi omnes libentiùs accipiunt quàm donent eiſdem, & multa gravamina continuè eis inferuntur per mundum tam à Prælatis quàm ab aliis viris potentibus & minoribus, ſive clericis, ſive laicis. Sed ſi talis unio fiat, religio erit tam fortis & potens quod bene defendet & poterit defendere jura ſua à quibuſcunque perſonis.

Item alium profectum cognoſco, quia facerent minores expenſas. Nam ubi modò tenentur duo hoſpitia, nonniſi unum teneretur; & ubi ſunt duo præceptores, vel duo Ballivi, non eſſet niſi unus, ſive in conventu ultramarino, ſive in provinciis & domibus ciſmarinis; & hæc eſſet maxima alleviato expenſarum. Unde, Pater ſancte, in prædictis omnibus continentur profectus & damna, honores & inhonores, vel pericula, quæ in facto unionis ſentio & cognoſco.

De conſilio verò noſtri conventus ac veterum proborum virorum ordinis noſtri exiſtentium citra mare & provincias & ballivias, quandocunque veſtræ ſanctitate placuerit audire, faciam ipſos ad invicem congregari etiam, ſi volueritis, coram vobis. Et tunc audire poteritis conſilium & voluntatem dicti noſtri conventus Fratrum prædictorum, & poſtmodum facere circa prædicta prout ſanctitati veſtræ melius & utilius apparebit.

Insuper, ſancte Pater, audivi vobis eſſe narratum quòd religioſi qui ſubſunt obedientiæ eſſent magis apti & proficui ad recuperationem & cuſtodiam Terræ Sanctæ quàm aliæ gentes. Quod quidem verum eſt, quia faciunt minores expenſas, & in domibus, campis, & factis armorum ſunt magis obedientes. Sed ſi intenditis redditus aſſignare taxatos, annuos & continuos, ad ſuſtinendum tot Equites & Armigeros quot viderentur poſſe teneri, melius reputarem quòd tales redditus aſſignarentur utrique religioni diviſim, ſcilicet Templi & Hoſpitalis, quàm ipſos unire, quia quilibet conantur etiam ultra poſſe ſuum debitum exercere. *Bal. Pap. Aven.* Tom. 2. p. 176.

PROOF V. *p. 207.*

Item quod tempore hujus Clementis Papæ contigit, ut fertur quod in quodam caſtro regio diœceſis Toloſanæ per officiales dicti Regis Franciæ quidam nomine Squinus de Floriano, civis Biterrenſis cum quodam fratre militiæ Templi apoſtata pro ſuis maleficiis capti fuerunt & in forti carcere ambo inſimul poſiti extiterunt. Cúmque dictus Squinus & ejus ſocius Templarius propter maleficia quæ perpetraverant de die in diem de ſua vita more navigantium ſe deſperarent, adinvicem peccata ſua confeſſi fuerunt. Qui quidem Templarius ſibi extitit confeſſus multos errores contra Deum & periculum animæ ſuæ atque unitatem fidei catholicæ, quod in ingreſſu ſui ordinis & poſtea pluribus vicibus ſe communicaſſet: quorum maleficiorum ſpeciem per ordinem enarravit. Quibus auditis, à cancellaria ſequenti die majorem officialem alterius caſtri regii ad ſe fecit convocari & ad eum adduci; qui quidem obtulit unum magnum factum Regi Franciæ revelare, de quo plures utilitates ipſe Rex habere poterat quàm ſi de novo acquireret unum regnum. Et ideo me bene captum & vinculatum ad eum perduci faciatis, ut dixit, quia nulli de mundo niſi dicto regi revelaret, eſto quòd ipſe mortem ſubiret temporalem.

Item quod cum ipſe officialis regius vidiſſet ut cum blandimentis, promiſſionibus, oblationibus & demum quod ipſe cum comminationibus præfatum Squinum inducere non poterat quod prædictum factum ſibi revelaret, ideo omnia præmiſſa per ordinem dicto Philippo Regi Franciæ ſcripſit & ſignificavit. Qui quidem ſtatim ſibi reſcripſit & injunxit ut ipſum Squinum ſub fideli cuſtodia ad eum Pariſius mitteret.

Item quod cum poſtea ipſis Squinus juxta mandatum Regis eidem Regi Pariſius fuiſſet præſentatus, ſtatim ipſum traxit ad partem ob ſcire veritatem de præmiſſis, promittens ſibi ſecuritatem corporis & commodum, ſi illa quæ dicebat veritatem continerent. Cùmque Squinus confeſſionem dicti Templarii apoſtatæ per ordinem ſibi explicaſſet, confeſtim ipſe Rex aliquos templarios capi fecit, & ſuper hoc cum eis informationem fieri fecit. Qua facta, & ſuper præmiſſis veritate reperta, ipſe Rex Franciæ ſcripſit multùm cautè & ſecretè omnibus officialibus ſuis in toto regno ſuo inſtitutis & cuilibet ipſorum ut certa die ipſi cum bona ſocietate bene armati eſſent parati, & deinde in ſequenti nocte quaſdam litteras ſuas ſecretas quilibet ipſorum officialium aperire deberet, & non ante ſub pœna capitis, quas cum aliis prædictis Rex prædictus miſerat eiſdem.

Item quod cum dicti officiales Regis literas ſuas recepiſſent, ſtatim illa die omnes bene armati & aſſociati fuerunt, videlicet III Idus Octobris, qui fuit dies Veneris. Et tunc in ſequenti nocte apertis litteris regiis ſupradictis, ſtatim quilibet ipſorum officialium per omnia loca eis commiſſa acceſſerunt & omnes templarios qui inveniri potuerunt ceperunt, & eos ſub fideli cuſtodia in fortaliciis ſuis poſuerunt. Et deinde quilibet officialis captiones ipſorum templariorum dicto regi Franciæ ſignificaverunt, prout ab ipſo hoc habuerunt in mandatis. De quorum captione totus mundus fuit admiratus.

Item quod cum poſtea magiſter militiæ Templariorum cum multis militibus & viris magnis ſui ordinis captus apud Pariſius coram Rege productus fuiſſet, tunc quidam ipſorum propter verecundiam veritatem de præmiſſis denegaverunt, & quidam alii ultra ipſam ſibi confeſſi fuerunt. Sed poſtea illi qui denegabant, cum tormentis ipſam tunc libenter confitebantur, & aliqui ipſorum in tormentis ſine confeſſione moriebantur vel comburebantur. Et tunc de confitentibus ultra veritatem ipſe mitiùs ſe habebat.

Item quod cum poſtmodum dictus Rex Franciæ de præmiſſis legitimè informatus fuiſſet, ſtatim omnia bona tam mobilia [quàm immobilia] dictorum Templariorum quæ in ſuo Regno reperta fuerunt confiſcari fecit, & ipſa tanquam rite confiſcata ſibi applicari pronuntiavit. Et deinde copiam omnium proceſſuum quos fecerat contra ordinem Templariorum & perſonas ipſorum & confiſcationes eorum ſub ſigillo ſuo ad ipſum Clementem Papam, qui apud civitatem Pictavenſem tunc cum ſua curia reſidebat, per ſolemnes nuncios tranſmiſit. De quibus fuit valde gaviſus. Nam antea ipſe & cardinales & plures alii & univerſi ſuper hoc dubitabant, cùm ille ordo fuiſſet tam à ſede apoſtolica quàm ab omnibus Principibus mundi ſummè privilegiatus & pluribus & diverſis ſpiritualibus & temporalibus eſſet ditatus.

Item quod cum deinde dictus Clemens cum ſuis Cardinalibus dictos proceſſus Regis Franciæ bene examinaſſet, & nihilominus Templarios quoſdam & eorum confeſſiones audiviſſet, videlicet quod omnes dicti ordinis Templariorum in eorum ingreſſu Dei filium abnegabant & ſuper crucem in vituperium ipſius ſpuebant, & poſtea homagium diabolo faciebant ut majorem fortunam & bonorum temporalium multiplicationem ipſi haberent, & ſi aliquis de ingredientibus ordinem eorum prædicta facere recuſaret, poſtea ab ipſis interficiebatur, & deinde pro diſſimulando nephandam & deteſtabilem vitam atque converſationem ipſorum magnas eleemoſynas Chriſti pauperibus erogabant, & in eorum Eccleſiis valde devotè perſiſtebant, & multa ſacrificia ibi celebrari faciebant, & infra & extra valde honeſtè incedebant. Et ulterius contra ipſos extitit repertum quòd ipſi magnum conſilium, auxilium, & favorem, communionem & confœderationem cum perfidis Sarracenis ultra mare contra Chriſtianos habebant, & quod ipſi, ut fertur, fuerunt cauſa perditionis civitatis Achon & totius terræ ſibi conjunctæ, quam antea Chriſtiani cruceſignati pro Chriſti fide & cum eorum magna ſanguinis effuſione acquiſiverant & eam longo tempore poſſederant pacificè & quietè. Cùmque idem Clemens de præmiſſis bene fuiſſet informatus, ſtatim ipſe ſcripſit per univerſum mundum omnibus Patriarchis, Archiepiſcopis & Epiſcopis, & ſub Bulla eis mandavit atque commiſit ut omnes Templarios quos in eorum civitatibus & diœceſibus invenire poſſent, ipſos caperent & contra ipſos juxta articulos per ipſum Papam eis tranſmiſſos inquirere & procedere deberent cum magno conſilio & deliberatione, ut ipſe in proximo ſuo Concilio generali providere poſſet, & iſte ordo Templariorum reformari vel potiùs annullari deberet.——

Item anno quo ſupra quinto Idus Maii Archiepiſcopus Senonenſis cum ſuis ſuffraganeis & eorum Prælatis Concilium Provinciale apud Pariſius ſolemniter celebravit. In quo quidem Concilio inter alia cum magna deliberatione quinquaginta & quatuor Templarii ex propriis eorum confeſſionibus voluntariis, ſed poſtea ab ipſis denegatis, ſententiati & canonicè judicati fuerunt, & poſtea juxta juris formam ſeculari curiæ ipſi traditi extiterunt; & deinde per ipſam ſecularem poteſtatem igne combuſti extiterunt. Et deinde poſt paucos dies alii quatuor Templarii eodem modo condemnati extiterunt & combuſti. Et poſtea alii novem Templarii in Concilio Remenſi infra menſem per Acrchiepiſcopum Remenſem & ſuos ſuffraganeos cum ſuis Prælatis in Silvanecto ſolemniter celebrato eodem modo & cauſa condemnati fuerunt & ſeculari curia traditi. Et deinde per ipſam curiam extiterunt combuſti.

Item quod anno quo ſupra, tertia die menſis Aprilis, præfatus Clemens Papa in conſiſtorio publico, præſente Philippo Rege Franciæ cum tribus filiis ſuis, videlicet Ludovico, Philippo, Carolo, ac etiam alio Carolo fratre dicti Regis, cum magna militia, quibus hujuſmodi negotium erat ſummè cordiale, & præſente gentium multitudine copioſa, caſſationem ordinis dictorum Templariorum ſolemniter publicavit. Qui quidem ordo jam duraverat per centum & octuaginta annos vel circa. Qui licet ipſi vixerint cum multis bonis temporalibus & Sedis Apoſtolicæ & Principum ſecularium, tamen ipſi cum bonis ſuis univerſis una die perierunt.

Item quod in dicto Concilio generali ſuper ſtatu perſonarum & temporalium bonorum ſic ſalubriter fuit ordinatum ut omnia bona dictorum Templariorum pro defenſione fidei catholicæ & infidelium perſecutione eſſent & eſſe deberent cum ſuis privilegiis & libertatibus diverſis temporibus militiæ Hoſpitalis ſancti Joannis Hieruſalem, cum certis tamen pactis & conditionibus ſuper hoc ſolemniter impoſitis & à dicta militia gratis receptis & approbatis.

Item quod aliquæ perſonæ notabiles & majores dictorum Templariorum ſub ordinatione & reſervatione Romani Pontificis reſervatæ fuerunt, & quòd de cæteris aliis Templariis per Metropolitanos & ſuos ſuffraganeos in Conciliis eorum Provincialibus, prout de ipſis ad quemlibet eorum pertinebit, diſponere debeant & poſſint atque ordinare, & quod etiam de illis Templariis qui ultra errores ſuos confeſſi fuerunt corde contriti ponentur in aliis religionibus à Sede Apoſtolica approbatis juxta ipſorum electionem ut ibi Deo ſerviant & de bonis olim Templariorum ſua victualia habere debeant; de illis Templariis qui fugerunt & legitimè non comparuerunt, juxta Concilia Provincialia contra ipſos canonicè procederent. Super autem ſtatu Eccleſia & libertate ipſius in dicto Concilio plura ſtatuta ſalubria ſtatuta & facta fuerunt, quæ hodie Clementinæ nuncupantur. Sed ipſe Clemens in multis aliis negotiis arduis impeditus, & poſtea morte præventus, iſtas conſtitutiones publicare nequivit.

Item quod poſtea anno quo ſuprà, in vigilia beati Gregorii Papæ, magiſter militiæ Templariorum cum uno alio magno de ſuo ordine Pariſius publicè de mandato Regis Franciæ extitit combuſtus, qui tamen cum conſilio Prælatorum & peritorum ad aliam pœnitentiam peragendam priùs fuerant condemnati. Nam Philippus Rex Franciæ cum conſilio ſuo noluit pati quod propter revocationem confeſſionis ſuæ, quam priùs fecerat dictus magiſter militiæ Templi & multi alii ſui ordinis, evaderent mortem temporalem; nullo tamen ſuper hoc judicio eccleſiaſtico convocato, neque ipſo expectato, quamvis tunc apud Pariſius duo Cardinales Apoſtolicæ Sedis Legati eſſent præſentes. *Bal. Pap. Aven.* Tom. 1. p. 99.

PAPÆ PRO TEMPLARIIS.

Papæ Rex, devota pedum oſcula beatorum.

Gravissimus, hiis diebus, apud nos de Magiſtro & Fratribus Ordinis militiæ Templi rumor ebulivit infamiæ, rumor quippe amaritudine plenus, cogitatu terribilis, horribilis auditu, & ſcelere deteſtabilis, cujus qualitate, ſi veritate niteretur, penſata eò graviori pœnâ forent plectendi, quò profundior reatûs immenſitas eſt à cunctis Chriſti fidelibus reputanda.

Et quia prædicti Magiſter & Fratres, in Fidei Catholicæ puritate conſtantes, à nobis, & ab omnibus de Regno noſtro tam vitâ, quàm moribus habentur multipliciter commendati, non poſſumus hujuſmodi ſuſpectis relatibus dare fidem, donec ſuper hiis nobis plenior innotuerit certitudo.

Nos itaque, prædictorum Magiſtri & Fratrum afflictionibus & jacturis, quas occaſione hujuſmodi infamiæ patiuntur, compatientes ex animo, ſanctitati veſtræ affectuoſiſſimè ſupplicamus quatenus eorumdem, Magiſtri & Fratrum bonæ famæ oportunis, ſi placet, favoribus conſulentes, ſiniſtris detractionibus, & calumniis, ac criminibus, per aliquos æmulos & reprobæ voluntatis, qui illorum merita ad perverſitatis opera, cultui divino oppoſita, reducere moliuntur, ipſis impoſitis, dignemini clementiùs obviare, quo uſque hujuſmodi crimina, ut prædicitur, eis impoſita, ſi quæ fuerint, in forma juris coram vobis, ſeu vices noſtras gerentibus in hac parte, clariùs ſint detecta.

Conservet, &c.

Dat. apud Weſt. 10. die Decembris, anno Regni noſtri primo. *Idem pag.* 37. *ad ann.* 1307.

Ad Reges Portugaliæ, Caſtellæ, Siciliæ, & Arragoniæ, de non credendo ſuggeſtionibus contra Templarios.

Magnifico Principi, Domino Dioniſio, Dei gratiâ, Regi Portugalliæ illuſtri, amico ſuo cariſſimo, Edwardus, eadem gratiâ, Rex Angliæ, &c. Salutem & felices ad vota ſucceſſus.

Illos, quos, pro defenſione Fidei Catholicæ, ac impugnatione hoſtium Crucis Chriſti, actus ſtrenui laboriſque prolixitas recommendant, decet & convenit, prout ad honorem Dei & exaltationem Fidei congruerit, proſequi cum favore.

Sane nuper, ad noſtram accedens præſentiam, quidem Clericus, qui ad ſubvertendum Ordinem Fratrum militiæ Templi Hieroſolimitani appoſuit, ut videbatur, omni ſtructio, quo potuit, vires ſuas.

NONNULLÆ horrenda, & deteſtabilia, ac Fidei Catholicæ repugnantia coram nobis, in Conſilio noſtro, in diffamationem Fratrum Prædicatorum, proponere tunc præſumpſit; cupiens nos inducere, tùm per ea quæ ſic propoſuit, tùm etiam per litteras quorumdam, quas nobis dirigi procuraverat ex hac causâ, ut Fratres ordinis prædicti, infra noſtrum Dominium commorantes, occaſione præmiſſorum, ſine debita cauſæ cognitione, carcerali cuſtodiæ traderemus.

CONSIDERANTES autem quod ordo prædictus, qui religione & honeſtate præclarus, & ab olim à Catholicis Patribus extitit, ut didicimus, inſtitutus, devotionem debitam exhibet, &, à tempore ſuæ fundationis, exbibuet Deo & Eccleſia ſuæ ſanctæ: necnon magnum huc uſque, pro ſalvatione fidei Catholicæ, in ultra marinis partibus, ſubſidium præſtitit & tutelam;

HUJUSMODI ſuggeſtioni, de Fratribus ordinis prædicti propoſitæ, & hactenus inauditæ, fidem credulam abhibendam fuiſſe nobis minimè videbatur,

VESTRAM igitur Regiam majeſtatem affectuoſe requirimus & rogamus, quatenus, præmiſſis cum diligentiâ debitâ ponderatis, aures veſtras à perverſorum detractionibus, qui, ut credimus, non zelo rectitudinis, ſed cupiditatis & invidiæ ſpiritibus excitantur, advertere velitis;

NULLAM indeliberate Fratribus ordinis prædicti, in Regno veſtro commorantibus, ad cujuſquam ſuggeſtionem, ſi placet, in perſonis, aut rebus eorum moleſtiam inferendo, ſeu ab aliis inferri permittendo, quo uſque eos ſuper ſibi impetitis legaliter convinci, ſeu aliud contra eos ordinari contigerit in hac parte. Dat. apud Redyng 4. die Decembris. Conſimiles litteræ diriguntur ſubſcriptis; videlicet, Domino Ferando, Regi Caſtellæ & Ligionis, conſanguineo Regis. Domino Carolo, Regi Siciliæ, conſanguineo Regis. Jacobo Regi Arragoniæ, amico Regis. *Rymer tom. 3. ad anno.* 1307.

PROOF VI. *p.* 208.

Litera Papæ directa Regi Franciæ propter factum Templariorum.

CLEMENS Epiſcopus ſervus ſervorum Dei cariſſimo in Chriſto filio Philippo Regi Franciæ illuſtri, Salutem & apoſtolicam benedictionem. Propter fervens deſiderium quod ad recuperationem Terræ Sanctæ & ejus defenſionem novimus te habere, ad gaudium tuum & exultationem tibi tenore præſentium intimamus quòd ſi oporteat ordinem Templariorum ſuis exigentibus demeritis diſſolvi, caſſari, vel tolli, omnia bona & jura, redditus & proventus, in quibuſcunque juribus vel rebus conſiſtant, quæ habet in præſenti vel habere reperietur in futurum, Terræ Sanctæ ſubſidio volumus deputari, nec ad aliquem alium uſum converti, nec nos vel ſucceſſores noſtri ab illis qui prædicta bona cuſtodient vel tenebunt in aliquo alio caſu vel ad aliquem uſum repetemus. Datum Pictavis 9. die Julii, Pontificatûs noſtri anno tertio.

PROOF VII. *p.* 209.

Opinio ejuſdem ſuadentis Regi Philippo ut regnum Hieroſolymitanum & Cypri acquireret pro altero filiorum ſuorum. Ac de invaſione regni Ægypti, & de diſpoſitione bonorum ordinis Templariorum.

QUONIAM, ut ait Apoſtolus, omnis Chriſti actio noſtra debet eſſe inſtructio, & omnia quæcunque ſcripta ſunt ad noſtram doctrinam ſcripta ſunt, conſiderato quod in primo libro Regum legimus quod cum populus Iſraeliticus præ cæteris Deo carus Regem ab ipſo ſibi dari poſtulaſſet, ipſe Deus dedit eis Regem Saulem, qui ab humeris & ſupra toti populo ſupereminebat, quem ſciebat Dominus futurum eſſe non obedientem ſibi, & idcirco regimen ejus durare nos poſſe, motus figuraliter, ut videtur, ad ipſum eligendum ut exemplum ſic faciendi nobis daret, videlicet quod nos futuros hominum eventus ignorantes, bonitatem eminentem conſiderantes, & latentes bonitates piè præſumentes, ubi Rex eſt eligendus, ſimilem ad magnum Babylonis & Ægypti, quod Aſſyriorum dicitur, regnum eligamus & nominemus, reſiduum diſpoſitioni creatoris, qui ab æterno novit omnia, relinquentes, videlicet Dominum

Philippum ſecundogenitum illuſtriſſimi Principis Domini Regis Francorum, quoniam durum eſſet ad aliquem de majoribus mundi hujus honoribus non vocari. Sed quoniam ut in canone ſcriptum eſt, *Nemo ſibi honorem aſſumat, ſed qui vocatur à Domino ſicut Aaron*, præmiſſa & alia plurima mundi hujus expendenda honeſta, perquàm utilia, naturaliter ac veriſimiliter poſſibilia conſiderans amator ſalutis totius reipublicæ chriſticolarum, eamque propriæ ſaluti & utilitati præponens, ut ex multis ſuis operibus poteſt veriſimiliter apparere, intra ſe conferendo & ratiocinando, per hanc ſcripturam breviter voluit explicare, ob prædicti Domini Regis ſollicitudines, prout poteſt, prolixitatem vitando, breviter ad præſens ſcribere voluit & probare contra renitentes de probando pleniſſimè, proteſtando videlicet quòd Dominus Rex de facili poteſt ſuum nobiliſſimum filium ſecundogenitum honorare & præ omnibus viventibus ditare ſine cujuſquam injuria, declinando, prout oportet in monibus agendis facere, quodcunque mortale peccatum.——

Rex Cypri inducatur ad dandum ordini ſe cum omnibus bonis ſuis, & maxime jus, ſi quod habet, in regno Hieruſalem, & ſubrogetur loco dictorum ordinum militiæ *regalis ordo*, cui præferatur Rex Cypri, ut in dicta epiſtola caveatur, & ſuccedant alii catholici religioſi Reges Hieruſalem poſt ipſum, qui Rex ordinis Reges Babylonis, Acon & alios catholicos pro ſuis viribus juxta diſpoſitionem Papæ Regiſque Francorum contra ſingulos infideles & ſchiſmaticos juvare pro totis ſuis viribus teneatur & de ſingulis theſauris reſiduis rationem pro quolibet anno reddere, videlicet quatenus ſupererit ultra impenſas ordinis regalis, ut fratres ordinis ad inſtar Judæ furis loculos habentes non poſſint ordinem prægravare nec in præjudicium reipublicæ chriſticolarum Regumque prædictorum bona ſumere ſaluti reipublicæ dedicata.

De bonis verò quæ Templariorum fuiſſe dicuntur, videlicet de mobilibus extantibus, & de fructibus ac leveiis futuri temporis uſque ad quinque vel ſex annos, expediret juvare dictum ordinem ut centum galeas ſeu plures habens, cum pugnatoribus idoneis mare cuſtodiendo Soldanum gravare, & terram mari proximam, quæ dicitur durare per xxx. dietas, gravaret ac depauperaret in tantum quod Soldanus & ſui generali paſſagio veniente non poſſent reſiſtere, imò interim ſubſidio maris & honorum quæ per ipſum conſueverunt habere carentes, dante Domino poſſent de facili ſuperari & devinci, prout hoc fore poſſibile teſtantur prudentes & experti milites de partibus illis nati, qui Babylonem & Ægyptum cum eorum habitatoribus profitentur ſe vidiſſe & ob hunc finem diligenter conſideraſſe.——

Apparere liquidò poteſt cuilibet futuros eventus rerum probabiles intuenti quod dicta ordinatio bonorum, quæ data fuit Templariis ob cauſam quæ non fuit ſubſecuta, & ob hoc eſt revocanda donatio, non ut ad profanos uſus revertatur, ſed ut convertatur in finem debitum, quacunque dubitatione ceſſante proderit Prælatis & toti populo in recompenſationem impenſarum quas fecerunt negotium demolitionis ordinis & punitionis perſonarum proſequendo. Nam ſubſidium terræ ſanctæ, ceſſante decimarum exactione, eleemoſynarum & crucesignationis ſolita petitione, munitionem habebit pro ſtipendiis ſeu gagiis pugnatorum qui neceſſarii erunt perſolvendis, nec oportebit Principes catholicos de locis remotis illuc ire, terrarum ſuarum regimina dimittendo, vitas ſuas abbreviando, ſicut hiſtoriæ multotiens contigiſſe teſtantur. Ex talibus itineribus, quæ parum profuerunt, quoniam non durarunt partiales conqueſtus, liquet præſertim regno Franciæ plurima diſpendia contigiſſe. Proderunt etiam aliquando theſauri pro Terra Sancta ſic congregati Principibus locorum; quia ſi ſubitò veniente guerra tanta egeant pecunia, poterunt eam paratam petere & habere, de reddendo cùm petetur caventes, & per miſſiones pugnatorum exonerabuntur regiones de juvenibus ſine cuſtu ſuorum proximorum, qui non haberent unde honeſtè viverent in locis ſuarum nationum. Per viam prædictam totus populus Ægyptiacus ad fidem catholicam de facili convertetur, ut de ſervitute in libertatem erigatur. Pharao per providentiam & promiſſionem Joſeph, qui ſeptem annis fertilibus granum collegit, in ſequentibus ſeptem ſterilibus annis mediante grano repoſito patres & filios comparavit & ex tunc in ſervitutem redegit. Propter quod populus de omnibus fructibus terræ, quæ multùm fertilis eſt, ſolùm percipit pauperem victum & veſtitum. Et idcirco dicunt qui illuc fuerunt, quòd Soldanus anno quolibet percipit à populo plus quàm ſexies centum millia biſantiorum auri, quolibet valente ſex florenos. Et ſic, cùm terra promiſſionis à catholicis poſſeſſa & ſufficienter gubernata erit, cùm hoſtes aliunde nullo modo poſſent Ægyptum intrare niſi per mare prope Babylonem, videlicet propter fortiſſimas clauſuras deſerti, liquet quòd abſente Domino terra poſſet per paucos & cum ſumptibus modicis cuſtodiri, & prout in dicta epiſtola cavetur, pace firmata inter Principes catholicos, promiſſiſque ſub bonis cautionibus ab eiſdem ſibi invicem ſubſidiis & ſuccurſibus opportunis, non eſſet qui contra quemquam eorum guerram movere auderet; & ſi moveret, qui non confunderetur per tot & tantos circumdatus brevi manu. Sic Rex Ægypti cum auxilio Ordinis regalis & aliorum Principum ac multitudinis fortium pugnatorum ad eum confluentium propter lucra captanda, quoniam in terris nationum ſuarum ocioſi, ceſſantibus ibi guerris, honeſtè ſine penuria vivere non poſſent, poſſet cum Dei adjutorio omnes populos Orientales & etiam Occidentales ultra mare Mediterraneum habitantes ſibi ſubjugare, & ad fidem attrahere chriſtianam, plurimùm adjuvante proviſione ſcholarium facta in epiſtola ſupradicta. Quoniam diſponente & cauſante cæleſtis harmoniæ benevolentia, generati, nati, & nutriti in regno Francorum, præſertim propè Pariſius, in moribus, conſtantia, fortitudine, & pulchritudine natos in aliis regionibus naturaliter plurimùm præcellunt, ſicut naturaliter probavit experientia, quæ eſt ſumma rerum magiſtra, expediret quòd prædictus filius naturaliter præ omnibus ſummè diſpoſitus tantum in Francia remaneret, quòd ibi antequam recederet plures filios dimitteret ibidem nutriendos & erudiendos, & antequàm recederent ſimiliter facturos; ut omnes Reges Ægypti, Acon, & Imperatores Conſtantinopolitani, ſi heredes Imperatoris, ut expediret, ſic facerent in Francia generati, nati, nutriti & eruditi, bonitatem domus Domini Regis Franciæ, pulchritudinem & fortitudinem incolarum loci perpetuò ſortirentur, regnum ejus, ſummum Principem, ac ejus liberos, totumque genus, Barones & populum perpetuò diligerent, & toti regno de pretioſis rebus Orientalibus facerent & curarent, prout eſſet poſſibile, provideri. Sic filius ſupradictus ad Dominum patrem ſuum ceſſante quolibet periculo redire poſſet, cùm ejus filius militans ad ipſum accederet. Sic populus Orientalis Dominum ſuum ſemper videret in flore juventutis & pulchritudinis naturalis, & ipſum videre ſuper omnia deſideraret, ipſumque timeret, cùm juvenem fulgentem ut virum fortiter obſtagiare videret.

Si aliquis dicit: Fortè Rex Cypri præmiſſa facere recuſabit, reſponderi poteſt quòd non eſt veriſimile; quoniam ipſe uxorem & liberos non habens, in domibus ſuis jamdiu eſt religiosè, ac in contemplatione vivere conſuevit, & frater ſuus ab inteſtato ſibi ſucceſſurus abſtulit ab eo & rapuit theſauros per ipſum Regem ob recuperationem Terræ ſanctæ congregatos, & ipſum regnum injuſtè viſus eſt & nititur invadere & auferre, feloniam committendo, ab ejus ſucceſſione ſe indignum faciendo, in mortem ipſius Regis pluries machinando, & ad ipſum occidendum mittendo. Super quo expediret ipſum Regem Cypri ex parte Domini Papæ & ſecretè & citò interpellari per aliquem ſapientem, cum procuratore quem habet idem Rex in curia Romana, videlicet Bomundo dicto Bonin Milite. Et ut omnia de conſenſu fierent, poſt ingreſſum religionis & factam donationem, ut brigua totaliter tolleretur, expediret fratri dicti Regis in terra promiſſionis vel alibi dare bonum comitatum ut taceret. Et ſi Rex Cypri hoc recuſaret, Dominus Rex Siciliæ jure ſuo uti vel ipſum in alium transferre poſſet. Et Comes de Brienne proſequi poſſet jus quod habere dicitur in regno Cypri, ſi adhuc extat, ut fore creditur, hominum memoria de tempore quo idem Comes regnum Cypri habuiſſet, ſi illuc accedere potuiſſet. Regi verò Siciliæ ultra precium pro regno Hieruſalem ſolutum promitti poſſet regnum Tunicii, Siciliæ tam proximum quòd de una terrarum alia videtur, videlicet poſt conquæſtum regni Hieruſalem cum ipſius Regis Siciliæ auxilio per Regem Hieruſalem & alios catholicos favente Domino conquæſtandum. * * *

Et quia Papa ſe proponit à Domino Rege elongare, placeat eidem Domino Regi præmiſſa citò videre, ut ſi expediens videat, cum ipſo Papa ſuper eis tam ſecretum quàm publicum habeat colloquium & tractatum, juxta verbum Domini Jeſu, qui ait: *Ambulate dum lucem habetis. Bal. Pap. Aven. tom.* II. *pag.* 186.

PROOF VIII. *p.* 211.

LE Roy ſe plaignoit en primieur de ce que le Papa étoit froid à le ſeconder en cette juſte pourſuite, la choſe étant ſans difficulté, que Dieu ne déteſte rien tant que les tiedes: que c'étoit apporter du conſentement aux crimes des accuſez, & leur donner aſſurance de ne reconnoître leurs fautes: qu'il faudroit plûtôt que le Pape excitât les Prelats ordinaires des lieux d'y faire leur devoir pour l' extirpation de cet Ordre, étant appellez avec lui *in partem ſolicitudinis*, qui peuvent beaucoup mieux faire & inſtruire une telle affaire dans leurs dioceſes, que ceux qui n'y ont point d' habitude; il ajoute: *Gravis, quod abſit, fieret injuria, ſi ſine juſta cauſa miniſterium à Deo ſibi traditum, & defenſionis fidei meritum auferretur Epiſcopis; nec Prælati talem injuriam meruerunt, nec hanc ferre poſſent, nec (ſcilicet Rex) ſalvo ſuo juramento poſſet hoc tolerare, eſſetque peccatum graviſſimum ſpernere eos quos Deus miſit: qui vos enim ſpernit, me ſpernit, ait Dominus. Quis ergo ſacrilegus vobis, Pater, præſumet conſulere quòd vos ſpernitis, imò potiùs Jeſum Chriſtum eos mittentem?* Que le Pape eſt ſujet aux loix de ſes prédéceſſeurs, juſques-là que quelques-uns ont dit que le Pape *in canonem latæ ſententiæ poteſt incidere, maximè in cauſa fidei ipſo facto.* Que la ſuſpenſion qu'avoit fait le Pape du pouvoir des Inquiſiteurs étoit fort préjudiciable à cette affaire, donnant eſperance aux Templiers de trouver de la faveur près de lui, où l'affaire ne prendra jamais fin; que depuis cela quelques-uns ont varié en leurs dépoſitions. Sur la fin ayant exageré les méchancetez des Templiers, il remarque, que jamais Roy, ni Prince, ni aucun autre particulier, ſinon ceux de l' Ordre, ont pû voir la reception d' un des Freres de l'Ordre, & qu'elles ſont toutes clandeſtines: Que le Roy de France, *Rex Catholicus, non ut accuſator, non ut denuntiator, vel partialis promotor hæc ſuſcepit, ſed ut Dei miniſter, pugil fidei Catholicæ, legis divinæ zelator, ad defenſionem Eccleſiæ juxta traditiones SS. Patrum; de qua tenetur Deo reddere rationem.* Condamnation des Templiers, Tréſor des Chartres Layette 1. n. 34. pag. 11. ann. 1307.

EN l'an de l'Incarnation 1309. les Templiers tant à Paris comme vers le moulin de S. Antoine prés du chemin de Senlis, après les Conciles prononcez ſur les choſes illec celebrées, furent arz, & la chair & les os ramenez en poudre, deſquels Templiers deſſuſdits l' un le Mardi après la fête S. Nicolas en Mai vers celui moulin fut ars, ainſi comme deſſus eſt dit. Mais ils eurent moult à ſouffrir de peine & de douleur, & ne voulurent onc rien recognoitre en leur deſtruction, pour laquelle choſe ils eſtimoient que leurs ames en peurent avoir perpetuel damnement; car ils mirent le menu peuple en grand erreur; & pour ce après ce en ſuivant la veille de l'Aſcenſion Nôtre Seigneur, les autres Templiers furent ars, & la chair & les os ramenez en poudre, deſquels l' un étoit Aumônier du Roy qui tant d' honneur avoit eu en ce monde: mais oncques de ſes meffaits n'eut aucune cognoiſſance.

PROOF IX. *p.* 216.

CLEMENS Epiſcopus Servus Servorum Dei ad perpetuam rei memoriam:

AD providam Chriſti Vicarii præſidentis in ſpecula, Apoſtolicæ dignitatis circunſpectionem pertinet, vices penſare temporum, emergentium negotiorum cauſas diſcutere, ac perſonarum attendere qualitates, ut ad ſingula debitum dirigens neceſſariæ conſiderationis intuitum & opportunæ manum operationis apponens, de agro Domini ſic vitiorum tribulos eruat, & virtutes amplificet, ſic prævaricantium ſpinas tollat, & evellendo plus plantet, quàm deſtruat, & in loca vacua per eradicationem nocentium tribulorum, devota Deo plantaria transferendo, potiorem præbeat, de proviſa & utili eorumdem locorum unione & tranſlatione lætitiam quam vera juſtitia, quæ compaſſionem habet, dolorem intulerit demerentium perſonarum locorum hujuſmodi per ruinam: ſic enim ſufferendo quod officit, & ſubrogando quod proficit, virtutum profectus amplificat, ſublata & de medio meliori ſubrogatione reſtaurat: dudum ſi quidam ordinem domus militiæ Templi

Hieroſolymitani propter Magiſtrum & Fratres, cæteraſque perſonas dicti Ordinis in quibuſlibet mundi partibus conſiſtentes variis & diverſis, non tam neſandis quàm infandis, proh dolor! errorum & ſcelerum obſcænitatibus, pravitatibus, maculis, & labe reſperſos, quæ propter triſtem & ſpurcidam eorum memoriam, noſtris litteris ſubticemus, ejuſdemque Ordinis ſtatum, habitum, atque nomen non ſine cordis amaritudine & dolore, ſacro approbante Conſilio *non per modum definitivæ ſententiæ*; cùm eam ſuper hoc ſecundum inquiſitiones, & proceſſus ſuper iis, habitos, non *poſſemus ferre de jure*, ſed *per viam proviſionis*, *ſeu Ordinationis Apoſtolicæ*, irrefragabili & perpetuò valitura ſubſtulimus ſanctione, ipſum prohibitioni perpetuæ ſupponentes, diſtrictiùs inhibendo nequis dictum Ordinem de cætero intrare, vel ejus habitum ſuſcipere, vel portare, aut pro Templario gerere ſe præſumeret. Quod ſi quis contra faceret, excommunicationis incurreret ſententiam ipſo facto. Univerſa etiam bona Ordinis prælibati Apoſtolicæ ſedis ordinationi & diſpoſitioni authoritate Apoſtolica duximus reſervanda: inhibentes diſtrictiùs ne quis cujuſcumque conditionis, vel ſtatus exiſteret, ſe de perſonis, vel bonis hujuſmodi aliquatenus intromitteret, vel circa ea in præjudicium ordinationis, ſeu diſpoſitionis Apoſtolicæ per ſedem eandem, ut præmittitur, faciendæ, aliquid faceret, innovaret vel etiam attemptaret, decernentes ex tunc irritum & inane ſi ſecus à quoquam ſcienter vel ignoranter contingeret attemptari, ac poſtmodum ne dicta bona quæ dudum ad ſubſidium Terræ Sanctæ, & impugnationem inimicorum fidei Chriſtianæ à Chriſti cultoribus data, legata, conceſſa & acquiſita fuerint, debita gubernatione carentia tanquam vacantia deperirent, vel converterentur in uſus alios, quàm in illos ad quos fuerant pia devotione fidelium deputata, vel propter tarditatem ordinationis, & diſpoſitionis hujuſmodi eorum deſtructio, vel dilapidatio ſequeretur, cum fratribus noſtris, Sanctæ Romanæ Eccleſiæ Cardinalibus, nec non Patriarchis, Archiepiſcopis, Epiſcopis & Prælatis, ac etiam cum non nullis excellentibus & illuſtribus perſonis, cum reliquorum quoque abſentium Prælatorum, ac etiam Capitulorum & conventuum Eccleſiarum, & Monaſteriorum Procuratoribus, in dicto conſilio conſtitutis, habuimus ardua moroſa & diverſa conſilia, & tractatus, ut per hujuſmodi conſiliorum, & tractatuum deliberationem præhabitam diligentem, dictorum bonorum ordinatio & diſpoſitio ad honorem Dei, augmentum fidei, exaltationem Eccleſiæ, dictæ Terræ ſubſidium, ſalutem quoque fidelium & quietem, ſalubris & utilis proveniret. Poſt utique longa præmeditata proviſa & matura conſilia, ſuadentibus plurimis juſtis cauſis, noſtra & dictorum Fratrum nec non Patriarcharum, Archiepiſcoporum, Epiſcoporum & aliorum Prælatorum, ac excellentium & illuſtrium perſonarum prædictorum, in dicto Concilio tunc præſentium deliberationes, & conſilia in hoc finaliter reciderunt, ut prædicta bona Ordini hoſpitalis ſancti Joannis Hieroſolymitani & ipſi Hoſpitali ac dilectis filiis Magiſtro & Fratribus Hoſpitalis ejuſdem, nomine Hoſpitalis & Ordinis eorumdem, qui tanquam athletæ Domini pro defenſione fidei, ſe periculis mortis jugiter exponentes, oneroſa nimis & periculoſa diſpendia continuè perferunt in partibus tranſmarinis, in perpetuum unirentur. Nos igitur inter cætera mundi loca, in quibus vigere dignoſcitur obſervantia regularis, dictum Ordinem Hoſpitalis, & ipſum Hoſpitale ſinceræ charitatis plenitudine proſequentes, ac attendentes quòd ſicut evidentia facti docet, in eo divinis obſequiis ferventer inſiſtitur, pietatis & miſericordiæ opera vigilantibus ſtudiis exercerentur, Fratres Hoſpitalis ipſius mundanis ſpretis illecebris devotum impendentes Altiſſimo famulatum, ac pro recuperatione Terræ prædictæ tanquam intrepidi Chriſti pugiles ferventibus ſtudiis & deſideriis intendentes, quælibet ducunt humana pericula in contemptum; conſiderantes quoque quòd ex hoc tantò eorumdem Magiſtri & Fratrum dictarum ordine & hoſpitalis creſcet ſtrenuitas, animorum fervor augebitur, & ipſorum roborabitur fortitudo ad propulſandas noſtri Redemptoris injurias & hoſtes ejuſdem fidei conterendos, quantò ipſorum potentia in opulentioribus facultatibus augmentata onera quæ proſecutionis tanti negotii neceſſitas exigit, levius & facilius poterunt ſupportare, ac propterea non indiget vigiles reddere, ſtudiiſque ſollicitis, excitare, ut ad ſui ſtatus augmentum opem & operam impendamus, eodem ſacro approbante Concilio, ipſam domum militiæ Templi cæteraſque domos, Eccleſias, Capellas, Oratoria, Civitates, Caſtra, Villas, Terras, Grangias & loca, poſſeſſiones, juriſdictiones, redditus atque jura, omniaque alia bona immobilia & mobilia vel ſe moventia cum omnibus membris juribus & pertinentiis ſuis ultra & citra mare ac in univerſis & quibuſlibet mundi partibus conſiſtentia, quæ ipſe Ordo & dicti Magiſter & Fratres ipſius Ordinis militiæ Templi, tempore quo ipſe Magiſter & nonnulli ex eiſdem Fratribus militiæ Templi in regno Franciæ communiter capti fuerunt, videlicet anno Domini milleſimo trecenteſimo octavo menſe Octobris, per ſe vel quoſcumque alios habebant, tenebant & poſſidebant: vel ad eoſdem domum & ordinem militiæ Templi quomodo libet pertinebant, necnon nomina, actiones & jura quæ prædicto tempore captionis ipſorum eiſdem Domui, Ordini vel perſonis ipſius Ordinis militiæ Templi, quocumque modo competebant, vel competere poterant, contra quoſcunque, cujuſcumque dignitatis, ſtatus, vel conditionis extiterant, cum omnibus privilegiis, indulgentiis, immunitatibus & libertatibus quibus præfati Magiſter & Fratres dictorum domus & Ordinis militiæ Templi & ipſa Domus & Ordo, per ſedem Apoſtolicam, vel per Catholicos Imperatores, Reges, & Principes, & fideles alios, vel quocunque alio modo erant legitimè communiti, eidem Ordini hoſpitalis ſancti Joannis Hieroſolymitani, & ipſi Hoſpitali donamus, concedimus, univimus, incorporavimus, applicamus & annectimus in perpetuum de Apoſtolicæ plenitudine poteſtatis. Exceptis bonis quondam dicti Ordinis militiæ Templi conſiſtentibus in regnis & terris chariſſimorum in Chriſto filiorum noſtrorum, Caſtellæ, Aragoniæ, Portugaliæ & Majoricationum Regum illuſtrium extra regnum Franciæ, quæ à donatione, conceſſione, unione, applicatione, incorporatione & annectione prædictis, ſpecialiter excipienda duximus ac etiam excludenda; ea nihilominus diſpoſitioni & ordinationi ſedis Apoſtolicæ reſervantes, inhibitionem dudum per alios proceſſus noſtros factam, ne quis videlicet cujuſcunque conditionis vel ſtatus exiſteret ſe de perſonis & bonis hujuſmodi aliquatenus intromitteret, vel circa ea in præjudicium ordinationis, ſeu diſpoſitionis ſedis ejuſdem faciendæ de illis, nec non decreti noſtri interpoſitionem quoad perſonas, & bona in dictis regnis & terris eorumdem regum proximè expreſſorum conſiſtentia omnino manere volentes in pleno robore firmitatis, quouſque de perſonis & rebus prædictis in eiſdem regnis & terris conſiſtentibus per diſpoſitionem ſedis ejuſdem fuerit aliter ordinatum. Occupatores quoque dictorum bonorum, aut illicitos detemptores, cujuſcumque ſtatus, conditionis, excellentiæ vel dignitatis extiterint, etiamſi pontificali, imperiali, vel regali præfulgeant dignitate, niſi intra unius menſis ſpatium poſtquam ſuper hoc per dictos Magiſtrum & Fratres ipſius Hoſpitalis vel ipſorum quemlibet aut procuratorem, ſeu procuratores eorum fuerint requiſiti dicta bona diviſerint, illaque plenè & licitè reſtituerint Ordini ipſius Hoſpitalis & eidem Hoſpitali, aut Magiſtro, ſeu Prioribus vel Præceptoribus, aut Fratribus Hoſpitalis ejuſdem in quibuſcumque partibus & provinciis conſtitutis, eorumque ſingulis, vel procuratori, ſeu procuratoribus eorumdem ejuſdem Ordinis ipſius Hoſpitalis nomine, etiamſi dicti Priores, Præceptores & Fratres ipſius Hoſpitalis, & Procuratores ipſorum & eorum quilibet, à dicto Magiſtro ipſius Hoſpitalis, mandatum ſuper hoc ſpecialiter non haberent, dummodo Procuratores prædicti, à dictis Prioribus & Præceptoribus, vel aliorum ſingulis in Provinciis & partibus in quibus hujuſmodi Priores, Præceptores extiterint deputati, mandatum ſuper hoc habuerint, vel oſtenderint ſpeciale. Qui omnes & ſinguli videlicet Priores & Præceptores & Fratres dicto Magiſtro, Procuratores verò prædicti eiſdem Prioribus & Præceptoribus eorumque ſingulis, à quibus ſuper hæc fuerint deputati, plenum ſuper omnibus geſtis, actis receptis & procuratis per eos quomodo libet in hac parte computum & rationem ponere & reddere teneantur: necnon omnes qui ſcienter occupatoribus & detemptoribus prælibatis in occupatione, vel detemptione hujuſmodi dederint conſilium, auxilium vel favorem publicè, vel occultè, excommunicamus; capitula vero, collegia ſeu conventus Eccleſiarum & Monaſteriorum, nec non univerſitates, civitatum, caſtrorum, villarum & aliorum locorum, ipſas civitates, caſtra, villas & loca quæ in eis culpabilia extiterint, ac etiam civitates, caſtra & loca in quibus detemptores & occupatores hujuſmodi dominium obtinuerint temporale, ſi hujuſmodi Domini temporales in dimittendo bona prædicta & reſtituendo illa Magiſtro & Fratribus Ordinis

& Hoſpitalis ejuſdem, nomine Hoſpitalis ipſius, obſtaculum adhibebunt, & intra dictum menſem ab hujuſmodi præmiſſis non deſtiterint, poſtquam ſuper hoc, ut præmittitur, fuerint requiſiti, ipſo facto interdicti ſententiis decrevimus ſubjacere, à quibus abſolvi non poſſint donec ſuper iis plenam & debitam ſatisfactionem curaverint adhibere; & nihilominus occupatores & detemptores hujuſmodi, vel præſtantes eiſdem; ut præmittiur, auxilium, conſilium vel favorem, ſive ſingulares perſonæ, ſive Capitula, Collegia ſeu Conventus Eccleſiarum & Monaſteriorum, aut univerſitates civitatum, caſtrorum, terrarum, vel aliorum locorum extiterint, præter pœnas perſcriptas omnibus quæ ad Romanam vel aliis Eccleſiis quibuſcunque tenent interdum ipſo facto decernimus fore privatos, ſive privata, ita quod ad Eccleſias, ad quas ſpectant illa liberè ſine contradictione aliqua revertantur, earumque Eccleſiarum Prælati, ſive rectores de ipſis pro ſua voluntate diſponant, ſicut utilitati Eccleſiarum ipſarum viderint expedire. Num ergo hominum liceat hanc paginam noſtrarum donationis, conceſſionis, unionis, incorporationis, applicationis; annexionis, reſervationis, inhibitionis, voluntatis, conſtitutionum infringere, vel ei auſu temerario contraire; ſi quis autem hoc attemptare præſumpſerit, indignationem omnipotentis Dei & beatorum Petri & Pauli Apoſtolorum ejus ſe noverit incurſurum. Datum Viennæ, ſexto Nonas Maii, Pontificatus noſtri anno ſeptimo, & in Bulla plumbea ſanctus Paulus, ſanctus Petrus, Clemens Papa quintus.

Conſentement prêté par le Roy Philippe le Bel (comme ayant la garde & droit de Patronage) à la tranſlation des biens des Templiers en l'Ordre de l'Hôpital S. Jean, à la charge qu'il ſoit reglé & reformé tant au chef qu'en ſes membres, pour ſervir au ſecours de la Terre Sainte. Hiſt. p. 217.

SANCTISSIMO Patri in Domino C. divina providentia ſacroſanctæ Romanæ ac univerſalis Eccleſiæ ſummo Pontifici, Philippus eadem gratia Francorum Rex pedum oſcula beatorum. Pater ſanctiſſime, cum nuper in Concilio generali Viennenſi propter hæreſes, enormitates, & ſcelera reperta in Fratribus tunc ordinis militiæ Templi, tanquam infructuoſum, odioſum & abominabilem, per ordinationem ſeu diſpoſitionem Apoſtolicam, veſtra ſanctitas Ordinem eundem, ſtatum & nomen ipſius tollere curaverit ab eccleſia ſancta Dei; noſque beatitudini veſtræ aſſenſum præbuerimus, quòd de bonis quondam Templi in regno noſtro conſiſtentibus eadem transferendo in novum Ordinem, vel antiquum militarem, ordinaretis, prout ſecundùm Deum pro ſubſidio Terræ Sanctæ videret veſtra ſanctitas expedire; ſanctitatiſque veſtræ finalis deliberatio nobis aſſentientibus in hoc reſedit, quòd bona Ordinis præfati cum ſuis honoribus & oneribus in Fratres & Ordinem Hoſpitalis ſancti Joannis Hieroſolymitani per ordinationem Apoſtolicam transferrentur pro Terræ Sanctæ ſervitio, cui priùs fuerant deputata, ſicut & bona Ordinis Hoſpitalis ejuſdem: Nos itaque quorum intereſt, cùm bona prædicta quatenus in regno noſtro ſunt, ſub noſtra gardia ſpeciali & protectione conſiſtant, & eis ad nos jus Patronatus mediatè vel immediatè plenariè pertinere noſcatur, ad hujuſmodi conſenſum impertiendum una cum Prelatis in Concilio congregatis fuerimus per vos inducti, *quia ſanctitas veſtra diſpoſuerat & ordinaverat quòd per Sedem Apoſtolicam ſic dictorum Hoſpitalariorum Ordo regularetur & reformaretur tam in capite quàm in membris, quòd Deo, Eccleſiaſticis perſonis & ſecularibus eſſet acceptabilis, non autem infeſtus, ſed ſubſidio Terræ Sanctæ quàm plurimùm fructuoſus; ſic etiam provideretur, & diſponeretur de bonis præfatis omnibus, quòd revocatis bonis omnibus alienatis utriuſque Ordinis, fructus, proventus, & redditus eorumdem bonorum utriuſque Ordinis, deductis expenſis neceſſariis pro cuſtodia & adminiſtratione bonorum ipſorum, fideliter ac integrè converterentur in ſervitium, & ſubſidium ſupradictum:* ſicque veſtra ſanctitas ſacro approbante Concilio ordinavit, & ordinationem hujuſmodi in dicto Conſilio ſolemniter publicavit. Nos igitur diſpoſitionem, ordinationem, & tranſlationem hujuſmodi acceptamus, & ei noſtrum præbemus aſſenſum, juribus omnibus nobis, & Prælatis, Baronibus, Nobilibus, & aliis quibuſcunque regni noſtri ante prædicta competentibus in bonis prædictis, Salvis perpetuò nobis & eis. In quorum teſtimonium, & munimen ſigillum noſtrum præſentibus litteris duximus apponendum. Datum Pariſius die 24. Auguſti, anno Domini milleſimo trecenteſimo. Et ſont leſdites Lettres ſcellées ſur double queve de parchemin d'un grand ſceau de cire jaune. *Idem p.* 178. *anno* 1312.

Miſe en poſſeſſion du biens des Templiers pour les Hoſpitaliers, 1312.

Extrait d' un Regiſtre *olim* des Arrêts depuis l' an 1299. juſques en 1318. *Hiſt.* p. 545.

Arreſta per Curiam data in Parlam. Octavar. hyem. feſti B. Martini anno 1312. *fol.* 140. *verſ.*

CUM propter abominationes & errores Templariorum contrà fidem Catholicam in eis repertos, eorum Ordo, nomen & habitus fuerint in perpetuum nuper in generali Concilio Viennæ per Apoſtolicam Sedem omnino ſublati, & domino Rege præſente, inſtante ac requirente, bona dictorum Templariorum, ſeu eorum Ordinis, quæ pia devotione fidelium pro Terræ Sanctæ obſequio deſtinata fuere, per eandem Sedem Apoſtolicam Magiſtro & Fratribus Hoſpital. S. Joannis Hieroſolymitani, ac eorum Ordini pro prædictæ Terræ Sanctæ ſubſidio conceſſa fuerint in perpetuum, & in eos tranſlata, per eos habenda, tenenda, & perpetuò poſſidenda eo ſtatu, & jure, quibus prædicti Templarii ea poſſederant, cum omnibus honoribus, & oneribus, juribus ac pertinentiis bonorum ipſorum, ſalvis ipſi domino Regi, Prælatis, Baronibus, Nobilibus, & perſonis aliis regni Franciæ, juribus quibuſcunque, quæ in bonis prædictis quomodo libet ipſi, & eorum quilibet habebant, tempore quo ipſa bona præfati Templarii poſſidebant.

DICTUS inſuper dominus Rex Francorum Leonardum de Thibertis, Fratrem Ordinis dicti Hoſpitalis, Procuratorem Generalem Magiſtri, Fratrum, & Ordinis ejuſdem, ac ad nanciſcendam poſſeſſionem dictorum bonorum Templariorum quondam ſpecialiter conſtitutum, petentem & ſupplicantem inveſtivit de bonis eiſdem in regno Franciæ exiſtentibus, & eum in poſſeſſionem miſit eorumdem nomine Ordinis Hoſpitalis prædicti, cum omnibus honoribus, & omnibus juribus & pertinentiis bonorum ipſorum, & ſalvis ipſi D. Regi, Prælatis, Baronibus, Nobilibus, & perſonis aliis regni Franc. juribus quibuſcumque, quæ ipſi D. Regi, Prælatis, Baronibus, Nobilibus, & perſonis aliis regni Franc. tempore quo dicti Templarii ea poſſederunt, quomodolibet pertinebant: ut bona ipſa Magiſter, Fratres & Ordo prædicti habeant, teneant & poſſideant, & eis fruantur eo ſtatu & jure quantum ad ſe & alios attinet, quibus dicti Templarii habuerant, & poſſederant bona ipſa, tempore quo propter errores prædictos in regno Franciæ capti fuerunt, & per Eccleſiam cœptum fuit contra eos procedi. Inveſtituram verò, miſſionem in poſſeſſionem, traditionemque bonorum prædictas modo & forma prædictis dictus D. Rex fecit, per eum expreſſo Procur. prædicto, quòd de bonis prædictis, fiant & miniſtrentur expenſæ Templariorum, qui ratione dictorum errorum per diſpoſitionem Eccleſiæ capti tenentur, ſeu tenebuntur, ac ſimiliter expenſæ quæ fient ratione proceſſuum dicti negotii fidei contra perſonas ſingulares Templariorum auctoritate Apoſtolica faciendorum. Et quòd mobilia, fructus, obventiones, & redditus bonorum prædictorum deductis ſuis oneribus, & etiam expenſis quas oportebit fieri pro eiſdem regendis, adminiſtrandis, colligendis & cuſtodiendis ad obſequium Terræ Sanctæ negotii fideliter committantur. Forma igitur, & modo ſuprà ſcriptis, & prout dom. Rex ſuprà expreſſit, Procurator prædictus, præmiſſa acceptans nomine Magiſtri, Fratrum & Ordinis prædictorum, inveſtituram, miſſionem in poſſeſſionem, traditionem & deliberationem bonorum prædictorum à domino Rege recepit. Quare dictus dominus Rex præcepit, quòd bona prædicta & eorum poſſeſſionem realem Seneſchalli, Baillivi, cæterique Juſtitiarii ipſius dom. Regis, quibuſlibet, prout in ſuis diſtrictibus ſeu reſſortis exiſtunt, bona ipſa plenariè tradant, deliberent, tradi & deliberari faciant dictis Magiſtro, Fratribus, ſeu Prioribus, Provincialibus, Adminiſtratoribus, ſeu procuratoribus eorundem, & eos bonis prædictis & eorum poſſeſſione quantum ad eos pertinet gaudere faciant plenariè, eo ſtatu, modo & jure, quantum ad ſe & alios, quibus, ut dictum eſt, olim Templarii prædicti tempore prædicto eiſdem bonis gaudebant. Quibuſlibet injuſtis occupatoribus ſeu detentatoribus bonorum ipſorum de plano dotatis partibus, & auditis inde prout ratio ſuadebit amotis: dando Prælatis, Baronibus, Nobilibus & perſonis quibuſlibet regni Franciæ, per litteras quæ dictis juſtitiariis ſuper hoc dirigentur, in mandatis, ut ipſi in præmiſſis, & ea tangentibus eiſdem juſtitiariis domini Regis pareant efficaciter, & intendant. Mercur. poſt Annunciationem Dominicam. *Dupui p.* 180.

Traité entre les Gens du Roi & les Hoſpitaliers touchant le bien des Templiers.

LE Roi Philippes le Long dit que le Roi ſon pere ayant traité avec les Hoſpitaliers, auroit été trouvé qu'il lui etoit deu deux cens mille livres tournois ſur les biens des Templiers; & depuis du tems de Louis Hutin, il auroit été arreſté qu'il lui étoit deu ſoixante mille livres pour la même cauſe: Surquoi ſeroit intervenu accord entre ledit Roi Louis, & ceux de Jeruſalem, par lequel le Roi devoit avoir les deux parts de tous les biens-meubles, & des joyaux & des ornemens des maiſons & chapelles: & depuis par Arrêt de la Cour donné contre les Freres dudit Hôpital, avoit été dit, que les deux parts de tous les biens, les fruits des terres & des vignes de toutes les maiſons qui avoient été baillées pleines, comme de terres ſemées, vignes, labourage baillé aux Curateurs, furent adjugez au Roi. Enfin pour ce qui prouvoit reſter, il eſt accordé que ceux de l'Hôpital quittent au Roi tout ce qu'ils pourroient prétendre deſdits Curateurs juſques à leur entrée en poſſeſſion du bien deſdits Templiers; quittent au Roi toutes les dettes, deubs par lettres; ce qui a été receu de parte & d'autre, demeurera. Fait à Paris le 6. Mars 1317. Regiſtre du Treſor, Lettre 142. *Dupui p.* 184. *ad ann.* 1317.

PROOF X. *p.* 224.

De Terris quondam Templariorum Hoſpitalariis liberandis.

REx Cuſtodi quarumdam Terrarum & Tenementorum, quæ quondam fuerunt Templariorum in Civitate noſtrâ Londoniarum, & ſuburbio ejuſdem Civitatis, Salutem.

CUM Dominus Clemens, divinâ providentiâ, Papa quintus, nuper in generali Concilio, *Vienn. Congregato*, Ordinem quondam Domûs militiæ Templi, *propter varias cauſas*, ſuſtulerit, & perpetuò ſuppoſuerit interdicto, & eandem Domum, cæteraſque Domos, Eccleſias, Capellas, Oratoria, Civitates, Caſtra, Villas, Grangias, Loca, Poſſeſſiones, Juriſdictiones, redditus, atque jura, omniaque alia bona, immobilia & mobilia, ac ſe moventia, cum omnibus juribus, membris, & pertinentiis ſuis, in univerſis & quibuſlibet mundi partibus, conſiſtentia, quæ olim fuerunt Magiſtri & Fratrum Ordinis (hujuſmodi bonis, in Regnis & Terris Regum, Caſtellæ, Aragoniæ, Portugaliæ, & Majoricarum exiſtentibus, ex certis cauſis, exceptis, & prædicti Domini Papæ, ac Apoſtolicæ Sedis ordinationi reſervatis) Ordini Hoſpitalis ſancti Johannis Hieroſolymitani duxerit concedenda, applicanda, & unienda, memoratoque Ordini Hoſpitalis prædicti, vel ipſius Procuratoribus, ejus nomine, infra certum tempus reſtituenda;

CONTRA detentores dictorum bonorum, & reſtitutionem eorumdem impedientes, graves cenſuras Eccleſiaſticas ſtatuendo;

ET per litteras ſuas bullatas, nobis inde directas, nos rogaverit exhortando, quod bona hujuſmodi, infra Regnum & Dominium noſtrum, præfato Ordini Hoſpitalis prædicti, vel ipſius Procuratoribus, ejus nomine, reſtitui facere curaremus:

Nos, conſiderantes diverſa damna & pericula quæ, per detentionem bonorum prædictorum, in Regno & Dominio noſtris, ſi fieret, nobis, & eidem Regno, ac ſubditis noſtris poſſent multipliciter evenire; quæ, propter brevitatem temporis, infra quod hujuſmodi reſtitutio fieri petebatur, non poſſent ea vice aliàs præcaveri, volenteſque damna & pericula hujuſmodi evitare, Domos, Eccleſias, Villas, Maneria, Terras, Redditus, Loca, & alias poſſeſſiones quaſcumque, cum omnibus ſuis juribus, & pertinentiis, quæ olim fuerunt dictorum Magiſtri & Fratrum prædictæ militiæ Templi, in prædictis Regno & Dominio noſtris (factâ priùs per nos quâdam Proteſtatione, pro conſervatione juris noſtri & ſubditorum noſtrorum, in hac parte) Fratribus, Alberto de Nigro Caſtro, Magno Præceptori Domûs Hoſpitalis ſancti Johannis Hieroſolymitani prædicti, & locum tenenti, citra Mare Mediterraneum, Magni Magiſtri Hoſpitalis ejuſdem & Leonardo de Tibercis Priori Venetiarum, Procuratori generali Hoſpitalis prædicti, nomine Hoſpitalis ejuſdem, duximus liberanda, ſalvo jure noſtro, & ſubditorum noſtrorum quorumcumque, juxta vim & effectum Proteſtationis noſtræ ſupradictæ.

ET ideo vobis mandamus quòd præfatis Alberto & Leonardo, vel illi, aut illis, quem, vel quos, ipſi ad hoc per ſuas patentes litteras deputaverint loco ſui, Domos, Eccleſias, Maneria, Terras, Redditus, Loca, & alias poſſeſſiones quaſcumque cum ſuis juribus & pertinentiis univerſis, quæ fuerunt dictorum Magiſtri & Fratrum militiæ prædictæ, in Civitate & Suburbio prædictis, & quæ in cuſtodiâ veſtrâ ex commiſſione noſtra exiſtunt, una cum bladis in terris ſeminatis, & ornamentis Eccleſiarum illarum, ſine dilatione aliquâ liberetis, ſalvo jure noſtro & ſubditorum noſtrorum quorumcumque juxta vim & effectum Proteſtationis noſtræ prædictæ, ſicut prædictum eſt: Volumus enim vos indè ex nunc erga nos exonerari.

TESTE Rege apud Weſtm. 28. die Novembris

Per ipſum Regem.

CONSIMILES litteræ diriguntur Cuſtodibus ſubſcriptis, de Domibus, Eccleſiis, Villis, Maneriis, Terris, Redditibus, Locis, poſſeſſionibus quibuſcunque, cum ſuis juribus, & pertinentiis univerſis, quæ fuerunt dictorum Magiſtri & Fratrum militiæ prædictæ, in Comitatibus ſubſcriptis, præfatis Alberto & Leonardo, in formâ prædictâ liberandis; videlicet,

Cuſtodi quarumdam Terrarum & Tenementorum quondam Templariorum, in Comitatu Eſſexiæ;

Cuſtodi quarumdam Terrarum & Tenementorum quondam Templariorum, in Comitatu Surriæ;

Cuſtodi quarumdam Terrarum & Tenementorum quondam Templariorum, in Comitatu Leyceſtriæ;

Cuſtodi quarumdam Terrarum & Tenementorum quondam Templariorum, in Comitatu Derbiæ;

Cuſtodi quarumdam Terrarum & Tenementorum quondam Templariorum, in Comitatu Dorſettiæ;

Cuſtodi quarumdam Terrarum & Tenementorum quondam Templariorum, in Comitatu Salopiæ;

Cuſtodi quarumdam Terrarum & Tenementorum quondam Templariorum, in Comitatu Oxoniæ;

Cuſtodi quarumdam Terrarum & Tenementorum quondam Templariorum, in Comitatu Bedfordiæ;

Cuſtodi quarumdam Terrarum & Tenementorum quondam Templariorum, in Comitatu Lancaſtriæ;

Cuſtodi quarumdam Terrarum & Tenementorum quondam Templariorum, in Comitatu Somerſettiæ;

Cuſtodi quarumdam Terrarum & Tenementorum quondam Templariorum, in Comitatu Rotelandiæ;

Cuſtodi quarumdam Terrarum & Tenementorum quondam Templariorum, in Comitatu Suffolciæ;

Cuſtodi quarumdam Terrarum & Tenementorum quondam Templariorum, in Comitatu Wiltes;

Cuſtodi quarumdam Terrarum & Tenementorum quondam Templariorum, in Comitatu Norfolciæ;

Cuſtodi quarumdam Terrarum & Tenementorum quondam Templariorum, in Comitatu Lincolniæ;

Cuſtodi quarumdam Terrarum & Tenementorum quondum Templariorum, in Comitatu Cumbriæ;

Cuſtodi quarumdam Terrarum & Tenementorum quondam Templariorum, in Comitatu Herefordiæ;

Cuſtodi quarumdam Terrarum & Tenementorum quondam Templariorum, in Comitatu Cantebrigiæ;

Cuſtodi quarumdam Terrarum & Tenementorum quondam Templariorum, in Comitatu Glouceſtriæ;

Cuſtodi quarumdam Terrarum & Tenementorum quondam Templariorum, in Comitatu Nottinghamiæ;

Cuſtodi quarumdam Terrarum & Tenementorum quondam Templariorum, in Comitatu Staffordiæ;

Cuſtodi quarumdam Terrarum & Tenementorum quondam Templariorum, in Comitatu Warwick;

Cuſtodi quarumdam Terrarum & Tenementorum quondam Templariorum, in Comitatu Weſtmerlandiæ;

Cuſtodi quarumdam Terrarum & Tenementorum quondam Templariorum, in Comitatu Wygorniæ;

Cuſtodi quarumdam Terrarum & Tenementorum quondam Templariorum, in Comitatu Northumbriæ;

Cuſtodi quarumdam Terrarum & Tenementorum quondam Templariorum, in Comitatu Cornubiæ;

Cuſtodi quarumdam Terrarum & Tenementorum quondam Templariorum, in Comitatu Bucks;

Cuſtodi quarumdam Terrarum & Tenementorum quondam Templariorum, in Comitatu Middleſexiæ;

Cuſtodi quarumdam Terrarum & Tenementorum quondam Templariorum, in Comitatu Devoniæ;

Cuſtodi quarumdam Terrarum & Tenementorum quondam Templariorum, in Comitatu Huntingdoniæ;

Cuſtodi quarumdam Terrarum & Tenementorum quondam Templariorum, in Comitatu Berks;

Cuſtodi quarumdum Terrarum & Tenementorum quondam Templariorum, in Comitatu Kanciæ;

Cuſtodi quarumdam Terrarum & Tenementorum quondam Templariorum in Comitatu Hertfordiæ;

Cuſtodi quarumdam Terrarum & Tenementorum quondam Templariorum, in Comitatu Suſſexiæ;

Alexandro de Cave & Roberto de Amcotes, Cuſtodi quarumdam Terrarum & Tenementorum quondam Templariorum, in Civitate Eborum;

Cuſtodi quarumdam Terrarum & Tenementorum quondam Templariorum, in Comitatu Northamptoniæ;

Cuſtodi Terrarum & Tenementorum, &c. in Crauford;

Cuſtodi Terrarum & Tenementorum, &c. in Lilleſton;

Cuſtodi Terrarum & Tenementorum, &c. in Hendon;

Johanni de Grey, Cuſtodi quarumdam Terrarum & Tenementorum quondam Templariorum, in Comitatu Bedfordiæ;

Johanni de la Haye, Cuſtodi quarumdam Terrarum & Tenementorum quondam Templariorum, in Comitatu Herefordiæ;

Johanni de Wylburnham, Cuſtodi quarumdam Terrarum & Tenementorum quondam Templariorum, in Comitatu Cantebrigiæ;

Johanni de Butecourte, Cuſtodi quarumdam Terrarum & Tenementorum quondam Templariorum, in Comitatibus Cantebrigiæ & Middleſexiæ;

Thomæ de Grey, Cuſtodi quarumdam Terrarum & Tenementorum quondam Templariorum, in Comitatu Northumbriæ;

Alexandro de Campton, Cuſtodi quarumdam Terrarum & Tenementorum quondam Templariorum, in Comitatu Leyceſtriæ & Warric;

Johanni de Argaill, Cuſtodi quarumdam Terrarum & Tenementorum quondam Templariorum, in Comitatu Eborum;

Johanni de Bloxham, Cuſtodi quarumdam Terrarum & Tenementorum quondam Templariorum, in Comitatu Oxon, & aliis Com. Regni Regis;

Roberto filio Pagani, Cuſtodi quarumdam Terrarum & Tenementorum quondam Templariorum, in Comitatu Southamptoniæ;

Hawys, quæ fuit Uxor Johannis de Ferar, Cuſtodi quarumdam Terrarum & Tenementorum quondam Templariorum, in Comitatu Glouceſtriæ, & alibi;

Willielmo de Spanneby, Cuſtodi quarumdam Terrarum & Tenementorum & Eccleſiarum quondam Templariorum, in Comitatu Lincolniæ;

Edmundo Hakelut, Cuſtodi quarumdam Terrarum & Tenementorum quondam Templariorum, in Comitatu Herefordiæ;

Henrico de Cobeham Juniori, de Domibus, Eccleſiis, &c. in Comitatu Kanciæ, liberandis ut ſupra;

Ebuloni de Montibus, de Domibus, Eccleſiis, &c. in Comitatu Lincolniæ, liberandis ut ſupra;

Eodem modo mandatum eſt Alexandro de Abernithi, de Manerio de Wylughton, cum pertinentiis, &c. unà cum bladis in terris ſeminatis, ſine dilatione aliqua liberandis, ut ſupra.

Eodem modo mandatum eſt Willielmo de Ferar, de Manerio de Rotheleie, cum pertinentiis, liberandis in forma prædicta.

Eodem modo mandatum eſt Willielmo Marmyon, de Manerio de Aſlakby in Comitatu Linc. liberandis in forma prædicta.

Eodem modo mandatum eſt Johanni de Comyn, de Manerio de Faxflete, in Comitatu Eborum, liberandis in forma prædicta.

Eodem modo mandatum eſt Cuſtodi Manerii de Ribbleſtayn.

Eodem modo mandatum eſt Johanni de Sandale de Eccleſia de Reynham, &c.

Eodem modo mandatum eſt Gilberto de Stapelton, Cuſtodi Eccleſiæ de Kelington de eadem Eccleſia, &c.

Eodem modo mandatum eſt Adomaro de Valencia Comiti Pembrochiæ, de novo Templo London. ac omnibus Terris & Tenementis, cum pertinentiis, quæ fuerunt Templariorum prædictorum in Civitate London. & Suburbio ejuſdem, nec non in Comitatu Middleſexiæ, & quæ tenet, &c. *Rymer pag.* 454. *ad ann.* 1313.

Rex Venerabili in Chriſto Patri R. eâdem gratiâ, Epiſcopo Dunelmenſi, Salutem.

Cùm Dominus Clemens, &c. Et ideo vobis mandamus quòd præfatis Alberto & Leonardo, &c. Domos, Eccleſias, Villas, &c. quæ fuerunt dictorum Magiſtri & Fratrum militiæ prædictæ, infra libertatem Epiſcopatûs veſtri, & quæ in Cuſtodiâ veſtrâ exiſtunt, ſine dilatione aliqua liberari faciatis ſalvo jure noſtro, &c. *& tunc iſta clauſula*, &, ut liberationem prædictam conſultiùs facere valeatis, tranſcriptum brevium noſtrorum, inde in Regno noſtro directorum, vobis mittimus præſentibus intercluſum. Teſte ut ſupra.

Eodem modo mandatum eſt Edwardo, Comiti Ceſtriæ filio Regis Kariſſimo, vel Juſticiario ſuo ibidem.

Eodem modo mandatum eſt Juſticiario, Cancellario, & Theſaurario Regis Hiberniæ, vel eorum loca tenentibus.

Eodem modo mandatum eſt Cancellario & Camerario Scotiæ vel eorum loca tenentibus.

Eodem modo mandatum eſt Rogerio de Mortuo Mari, Juſticiario Walliæ. *Idem pag.* 457. *ad ann.* 1313.

Mandatum Vicecomitibus de protegendo Hoſpitalarios in aſſecutione præmiſſorum.

Rex Vicecomiti Huntingdoniæ, Salutem.

Cum Dominus Clemens, &c. *uſque proteſtationis noſtræ ſupradictæ:* Mandaverimuſque Cuſtodibus Terrarum, Eccleſiarum, & Tenementorum prædictorum in Comitatu tuo, quod præfatis Alberto & Leonardo. &c. Domos, Eccleſias, &c. quæ fuerunt dictorum, Magiſtri & Fratrum militiæ prædictæ, in Comitatu prædicto, & quæ in Cuſtodiâ ſuâ ex commiſſione noſtrâ exiſtunt, unà cum bladis.

Nos, volentes mandata noſtra in hac parte effectui debito mancipari, tibi præcipimus quòd, ſi prædicti Cuſtodes in præmiſſis ſe reddiderint tepidos aut remiſſos, tunc præfati Fratribus, Alberto & Leonardo, vel hujuſmodi Attornatis ſuis, prædictas Domos, Eccleſias, Villas, Maneria, Terras, Redditus, Loca, & alias poſſeſſiones quaſcumque cum ſuis juribus, & pertinentiis univerſis, in Ballivâ tuâ, in formâ prædictâ habenda, liberes indilatè:

Et ipſa ab injuriis & violentiis indebitis, ſuper aſſecutione præmiſſorum, in formâ prædictâ, quantum in te eſt, protegas & defendas. Teſte ut ſupra.

Eodem modo mandatum eſt ſubſcriptis; videlicet,

Vicecomiti Cornubriæ,
Vicecomiti Eborum,
Vicecomiti Suffolciæ,
Vicecomiti Souththamptoniæ,
Vicecomiti Somerſettiæ,
Vicecomiti Eſſexiæ,
Vicecomiti Nottinghamiæ
Vicecomiti Herefordiæ,
Vicecomiti Oxoniæ,
Vicecomiti Northumbriæ,
Vicecomiti Rotelandiæ,
Vicecomiti Cumbriæ,
Vicecomiti Lincolniæ
Vicecomiti Kanciæ,
Vicecomiti Devoniæ
Vicecomiti Hertfordiæ,
Vicecomiti Staffordiæ,
Vicecomiti Dorſettiæ.
Middleſexiæ,
Warrick,
Wiltes,
Berks,
Suſſexiæ,
Salopiæ,
Lancaſtriæ,
Bucks,
Weſtmerlandiæ,
Derbiæ,
Glouceſtriæ,
Cantebrigiæ,
Leyceſtriæ,
Surriæ,
Wygorniæ,
Bedfordiæ,
Norffolciæ.

Eodem modo mandatum eſt Vicecomit. London. de Domibus, Eccleſiis, Maneriis, Terris, Redditibus, Locis, & aliis poſſeſſionibus quibuſcumque cum ſuis juribus & pertinentiis univerſis, in eiſdem Civitate & Suburbio, liberandis, ut ſupra. *Idem pag.* 457. *ad ann.* 1313.

Vicecomiti Northamptoniæ

Literæ Procuratoriæ & plenæ potentiæ Magiſtri & Conventus Ultramarini Ordinis Domus Sancti Johannis Jeruſalem, Alberto de Caſtro Nigro conceſſæ.

NOVERINT univerſi, præſentes litteras inſpecturi, quòd nos
Frater Fulco de Vilareto, Dei & Sedis Apoſtolicæ gratiâ, Sanctæ Domûs Hoſpitalis Sancti Johannis Jeruſalem Magiſter humilis & pauperum Chriſti Cuſtos,
Frater Tertitius le Lorgne Mareſcallus,
Frater Petrus de Claromonte, tenens locum Hoſpitalarii,
Frater Richardus de Ravelino Draperius,
Frater Ren. de Deo Theſaurarius,
Frater Philippus de Gragnana, Urbis,
Frater Martinus Petri de Ros, Meſſanæ, Priores,
Frater Petrus de Sancto Johanne, Præceptor Achayæ;
Cæterique omnes & ſinguli Fratres & Conventus Domûs ejuſdem, ad ſonum Campanæ Rhodi, ut moris eſt, in loco ſolito congregati, internâ meditatione penſantes beneficiorum largitionem immemorabilium, per ſanctiſſimum in Chriſto Patrem, Dominum noſtrum, Clementem quintum, Divinâ providente clementiâ, Sacræ Sanctæ Romanæ ac univerſalis Eccleſiæ ſummum Pontificem, ſacrum ejus Dominorum Cardinalium Collegium, & totum generale Concilium, Viennæ proximè celebratum, nobis & Domui, liberalitate maxima, largitorum:

VIASQUE & modos, cum ſummâ diligentiâ exquirentes, per quos poſſint in noſtris manibus reparari, emendari, augmentari, ac providè gubernari dicta immenſa beneficia, & fructus uberes, cum Dei benedictione, ex ipſis, & aliis bonis noſtris, & Domûs prædictæ haberi, percipi, & colligi: quibus Terra Sancta de Mahometicolarum infidelium manibus poſſit, Deo faciente, celeriter liberari:

ATTENDENTESQUE etiam Domos noſtras, partium tranſmarinarum, inprovidâ adminiſtratione Preſidentium, attritas multipliciter & afflictas, viſitatione, correctione, ac reformatione celeri, tàm in capite, quàm in membris, valde admodum indigere:

Ac, de diſcretione, probitate, legalitate, bonâ adminiſtratione, diligentiâ & induſtriâ Religioſi in Chriſto, nobis cariſſimi, Fratris Alberti Alamani, ejuſdem Domûs Magni præceptoris, in partibus ciſmarinis (quas in magnis & arduis, quæ nos & Domus hactenùs ſibi commiſimus, fructuoſas & utiles invenimus) plenam in Domino gerentes fiduciam, eundem Fratrem Albertum communi omnium tractatu, concordiâ, concilio, voluntate, ac conſenſu expreſſo, ad Romanam Curiam, & Curias illuſtrium Regum, & aliorum Principum Orthodoxorum, & ad univerſas & ſingulas partes tranſmarinas, cum Religioſis in Chriſto, nobis cariſſimis, dilectis, Fratre Richardo de Ravielino Draperio, Fratre Philippo de Gragnana Priore Urbis, Fratre Leonardo de Tibercis Priore Venetiarum, & Procuratore in Romanâ Curiâ generali, Fratre Henrico de Mayneriis, Fratre Arnaldo de Solerio, Fratre Artando de Chavanono, noſtri Magiſtri Sociis, & Fratre Duranto de Præpoſitura, Præceptore Montis Chalini & Salvitatis de Auriliaco (quos ei donamus & aſſignamus in Socios, conſiliarios & coadjutores) diſponimus deſtinandum:

IPSUMQUE in omnibus & ſingulis Prioratibus, Præceptoriis, Caſtellaniis, Bajuliis, Domibus, Civitatibus, Caſtris, Villis, Locis, & quibuſcumque aliis bonis, Juribus, & Rationibus noſtris, & Domûs noſtræ antiquis, ac nobis & Domui noviter quoquomodo conceſſis, & impoſterum concedendis, in dictis tranſmarinis partibus exiſtentibus, quæcumque ſint, ubicumque, & in quibuſcumque conſiſtant, & quocumque cenſeantur nomine, Viſitatorem, Inquiſitorem, Correctorem, Reformatorem, Adminiſtratorem cum libera, locum noſtrum tenentem, verum, certum & indubitatum Procuratorem, Syndicum, Yconomum, Actorem, & ad prædictas Curias, noſtrum, & Domûs ſpecialem nuncium facimus, conſtituimus, auctoritate præſentium, & creamus:

DANTES & concedentes eidem Viſitatori, Inquiſitori, Correctori, Reformatori, Adminiſtratori cum libera, locum noſtrum tenenti, Procuratori, Syndico, Yconomo, Actori, & Nuncio noſtro, & Domûs, in tranſmarinis partibus, & curiis ante dictis, plenam & liberam facultatem, autoritatem & licentiam, ac etiam ſpeciale mandatum ſe, ad ipſas partes tranſmarinas & Curias, & ipſarum quamlibet perſonaliter transferendi:

AC in eis, & in univerſis, & ſingulis Prioratibus, Præceptoriis, Caſtellaniis, Bajuliis, Domibus, Civitatibus, Caſtris, Villis, & aliis quibuſcumque locis, & Bonis, Juribus, & Rationibus noſtris, & Domûs noſtræ antiquis, noviterque nobis & Domui, in præfato ſacro generali Concilio, de bonis Domûs militiæ Templi, quondam, vel aliundè, quomodo libet elargitis, & deinde largiendis, de conſilio, voluntate, ac expreſſo aſſenſu prædictorum ſociorum ſuorum, vel majoris partis eorum, ſibi tunc aſſiſtentium, per ſe, vel alium, ſeu alios, viſitandi, inquirendi, corrigendi, reformandi, adminiſtrandi, procurandi, nunciandi, reparandi, emendandi, excuſandi, ſupplicandi in dictis curiis, & aliis quibuſcumque, nomine noſtro, & Domûs, & Litteras gratiæ atque juſtitiæ impetrandi:

DE largitione dictorum bonorum, aliorum quam plurimum & beneficiorum, dicto Domino noſtro ſummo Pontifici, ejus Sacro Collegio, Illuſtriſſimis Regibus, & aliis principibus Orthodoxis, grates devotiſſimas referendi: Viſitatoris, inquiſitoris, Correctoris, Reformatoris Adminiſtratoris cum libera, Nunciatoris, Procuratoris, & locum noſtrum tenentis, in capite ac in Membris, & in quaſcumque perſonas Domûs noſtræ, cujuſcumque ſtatûs, gradûs, dignitatis, autoritatis, & conditionis, & quocumque exemptionis, generalis vel ſpecialis, munitas privilegio, vel litteris, ſub quâcumque formâ verborum, eis conceſſis;

OFFICIUM ſeu officia conjunctim vel ſeparatim, plenè & liberè exercendi; contra ipſas perſonas & ipſarum quamlibet, per modum inquiſitionis, denunciationis & accuſationis (pro ut diſcretioni ſuæ viſum fuerit) procedendi:

EAS & quamlibet earum ad ſui præſentiam, quando & quotiens voluerit evocandi:

PLANTAM ſeu plantas Fratrum, Eſgardium ſeu Eſgardia faciendi: & tenendi de eis; & eaſdem de ſuis exceſſibus, juxta Domûs noſtræ ſtatuta ac bonas conſuetudines, puniendi:

REMOVENDI eas à ſuis Bajuliis, Domibus, Officiis, & Adminiſtrationibus, &, ſi neceſſe fuerit, carceribus mancipandi; vel nobis, citra mare, judicandas, puniendas, corrigendas, aut in carceres recludendas, cum plenâ informatione ſuorum exceſſum, tranſmittendi:

DE eis, & earum qualibet poſtulanti cuilibet, complementum juſtitiæ faciendi, & ſibi fieri de ipſis, coram quibuſcumque Judicibus, Eccleſiaſticis, vel Secularibus, noſtro & Domûs noſtræ nomine, poſtulandi:

DOMOS, Bajulias, Officia, & Adminiſtrationes, ſic eis ablatas, perſonis aliis ſufficientibus tenendas & regendas libere committendi:

UNIVERSAS & ſingulas Domus, Eccleſias, Capellas, Oratoria, Civitates, Caſtra, Villas, Terras, Grangias, & loca, Poſſeſſiones, Juriſdictiones, Redditus atque Jura, omniaque alia bona, mobilia & immobilia, vel ſe moventia, cum omnibus membris, Juribus, & pertinentiis ſuis, in dictis partibus tranſmarinis conſiſtentia, Domûs & ordinis militiæ templi, quondam nobis, ac Domui in dicto ſancto Concilio collata, & in poſterum conferenda ubilibet; imo nomina, actiones & jura, quæ tempore captionis magiſtri, & quorumdam Fratrum ipſius Ordinis Templi in Regno Franciæ, communiter factæ, eidem Domui & Ordini, vel perſonis ipſius Ordinis Militiæ Templi, quocumque modo competebant, vel competere poterant, contra quoſcumque petendi, requirendi, exigendi, recipiendi à quibuſcumque perſonis, Eccleſiaſticis vel Secularibus, & ea ad nos, & proprietatem Domus noſtræ, ac noſtri Ordinis adducendi:

CORPORALITER poſſeſſionem, vel quaſi eorumdem, noſtro & Domûs noſtræ nomine, per ſe, vel alium, ſeu alios, adipiſcendi:

IPSAMQUE regnandi, gubernandi, & adminiſtrandi, de voluntate & beneplacito Sedis Apoſtolicæ:

EADEM bona etiam antiqua, fructus & proventus eorum, taxandi, vel taxari faciendi: & ea per Domos, ſeu Bajulias determinatas & limitatas, ut utilius ſibi, & aſtantibus ei viſum fuerit, dividendi:

BAJULIIS, ſeu Domibus, per eum, vel alium, ſeu alios, limitatis taliter, reſponſiones certas & pingues, ad utilitatem Terræ ſanctæ negotii, imponendi:

IPSAS Bajulias & Domos, regendas & adminiſtrandas ad vitam, vel aliis ipſis, quibus expedire noverit, committendi & conferendi; & eos ab eiſdem removendi, quum & quotiens ſibi expedire videbitur.

NOBILES homines & innobiles, Clericos & Seculares, pro Servitio & regimine dictarum Bajuliarum & Domorum, ad Domûs noſtræ conſortium, ſi neceſſe fuerit, admittendi; & ipſis admiſſis noſtræ religionis habitum, & Nobilibus Militiæ cingulum tribuendi:

FRATRES & Donatos, de unâ Domo in aliam, & de uno Prioratu in alium transferendi: & citra mare etiam Fratres, Donatos, homines, Vaſſallos, & ſubditos quoſcumque Domûs noſtræ, cujuſvis ſtatûs, gradûs, dignitatis, auctoritatis, & conditionis, pro Terræ Sanctæ ſervitio, vel quâcumque aliâ ratione, ſeu causâ tranſmittendi: aut, ſi maluerint, ſecum ducendi: & ut citra mare veniant, eis & ſingulis eorum effectualiter injungendi, eoſque ſi non venerint, tanquam rebelles & inobedientes, & quoſcumque mandatis noſtris rebelles & inobedientes, invenerint per juſtitiam Domus noſtræ ducendi: vel ipſos aliter puniendi: ac vocatos per nos ad partes tranſmarinas, in tranſmarinis partibus retinendi: & eis ipſorum paſſagium, ſeu paſſagia relaxandi & remittendi; numerum Fratrum ſuorum, Donatorum, & aliorum ſervitorum, in dictis Bajuliis, ſeu domibus noſtris quibuſcumque ſiſtentium, diminuendi, &, ſi tibi expediens videbitur, augmentandi:

PRO univerſis & ſingulis dictis bonis noſtris, & Domûs antiquis, ac noviter conceſſis, & in futurum concedendis, in dictis tranſmarinis partibus conſtitutis & poſitis, in judicio, vel extra, coram quibuſcumque Judicibus, Eccleſiaſticis Secularibuſve, & in quâcumque Curiâ, Eccleſiaſticâ, vel mundanâ, agendi, defendendi, petendi, proponendi, excipiendi, libellum vel libellos offerendi, oblato vel oblatis reſpondendi, litem conteſtandi, jurandi de calumnia, & de veritate dicendi in animas noſtras, & ſcribendi cujuſlibet alterius generis juramentum:

TESTES, & inſtrumenta, & alia quæcumque documenta legitima producendi, & productis objiciendi, concludendi & renunciandi:

IN cauſis de jure & de facto, ſententiam, & ſententias diffinitivas, & interlocutoria vacuandi & audiendi, & ab ipſis, atque gravaminibus, illatis & inferendis, ſemel vel pluries appellandi, Apoſtolos petendi, appellationem & appellationes proſequendi:

AD exequendum proceſſus, & quaſcumque ſententias, ſuper recuperatione dictorum bonorum, nobis & Domui de novo datorum, juxta mandatum Apoſtolicum, Prælatos, Executores, Commiſſarios, & quoſcunque alios, ad executionem deputatos hujuſmodi requirendi:

COMPUTA & rationes ab his, quæ dicta bona, vel aliqua de prædictis, aut etiam de noſtris antiquis, dudum quoquomodo tenuerint, & habuerint, & tenuerunt, & receperunt, & adminiſtrarunt;

ET à Procuratoribus noſtris, loca noſtra tenentibus, Præceptoribus Camerarum noſtrarum, Prioribus, Præceptoribus & Ballivis, vel eorum loca tenentibus, & quibuſcumque aliis Fratribus noſtris & ſubditis, ad quorum manus reſponſiones, talliæ, ſubventiones, promiſſiones, bona defunctorum, pecuniæ, jocalia, arneſia, procaſſia noſtra, indulgentiarum, legatorum, & relictorum pecuniæ, vel aliqua ex prædictis quomodolibet pervenerint, aut pervenient, ipſo in partibus tranſmarinis agente, ac poteſtate ſibi durante hujuſmodi, petendi, audiendi, exigendi, & recipiendi de his, qui recipient ab eis, vel à quibuſcumque aliis, & pro quibuſcumque cauſis & rationibus, cum affectu quittandi, abſolvendi, definiendi, & pactum de ulterius non petendi, dandi, & faciendi:

PRO neceſſitatibus noſtris & Domûs, mutuum ſeu mutua, à quibus voluerit, & invenerit, accipienda, & contrahendi pro pecuniis, mutuo ſuſceptis, aut ſuſcipiendis, & aliis quibuſlibet cauſis & rationibus, nos, Domum noſtram, & bona omnia noſtra & Domus, præſentia & futura, generaliter vel ſpecialiter, effectualiter obligandi, atque ypothecandi:

BONA ipſa, vel quæ voluerit ex prædictis in perpetuum, ad vitam, vel aliud tempus, purè conditionaliter, aut in emphiteoſim, ſub certo annuo cenſu vel precarii, commodati, depoſiti, donationis, venditionis, permutationis, infeudationis, pignationis, & cujuſlibet alterius contractûs titulo, perſonis, quibus voluerit, donandi, concedendi, trahendi & aſſignandi:

ET hos, cum quibus contrahent, vel procuratores eorum, in poſſeſſionem corporalem, vel quaſi dictorum bonorum inducendi, & inductos defendendi:

ET poſſeſſionem corporalem, vel quaſi, horum, quæ contrahendo, vel quocumque alio modo, ſibi, vel aliis, ejus nomine, atque Domûs, donata & conceſſa fuerint, per ſe, vel per alium, ſeu alios apprehendendi & adipiſcendi.

ET de his, & aliis bonis noſtris, & Domûs, prout nobis & domui expedire noverit, ordinandi:

PRIORES, Præceptores, Ballivos, noſtri Magiſtri, vel eorum loca tenentium, Fratres, donatos, & quoſcumque alios ſubditos noſtros, & domûs in ſæpe dictis partibus tranſmarinis conſtitutos, cujuſcumque ſtatûs, auctoritatis, dignitatis, aut conditionis exiſtant, ad congregationes, & capitula provincialia, per eum, de concilio dictorum ſociorum ſuorum, & aliorum Fratrum & procerum domûs, ei aſſiſtentium, vel majoris partis eorum, ordinandas, & demandandas, quum & quotiens diſcretioni ſuæ faciendum noverit, perſonaliter evocandi & dictas congregationes, atque Capitula celebrandi, & in eis dicendi, ordinandi, concedendi, ſtatuendi, deſtituendi, & quæque alia faciendi, quæ reſpicere cognoverit & commodum domus noſtræ:

COMPROMITTENDI, opponendi, paciſcendi, tranſigendi, conveniendi, ſubſtituendi procuratores, unum vel plures, ante litem conteſtatum vel poſt, & eoſdem revocandi, quando & quotiens ſibi videbitur expedire;

ET demùm univerſa alia & ſingula dicendi, faciendi, tractandi & ordinandi in præmiſſis, & præmiſſorum quolibet, quæ nos in generali Capitulo, vel extra, in noſtris congregationibus dicere, facere, tractare, ac ordinare poſſemus, ſi præſentes eſſemus, & quæ talium contractuum & negotiorum merita deſiderant & requirunt etiam ſi mandatum exigant ſpeciale:

RATUM, gratum, firmum, & ſtabile habituri perpetuò quicquid per eundem Viſitatorem, Inquiſitorem, Correctorem, Reformatorem, Adminiſtratorem cum libera, locum noſtrum tenentem, Procuratorem, Syndicum, Yconomum, Actorem, & noſtrum, ac Domûs noſtræ Nuncium ſpecialem, vel ſubſtituendum, aut ſubſtituendo ab eo in prædictis, & prædicta quoquo modo tangentibus, de conſilio cum voluntate ac conſenſu dictorum ſociorum, vel majorum partis eorum, tunc ei aſſiſtentium, actum, dictum, viſitatum, inquiſitum, correctum, reformatum, adminiſtratum, donatum, conceſſum, petitum, exactum, receptum, ſolutum, quittatum, procuratum, tractatumque fuerit, vel aliter ordinatum;

Promittentes rem ratam haberi, & judicatum ſolvi, cum omnibus ſuis clauſulis, ſub ypotheca & obligatione bonorum omnium Domûs noſtræ, præſentium ac etiam futurorum; noſque fidejuſſores conſtituentes pro eodem procuratore noſtro, ſyndico, yconomo, & actore, & ſubſtituendo ac ſubſtituendis ab eo: ipſos & ipſorum quemlibet relevare volentes ab omni onere ſatiſdandi.

Et, ne forſan, aliquo caſu interveniente, quod abſit, poſſet executio poteſtatis atque auctoritatis hujuſmodi, per nos eidem Fratri Alberto attributarum præſentibus, in detrimentum noſtrum & Domûs, annullari, aut in aliquo retardari;

Volumus & concedimus, tenore præſentium, dicto Fratri Philippo de Gragnana, Priori Urbis, quòd, in defectu dicti Fratris Alberti, aliquo caſu interveniente, poteſtatem & auctoritatem noſtras præmiſſas perficere nequiuntis, poſſit, de conſilio, voluntate, ac expreſſo aſſenſu dictorum aliorum ſociorum ſuorum, vel majoris partis, tunc ſibi aſſiſtentium, prædicta omnia & ſingula ſibi aſſumere, ipſaque facere, dicere, procurare, exequi, tractare, ordinare, incipere, mediare, complere, ac incepta per eundem Fratrem Albertum in omnibus & per omnia effectui mancipare;

Eundem Priorem Urbis, in caſu prædicto, vel ſimili loco dicti Fratris Alberti exnunc, ut extunc, ſuper univerſis & ſingulis, ſuperiùs expreſſatis, & ea tangentibus, per præſentes, cum omni poteſtatis plenitudine ſubrogantes, & ſibi vices noſtras totaliter committentes.

Quo circa, diſtrictè præcipiendo, mandamus, in virtute ſanctæ Obedientiæ, nichilominus injungentes, Religioſis, in Chriſto nobis cariſſimis, univerſis & ſingulis Prioribus, Viceprioribus, Præceptoribus, & Baylivis, & eorum, aut noſtri Magiſtri loca tenenti, Fratribus, Sororibus, Donatis, Hominibus, Vaſſalis, & ſubditis quibuſcumque noſtris, & Domûs ac Ordinis, & Domus quondam Militiæ Templi, in prædictis tranſmarinis partibus conſtitutis, quatenus prædictum Fratrem Albertum, viſitatorem & locum noſtrum tenentem, vel, in defectu ejuſdem, ut præmittitur, dictum Fratrem Philippum Priorem Urbis, benignè admittant, caritativéque tractent, & ſibi, ac familiis ſuis, in omnibus ſuis neceſſariis, eundo, ſtando, & redeundo liberaliter provideant, ac ei, tanquam nobis, in omnibus, ſpiritualitatem & temporalitatem quoquo modo tangentibus, intendant & pareant reverenter; ſibi impertire ſtudentes in his, quæ ad curam, & regimen, & adminiſtrationem dictorum bonorum, ac expeditionem felicem & celerem negotiorum noſtrorum, & Domûs, ſuum fideliter conſilium, auxilium, & favorem; ſic tanquam filii obedientiæ, ſe habentes in prædictis, quòd devotionis eorum promptitudinem condignis in Domino laudibus attollere valeamus.

In quorum omnium teſtimonium & certitudinem, Bulla noſtra communis plumbea præſentibus eſt appenſa.

Data Rodi, die ſeptimâ decimâ menſis Octobris, Anno Domini milleſimo trecenteſimo duodecimo, *Rymer pag.* 459.

The End of the First Volume.

PROOFS
OF THE
HISTORY
OF THE
Knights Hoſpitallers
OF
St. JOHN of JERUSALEM.

BOOK V.

PROOF I. *p.* 254.

Clemens, &c. Heliono de Villanova Magiſtro Hoſpitalis ſancti Joannis Hieroſolymitani.

HABET Cleri & populi quaſi communis & vulgaris opinio, quæ per multos magnos viros ſæpius extitit in noſtra præſentia recitata, quod tu, fili & aliæ perſonæ Hoſpitalis de bonis innumeris ipſius Hoſpitalis in tranſmarinis & ciſmarinis partibus boni facitis quaſi nihil: niſi quod perſonæ Hoſpitalis ejuſdem, adminiſtrationes gerentes, equos magnos & pulchros equitant, cibis vacant delectabilibus, pompoſis veſtibus, vaſis aureis & argenteis & pretioſis aliis ornamentis utuntur, aves & canes tenent & nutriunt venaticos, pecunias congregant & conſervant innumeras, & raras vel modicas eleemoſynas largiuntur: & cùm bona dicti Hoſpitalis pro defenſione ac dilatatione fidei catholicæ tutioneque Chriſticolarum, præſertim in eiſdem tranſmarinis partibus morantium, deputata fore fidelium devotione noſcantur, de iis ſollicitudinem aliquam perſonæ dicti Hoſpitalis gerere non videntur. Propter quòd quandoque tactum eſt, fore non parum utile fidei & fidelibus ante dictis, quod alia militaris religio crearetur per ſedem Apoſtolicam & dotaretur de parte bonorum Hoſpitalis prædicti, ſuas rationes illi, qui ſuadebant hujuſmodi novam religionem creari, ex iis quæ præmiſſa ſunt, fulcientes, & ſubjungentes nihilominus, quod virtuoſius & utilius duæ religiones militares in eiſdem tranſmarinis partibus agerent mutuo zelo, quàm una, ſicut olim Hoſpitalarii ac Templarii faciebant; & etiam, quod ad hoc abunde ſufficerent bona Hoſpitalis prædicti, quamvis nos aſſenſum non præbuerimus, de tua prædicta reformatione & correctione utili, ſicut præmiſimus, confidentes. [Addit triſtem famam multorum gemitibus ac ſuſpiriis diffuſam increbreſcere, Turcas in Romaniæ fideles magno

furore excurrere, ac deſævire: ad quorum frangendos impetus, ne religionem Chriſtianam in iis partibus penitus extinguant, vertenda ſint arma; ſeque, adhibitis in conſilium Cardinalibus & aliis viris rei militaris peritis, comparandam adverſus barbaros claſſem cenſuiſſe. Qua verò ratione conflanda eſſet ſubjicit.]

Duximus deliberatione provida ordinandum, quod viginti galeæ armatæ ac munitæ in eiſdem partibus pro hujuſmodi ſubſidio modo qui ſequitur, habeantur: videlicet per chariſſimum in Chriſto filium noſtrum Regem Cypri illuſtrem quatuor, & per dilectum filium ducem & commune Venetiarum quinque, ac Hoſpitale ſex heredes quoque quondam Nicolai Semita una per triennium teneantur, & nos quatuor pro iſto anno de ſpeciali gratia noſtris habeamus expenſis: quamvis tam per aliquos ex Fratribus noſtris S. R. E. Cardinales, quàm alias nobis ſæpe dictum fuerit & ſuggeſtum, quod nedum expenſa dictarum quatuor galearum deberent fieri & miniſtrari per Hoſpitale prædictum; quin potius totalis armata poſſet commode ipſius Hoſpitalis expenſis teneri, cùm à pluribus aſſeratur te plus de theſauro quàm alia tota Dei Eccleſia poſſidere: & præter hoc multi priores ipſius Hoſpitalis & Fratres habent, ut fertur, pecunias infinitas, &c.] Subdit plures conqueri, religioſos equites graves inimicitias inter ſe exercere, neque iis, qui ordini ſuam operam addixere, ſacerdotibuſve merita ſtipendia præberi: proinde tot mala emendet, ut priſtinus ejuſdem Ordinis ſplendor efflореſcat. *Dat. apud Villamnovam Avinionenſis diœceſis* VI. *Id. Auguſti, anno* II.

PROOF II. *p.* 257.

Supplique préſentée au Pape par le Dauphin, pour obtenir le Commandement de l'Armée Chrétienne dans la guerre contre les Turcs.

SUPPLIE à votre S. votre humble fils Humbert Dauphin de Vienne, que il vous plaiſe à lui octroyer à être Capitain de ce Saint Voyage contre les Turcs & contre les non feauls à l'Egliſe de Rome, & que tous tant Hoſpitaliers comme tous autres li ayent & doient obéir par mer & par terre.

Item, vous requiert ou cas deſſuſdit, que vous veulliez avancier la Prédication de la †.

Item, vous ſupplie qu'il vous plaiſe outroyer à lui & à tous les Transfretans, tant hommes comme femmes qui y demourront une année, ou y mourront, le plein pardon.

Item, qu'il vous plaiſe outroyer à lui & à tous les Transfretans, tant ès Clercs comme ès laiz, & auſſi à tous ceauls qui y envoyeront gens ou monoye, les privileges qui furent donnez ou outroyez quant vous, Saint Pere, preſcheaſtes la †.

Item, que tous les deniers qui ſont ſequeſtrez generelment pour l'aide du Saint paſſage ſoient délivrez à lui pour en faire & ſouſtenir les frais & les deſpens dudit paſſage par mer & par terre.

Item, que il ait les deniers de l'aide qui par vous ſera impoſée ès Egliſes, & les deniers qui y ſeront donnez par dévotion.

Et tres Saint Pere votre humble fils deſſus dit y veult mettre du ſien propre les depens de trois cens hommes d'armes & de mil arbaleſtiers à tous frais & tous couſts par mer & par terre. Entre leſquels il aura douxe banniez, & ſeront cent Chevaliers, & aura continuelment cinq galées qui ſeront ſiens, pour nagier, aler ou ſejourner à ſa Ordenance.

Et pour ſouſtenir ces frais & deſpens, vous ſupplie tres Saint Pere qu'il vous plaiſe à lui octroyer la decime de tot ſon Dalphinel & des Eveſchies eſquels ledit Dauphin ou ſes ſubgiez ont terre, hors du Royaume de France.

Item, eſt l'entente dudit Dauphin que ou cas que le Roys de France voudroit paſſer la mer pour ceſte euvre, que ledit Dauphin & ſa compagnie ſeront deſſous lui.

Et parmi ce tres Saint Pere ſupplie votre dit fils, qu'il ait & ſoit ſien tant en titre comme en fait tout ce qu'il conquerra, ſauf droit d'autre perſonne qui fut chrêtienne, & qu'il en puiſt ordener & deſpartir à ceuls qui mieux y ſerviront, & la ou mieux li ſemblera tant du temporel comme du ſpirituel.

Item, vous ſupplie qu'il ait lui avec un Legat tiel comme il vous requerra, qui ait autorité & pouvoir de vous, d'aſſoudre & de excuminier.

Item, comme s'entente ſoit de movoir à la prime-vere, plaiſe à votre S. avancier ſa délivrance, afin qu'il quiſſe être brandiz à la Saint Jehan, lequel terme li eſt moult briez, pour les proviſions & garniſons qu'il a à fayre de navilles, d'Artilleries, d'engins, de chevaux, de beſcuit, & d'autres vivres pour lui & pour ſes gens, & pour faire ſes alliances aux Venitiens, Genevois, Marſiliens & autres.

Et tres Saint Pere comme tant pour l'état du Saint Siege Apoſtolical, comme pour le Saint propos que Dieu a mis de tous jours en votre S. pourquoi l'en dit que la grace de Dieu & de ſon Benoiſt fils vous a eſleu à repréſenter ſa perſonne en terre, cette chouſe vous touche plus que nuls ne puet dire, pour ce tres Saint Pere ledit Dauphin vous offre & preſente corps, & avoir, & hommes à mettre en ceſte votre euvre & honor. Pourquoi nonobſtant les demandes, & requeſtes deſſus dittes qu'il vous a fait, quar vous ſavez mieux ce qui à ce affiert que lui, ne ſon Conſeil, ce conſidéré & que le fait eſt tout voſtre ſi comme dit eſt, il ſe ſoumet du tout à votre Ordenance de y mettre & oſter, car ainſi comme il vous plaira à en ordener il le veult faire.

Suppliant en toutes manieres il vous plaiſe que de voſtre grace il ait cet honnour. *Hiſtoire de Dauphiné*, *Edition dé Genêve*, tom. 2. pag. 507.

PROOF III. *p. 257.*

Bulla Clementis VI. quâ Humbertum Dalph. conſtituit Capitaneum generalem Exercitûs Chriſtiani in Expeditione tranſmarina contra Turcos.

CLEMENS Epiſcopus, ſervus ſervorum Dei, dilecto Filio Nobili viro Imberto Dalphino Viennenſi Capitaneo generali Sanctæ Sedis Apoſtolicæ & Duci exercitûs Chriſtianorum contra Turcos, Salutem & Apoſtolicam Benedictionem. Excitamur cura multiplici, ac ſedulis vigiliis anxiamur, ut ad reprimendum conatus nepharios perfidorum, eorumque conterendum ſuperbiam, qui contra fidem Catholicam inſurgentes, moliuntur Religionem extinguere Chriſtianam, fideles Chriſti ſuo ſanguine pretioſo redempti ea conſtantia & virtute conſurgant, quod illo eis aſſiſtente, cujus negotium agitur, eorumdem infidelium iniqua molimina proſternantur. Sanè dudum non ſine amaritudine mentis percepto, quod gentes, illorum infidelium paganorum, qui vulgari lingua Turci vocantur, ſitientes ſanguinem populi Chriſtiani, & ad extinctionem fidei Catholicæ anhelantes, collectis ſuæ viribus nationis, à certis retrò continuatis temporibus, cum maxima quantitate lignorum navalium armatorum, in partibus Romaniæ, & aliis locis fidelium convicinis, Chriſtianorum fines fuerant per mare ingreſſi, & in Chriſtianos, & loca, ac inſulas eorumdem atrociter ſævientes per mare diſcurrerant, & diſcurrere non ceſſabant, dampnificantes & depopulantes loca & Inſulas fidelium, partium earumdem, ipſaſque incendio miſerabiliter ſupponentes, & quod nephandius erat, fideles eoſdem adducebant in prædam, eoſque ſubjiciebant horribili & perpetuæ ſervituti, ipſos vendentes ut animalia, ac eos ad abnegandam fidem Catholicam compellentes; quodque inſulam Negropontis diverſis temporibus & vicibus, cum eorum iniqua potentia, & furore ſæviſſimæ hoſtilitatis invaſerant. Et poſt depopulationem & incendia, cædes & ſpolia, per infideles ipſos in dicta & aliis Inſulis ac Terris dictarum partium immaniter perpetrata, innumerabiles perſonas fidelium earumdem ceperant, ipſoſque in perpetuam redegerant ſervitutem. Nos de hujuſmodi pravis conatibus & oppreſſionibus, quos ipſorum paganorum ſævitas in eoſdem fideles atrociter exercebat, in intimis condolentes, ad ſubveniendum Chriſtianorum ſtatui ſic oppreſſo, multas vias & modos duximus exquirendos. Ita quod faciente illo, qui omnia poteſt, hujuſmodi negotium proviſis remediis contra eoſdem Turcos ſalutarem habuit huc uſque progreſſum. Cupientes igitur, totiſque præcordiis affectantes, ut quod in hac parte ad laudem Dei exaltationem fidei, ac tranquillitatem & pacem populi Chriſtiani, ſalubriter eſt incœptum, de bono ſemper in melius, Deo auſpice, proſperetur, ad perſonam tuam generis nobilitate præclaram, potentia præditam, virtutibus inſignitam, ac nobis, & Eccleſiæ Romanæ caram multipliciter & acceptam, oculos dileximus noſtræ mentis, & tandem ſuper his diligenti deliberatione præhabita, te, utpote ejuſdem fidei ſervidum zelatorem id devotè petentem & etiam requirentem, Capitaneum Sanctæ Sedis Apoſtolicæ, & ducem Ex-

ercitûs Chriſtianorum contra eoſdem Turcos, autoritate Apoſtolica facimus, conſtituimus & ordinamus, modo qui ſequitur Generalem. Arripies namque iter, Deo duce, pro transfretando ad Turciæ partes quàm citò poteris bono modo ita quod ad longius pones te in mari infrà ſecundam diem inſtantis menſis Augusti, & eris, Deo dante, in dicta inſula Negropontis infra medium inſtantis menſis Octobris, duceſque tecum ad minus centum homines tam Milites, quàm Armigeros bonos & ſufficientes in factis armorum, quos tenebis ibidem tuis ſtipendiis & expenſis, per tempus quo liga inter nos, Romanam Eccleſiam, & chariſſimum in Chriſto filium noſtrum Hugonem Regem Cypri illuſtrem, ac dilectos filios Magiſtrum & Fratres Hoſpitales Sancti Joannis Hieroſolymitani, Ducem & Commune Venetiarum, & nonnullos alios, de certis Galeis contra eoſdem Turcos tenendis, dudum inita durabit, & ſi contingat tempus, ſeu ligam hujuſmodi prorogari, habebis nihilominus inibi tenere dictos homines armorum ad minus per tres annos, à tempore ordinationis hujuſmodi computandos, prout hæc omnia in noſtra, & Fratrum noſtrorum S.R.E. Cardinalium præſentia perſonaliter conſtitutus ſpontaneè promiſiſti, ac ſuper his inviolabiliter obſervandis præſtitiſti corporaliter juramentum, per te poſt modum vivificæ ſigno Crucis, ac vexillo S. R. E. publice de noſtris manibus, pro his exequendis aſſumptis. Per hæc autem nolumus nos, vel Sedem prædictam ad dandum aliud tibi, ratione Capitaneatûs, & Ducatûs hujuſmodi quoquo modo adſtringi. Nulli ergo omnino hominum, &c. Datum apud Villam Novam Avinionenſis Diœceſis VII. Kal. Junii, Pontificatûs noſtri anno quarto. *Hiſtoire de Dauphiné, Edition de Genêve, tome 2. page 511.*

PROOF IV. *p. 258.*

Bulla Clementis VI. ad Humb. Dalph. qua de Treugis ineundis cum Turcis cogitandum eſſe mandat propter diſſenſiones ortas in multis Chriſtianitatis partibus.

CLEMENS Epiſcopus, &c. filio Nobili viro Humberto Dalphino Vienn. Sicut tuæ nobilitatis prudentiam non credimus ignorare, in Franciæ, Angliæ, Alamanniæ & Siciliæ Regnis ac Italiæ, & quaſi omnibus aliis Chriſtianitatis partibus, adeò, peccatis exigentibus, vigent his temporibus diſſenſiones & guerræ, quod illi qui zelo devotionis accenſi ad juvandum negotium Dei, pro quo in partibus tranſmarinis adversùs hoſtes Fidei Catholicæ peregrinari, teque multis laboribus & periculis cum expenſarum & ſumptuum profluviis exponere noſceris, propoſuerant & etiam proponebant, nequeunt adimplere ſuper his vota ſua, nec decemalia & alia ſubſidia propter ea impoſita poſſunt exigi & levari, quamobrem his & aliis occurrentibus conſideratis attentè, non ſolum expediens, ſed etiam neceſſarium omnino nobis de concordi & unanimi Conſilio Fratrum noſtrorum videtur, quod ad treugas de quibus fiebat in tuis nobis miſſis litteris mentio, faciendas & ineundas meliori, honorabiliori & tutiori modo quo fieri poterit procedatur. Ideoque adhibitis cum venerabili Fratre noſtro Franciſco Archiepiſcopo Cretenſi in partibus illis Apoſtolicæ Sedis Vice-Legato, dilectis filiis Deodato de Goſono Magiſtro Hoſpitalis Sancti Joannis Hieroſolymitano & Iſnardo de Albarno Priore Domûs Capuæ Hoſpitalis prædicti, necnon Patronis Galearum clariſſimi in Chriſto Filii noſtri Hugonis Regis Cypri Illuſtris, ac Ducis & Communit. Venetorum & aliis de unione fidelium, de quibus tuæ diſcretioni videbitur tractatu & deliberatione maturis circa eaſdem faciendas treugas laborare cum omni diligentia & ſollicitudine non poſtponas, neceſſitatem præmiſimus quæ nequaquam propalanda eſt quomodolibet, tenenda nihilominus ſub ſecreto; circa quas quidem treugas faciendas, una de duabus viis, ut per te aſſumenda videtur, videlicet, quod ad eas per te præfertur, ad honorem Dei & Eccleſiæ Sanctæ ſuæ, utilitatemque fidei & Fidelium procedas tanquam Capitaneus Generalis, ſeu quod forma illarum tractetur & ordinetur per te, ac alios quos contigerit in illis partibus, & ordinata nobis ante perfectionem treugarum ipſarum mittantur, ut nos habita ſuper hoc deliberatione provida, tibi quod nobis utiliùs occurrerit reſcribamus, aſſumptis interim ſufferentiis aliquibus uſque ad tempus de quo tuæ diſcretioni videbitur duraturis, tu verò qui conſtitutus in ſchola experientiæ, quæ dictarum duarum viarum magis opportuna & expediens fuerit noſcere potes, ſuper expedientiori & utiliori via hujuſmodi diligenter &

ſedulo procedere non obmittas. Hæc quidem ſic ſecretè tenenda providimus, quod nec multis, nec etiam aliqui de tuis Nunciis ea volumus aperire.

Expedit tamen & volumus quod prædictæ ineundæ treugæ non perpetuæ, ſed temporales ſint, ita quod tempus decennii non tranſcendant, ſperans equidem in Domino, quod interim in Chriſtianitatis partibus, à Domino, pace data, pro fide Catholica in illis tranſmarinis partibus dilatanda, utilius & ſalubrius poterit remedium ordinari, nec te fili latere volumus, quod hæc ſuper his quæ per nos pro unione prædicta pro toto tempore ipſius, & etiam biennio, ad quod prorogata eſt ſicut noſti, per nos promiſſa ſunt, nullatenus deficere, ſed ea complere integraliter intendamus: tamen ultra hoc aliter, vel alias pecunias durante præſentis temporis malitia, mittere non poſſemus, quia ut præmittitur, de decimalibus vel aliis ſubſidiis parum poteſt & potuit hactenus colligi vel haberi, quin imo ea quæ uſque modo miſſa ſunt, non ſine noſtri & Eccleſiæ Romanæ noſtræque Cameræ gravaminibus, pro majori parte de noſtris pecuniis ſunt recepta.

Ceterum te proficiſci ad Sepulcrum Dominicum nullo modo expedit, donec dictæ treugæ completæ fuerint & firmatæ, tunc verò cum omnibus illis, de quibus tibi videbitur, dictum Sepulcrum & alia Oratoria Terræ Sanctæ viſitare poteris, metu pœnarum quarumlibet per Conſtitutiones vel prohibitiones Apoſtolicas adverſus illos qui ad partes illas accedunt inflictarum ceſſante, ac nihilominùs, nonobſtantibus votis, promiſſionibus, juramentis, & obligationibus emiſſis, & factis per te, de morando uſque ad certi temporis ſpatium in illis partibus, ad has partes cum gratia noſtræ benedictionis redire.

Ulteriùs cum negotium prædictum non ad impugnandum Græcos, ſed ad reprimendum Turcorum Infidelium auſus temerarios, ne Fideles partium illarum affligerentur per ipſos, incoatum extiterit, ſicut noſti, de illo Cantacuzeno & Græcis aliis de quibus faciebant tuæ Litteræ mentionem, te, factis dictis treugis, intromittere ſicut credimus non oportet. Datum Avinione IV. Kal. Decemb. Pontificatûs noſtri anno quinto. *Hiſt. de Dauphiné, Edition de Genêve*, I. 2. p. 536.

CLEMENS Epiſcopus ſervus ſervorum Dei, dilecto filio Nob. viro Humberto Dalphino Vienn. &c. Dudum magnæ devotionis zelum, quem, tanquam vir Catholicus, Deoque devotus, ad defenſionem & dilatationem fidei Catholicæ gerere dignoſceris, operis exhibitione cupiens deducere in apertum, generalem Capitaneatum Exercitûs communionis Fidelium, in partibus Romaniæ contra Turcos, hoſtes Chriſti feroces & perſecutores crudeles nominis Chriſtiani, gerendum & exercendum in perſona tua propria, deſideriis ferventibus, ad honorem Dei & Eccleſiæ ſanctæ ſuæ, fideique prædictæ, ac tuæ ſalutem animæ aſſumpſiſti. Promittendo, in noſtra & Fratrum noſtrorum præſentia, proprio juramento, ad partes prædictas Romaniæ te conferre perſonaliter, ibidemque dictum Officium, uſque ad certi temporis ſpatium, prout Divina tibi aſſiſtente gratia poſſes utiliùs & fideliùs exercere. Sanè cum tu poſtmodum ad partes prædictas accedens, per magnam partem dicti temporis inibi duxeris Officium hujuſmodi exequendum, & ex certis cauſis rationabilibus ad id nos moventibus, voluerimus tibi, ut non obſtante, quod totum tempus per quod debebas in dictis partibus exequendo dictum Officium commorari, nondum finitum extiterit, ad has partes ciſmarinas & noſtram præſentiam poſſis venire liberè licentiam duxerimus per noſtras litteras concedendam, ut ratione juramenti prædicti per te præſtiti & alias circa præmiſſa tuæ puritati conſcientiæ pleniùs ſatisfiat, quod Confeſſor tuus idoneus Religioſus vel Secularis, quem duxeris eligendum, te ſuper eodem & alio quocumque juramento, etiam de non redeundo ad has partes, citra tempus prædictum, per te quomodolibet præſtito, autoritate noſtra hac vice valeat diſpenſare, tibi tenore præſentium indulgemus. Datum Avinione decimo quarto Kal. Aprilis, Pontificatûs noſtri anno quinto. *Ibid.* pag. 553.

PROOF V. *p.* 258.

Bulla Clementis VI. ad Humb. Dalph. quâ eum conſolatur de morte Mariæ de Baucio, ac hortatur, ad ſecundas nuptias convolaret.

CLEMENS Epiſcop. ſervus ſervorum Dei, dilecto filio viro Humberto Dalphin. Vien. Una tantum littera miſſa nobis de partibus tranſmarinis, & multorum relatibus audivimus, quondam Mariam conjugem tuam migraſſe ad Dominum in eiſdem partibus ab hac luce, & licet more conditionis humanæ, de ſubſtractione ipſius tam devotæ in Chriſto filiæ doleamus, tibique in tam longinqua regione peregrinanti ejuſdem conjugis deſtituto ſolatio, paternis compatiamur affectibus, in viſceribus caritatis. Quia tamen eidem, quæ bene ut intelleximus vivere ſtuduit, ſicque non potuit malè mori, ſuum ſibi tranſitum, præſertim quia in proſecutione tam pii negotii ad quod vigentem devotionem habebat, vitæ ſuæ finivit terminum, credimus fuiſſe fœlicem; eamque de laboribus ad quietem, & de miſeriis ad gloriam feliciter tranſiviſſe, propter quæ caris ſuis eſſet ſi vis doloris rationis ſubjugaretur Imperio, gaudendum ſuper eodem tranſitu potiùs, quàm triſtandum. Nobilitatem tuam rogamus attentè, quatenus Divinæ diſpoſitioni ſuper his & aliis tuis adverſitatibus, cum devotis gratiarum actionibus, tanquam vir prudens, virtuoſus & conſtans, quovis ceſſante murmure te coaptans, in eo qui eſt Pater conſolationis ac virtus & fortitudo fragilium te conſoleris, & nihilominus ut ipſe poſteritatem tibi ſervituram, & Reipublicæ utilem dignetur concedere, devotis & juſtis apud eum orationibus, & ad contrahendum matrimonium propterea cum aliqua muliere apta & idonea, de qua donante Domino, prolem numeroſam ſuſcipias, non differas aſpirare. Super aliis autem ad præſens non ſcribimus, cum de ſtatu tuo varia, quibuſdam dicentibus, te ad has partes redire, aliis verò te illicò velle remanere aſſerentibus, noſtris auribus inſtillentur; ſuper his verò certiorati, tibi ſcribere intendimus magis plenè. Datum Avinioni Idib. Maii, Pontificatûs noſtri anno quinto. *Ibid.* p. 554.

PROOF VI. *p.* 258.

Tractatio habita de Matrimonio ineundo inter Humb. Dalph. & Blancham Sororem Amedœi Comitis Sabaudiæ.

PRO parte Dom. Dalphini ſunt dati Tractatores, Fr. Jacobus Riveriæ, præceptor Navarræ, Ordinis Sancti Antonii Vienn. Amblardus Dominus de Bello-Monte, Fr. de Revello, Petrus de Lucingio, Nicolaus de Glande, Milites & Guillelmus Fornerii Licentiatus in utroque Jure, & Procurator præfati Dom. Dalphini: pro parte verò dictæ Dom. Blanchæ & dicti Dom. Comitis dati ſunt Tractatores, Dom. Petrus de Monte-gelato, Jacobus de Claro-monte, Dominus Sanctæ Helenæ, Petrus de Compeſio, Dominus Vulpelheriarum, Petrus de Gebennis, Milites, & Petrus de Muris, ac Petrus Berre Juriſperiti, & pro utraque partium fuerunt Mediatores communiter dati, & concorditer aſſignati, Dom. G. Epiſcopus Carpentorat. & Dom. G. Electus Petragoricen. & Dom. Comes Gebennenſ. In primis placet Tractatoribus ſupra dictis, ut dictum matrimonium contrahatur & compleatur, per modum qui ſequitur.

Primò, quòd dictus Dom. Comes Sabaudiæ det & conſtituat in dotem dictæ Nobili Blanchæ ſorori ſuæ, 120000. flor.

Item, quòd dicta 120000. flor. ſolvantur terminis qui ſequuntur, primò, quòd 20000. flor. ſtatim remittantur & deducantur, ratione cujuſdam debiti, in quo dictus Dom. Dalph. tenetur Dom. Comiti ſuprad. prout in Inſtrumentis ſuper hoc confectis continetur.

Item, 10000. flor. ſolvantur realiter in die nuptiarum.

Item, alia 10000. in media Quadrageſima proximè veniente.

Item, deinde quolibet anno in media quadrageſima, 6000. flor. donec de dicta 120000. flor. ſumma fuerit plenariè ſatisfactum.

Item, actum eſt quòd 13000. flor. quæ vel circà poterant deberi præf. Dom. Comiti, per dict. Dom. Dalphinum, de reſta cujuſdam debiti, ſtatim remittantur dicto Dom. Dalphino in recompenſationem Cameræ & aliorum ornamentorum, exceptis ornamentis capitis, quæ ornamenta capitis ſibi dabit dict. Dom. Comes honorabiliter, ſicut decet.

Item, actum eſt quòd dabit dict. Dom. Comes præfatæ ſorori ſuæ veſtes, & alia ornamenta ſibi condecentia pro tempore nuptiarum.

Item, actum eſt quòd dict. Dom. Dalphinus teneatur dare & aſſignare dictæ Dom. Blanchæ ratione dotalitii decem mille flor. annuales aſſignandos in Caſtris Viſiliæ, Montis-Bonodi, Muræ-Matacenæ, Belli-Montis & Corvi, & mandamentis eorum & Juriſdictionibus, & honoribus quibuſcumque, & in aliis Caſtris & locis circumvicinis, ſi prædicta non ſufficerent, & quòd dicta Caſtra ſibi tradantur, ædificiis & Fortalitiis dictorum Caſtrorum minimè computatis, homagio ligio & cavalcatis ac reſorto Juridico & ſecundis Appellationibus dicto Dom. Dalphino retentis; pœnis, bannis, commiſſis, & cognitionibus pro dictis cavalcatis dictæ Dominæ Blanchæ retentis.

Item, in caſum & eventum, ubi deberet fieri reſtitutio dotis, fiet per hunc modum, quòd dicta viginti millia flor. quæ debent remitti & deduci, ut ſuprà dictum eſt, non reſtituantur in caſu ubi ab ipſa Domina dict. Dom. Dalphinus habebit prolem ſuperſtitem, aliàs autem, videlicet poſt deceſſum dicti Dom. Dalphini, & non antè, fiat reſtitutio, ſicut de aliis centum millibus flor. infra ſcrip.

Item, de dictis centum millibus flor. & de dictis viginti millibus ſupradictis in caſu prædictæ reſtitutionis fiat reſtitutio per hunc modum, videlicet viginti millia flor. reſtituantur infrà annum à tempore ſoluti matrimonii, & deinde anno quolibet ſex millia flor. quo uſquè de dicta ſumma fuerit plenariè ſatiſfactum.

Item, in caſu ubi reſtitutio prædictæ dotis fuerit plenariè facta, quòd tunc ceſſet totaliter dotalitium ſupradictum.

Item, quòd prædicta ſerventur fortiori modo quo poterunt, taliter quòd partes debeant contentari.

Intendit Dom. Dalphinus quòd illa decem millia flor. quæ de dote dicebantur & ordinabantur per Tractatores, ſibi ſolvi in media Quadrageſima, eidem in die deſpenſationis realiter exſolvantur aut reſpondeantur pro parte Dom. Comitis ſolvi nomine dicti Dom. Dalphini Lappo de Ruſpo ſeu aliis mercatoribus Romanæ Curiæ, nominandis per ipſum Dom. Dalphinum taliter quòd dicti mercatores indè quittent eumdem Dom. Dalphinum, & ſibi reſtituant jocalia ſua quæ habent penès ſe nomine pignoris obligata.

Item, ſuper quarto capitulo addatur quòd Dom. Comes teneatur ad ornamenta quæque capitis & corporis Dom. Blanchæ, & omnia quæ ſpectant ad dicta ornamenta facere honorificè ſecundùm decentiam honoris, dignitatis & ſtatûs dicti Dom. Dalphini & prædictorum Dom. Comitis & Domicellæ.

Item, in caſu quo convolaret ipſa Domicella ad ſecundas nuptias, intendit Dom. Dalphinus quòd ceſſet omninò dotalitium ſibi dandum, aut fructus ejuſdem in dotis reſtitutionem cedant & totaliter convertantur, quo caſu ceſſionis & converſionis fructuum in dictam reſtitutionem Caſtra quæcumque & loca quæcumque aſſignanda pro dicto dotalitio teneri & regi debeant omni tempore per homines ligios Dom. Dalphini, qui tunc erit, ita quòd nullum poſſit eidem Dom. Dalphino ſuper ipſis Caſtris & locis periculum eminere.

Si verò ad ſecundas non convolaret nuptias, teneat dotalitium ipſa vivente, quouſquè dumtaxat recuperavit dictam dotem, ſi ipſam recuperare voluerit, ad quod tamen compelli ſeu arctari non poſſit, & in caſu quo dotem ipſam recuperare voluerit, tunc facta prima ſolutione dictæ reſtitutionis dotis, quæ ſolutio debet eſſe de decem millibus flor. minuatur & extenuetur ipſum dotalitium de mille & ducentis flor. & deindè anno quolibet in qualibet ſolutione dictæ reſtitutionis minuatur & extenuetur dictum dotalitium, de ipſoque deducatur pro rata ut ſuprà, adeò quòd facta totali reſtitutione dictæ dotis omninò ceſſet dotalitium ipſum, & ſit ex tunc ulteriùs viribus vacuatum.

Item, non intendit Dom. Dalphinus quòd dicta Domicella aliquam quittationem faciat de hæreditate ſeu ſucceſſione, imo quòd ſibi reſerventur jura quæcumque ſibi competentia & competitura in ſucceſſione materna & fraternis, & aliorum quorumcumque agnatorum & cognatorum.

Item, memorandum quòd ſi dotis reſtitutio locum haberet, Dom. Dalphino præmoriente non ſuperſtitibus liberis ab eiſdem communibus, dat ſibi Dom. in

augmentum dotis, decem millia flor. & ſi ipſa præmoriretur nullis etiam liberis remanentibus communibus ex eiſdem, dentur Dom. de dicta dote decem millia flor.

Humb. Dalph. Vienn. dilectis fidelibus Bayllivis, Judicibus, Procuratoribus & cæteris Officiar. noſtris Ebredunesii & Brianczonesii, ad quos præſentes pervenerint, vel eorum loca tenent ſalut. vobis & veſtrûm cuilibet exprſsè præcipiendo mandamus, quatenus, quandocumque per R. in Chr. P. Dei gratiâ Archiep. Ebredun. ſeu Officiarios ejuſdem fueritis requiſiti, eiſdem contra Valdenſes, & hæreticos quoſcumque, ad hoc quòd fides orthodoxa ſuſcipiat incrementum, & hæretica pravitas deprimatur, de ipſis quoque Valdenſibus & hæreticis debita miniſtretur juſtitia, ope, conſiliis & auxiliis cum quacumque poteritis diligentia & efficacia ſollicitudinis aſſiſtatis. Datum in Villa-Nova Sancti Andreæ, prope Avinionem, ſub annulo noſtro ſecreto, in abſentia Cancellarii noſtri, die 2. menſ. Januarii, anno Nat. Domini 1348. per Dominum orethenùs exped. H. P. *Ibid.* p. 568.

PROOF VII. *p.* 261.

FRA Deodato di Gozone, per la gratia di Dio, humil Maeſtro, della Sacra Caſa dello Spedale di San Giovanni Gieroſolimitano, e Cuſtode de' Poueri di Gieſù Chriſto. A' Reliſiogi in Chriſto, à noi cariſſimi Fratello, o Fratelli; il Priore, o Priori di Danimarca, di Dacia, di Norvegia, e di Suetia; & à ciaſcuno di eſſi, à cui, od à quali, le preſenti noſtre peruerranno, ſalute, nel Figliuolo della Glorioſa Vergine. Con paterna ſollecitudine, volentieri eccitiamo gli animi voſtri à quelle coſe, mediante le quali per la gloria della profeſſione, ſotto la quale, all' Altiſſimo militate, il ſempiterno Palio del Sommo Bene acquiſtar poſſiate. Hauendo dunque per relatione di molti inteſo, che frà gli altri Fratelli dell' Ordine noſtro, voi ſete di lodevol vita, e Figliuoli d'ubbidienza; utilmente gouernando le coſe, ch'al reggimento, & all' amminiſtratione voſtra, commeſſe ſono; Siamo da una certa ammiratione, e marauiglia commoſſi, che da lungo tempo in quà, dopo che l'Ordine noſtro, ſi partì dalla Terra Santa; non habbi de' Bene ſuoi, che ſono in detti Priorati; da Voi hauuta riſponſione alcuna; ne habbi quindi ſentito refrigerio di ſouuentione, o ſoccorſo alcuno.

Crediamo certamente, ancorche voi habitiate ne gli ultimi confini della Terra; che ſappiate beniſſimo, e che per fama debbiate hauer inteſo, che nell' Iſola, chiamata Rodi, con gran moltitudine di Fratelli della Caſa ſopradetta, e d'altri Soldati habitiamo; facendo continoua guerra, contra crudeliſſimi nemicidella Chriſtiana Fede, che Turchi volgarmente ſi chiamano; la cui sfrenata temerità, più orgoglioſamente del ſolito, per la gran potenza loro, alzando in queſti tempi le corna; hà coſi ferocemente minacciati, & aſſaliti gli Habitanti di quà dal mare; che ſe'l Santiſſimo Signor noſtro Papa Clemente Seſto, e molti altri Ré, e Principi Cattolici; con Galere, e Soldati, non gli haueſſero ſoccorſi; la Fede Cattolica in queſte Parti, diradicata, & à niente ridotta hauerebbono; uccidendo con crudel morte i Profeſſori, e Difenditori di quella, Però eſſendo, che queſta noſtra profeſſione inuita noi, più di tutti gli altri Huomini del Mondo, alla difeſa, & all' aumento della detta Santa Fede; e che i Beni dell' Ordine noſtro, à queſt'uſo ſpecialmente deputati ſono: Debbiamo, e poſſiamo non ſenza ragione marauigliarci, ch'in occaſione, & in tempo di tanta neceſſità, e biſogno; traſcuriate di mandar al Convento noſtro, di quà dal mare, le Riſponſioni voſtre; come indifferentemente fanno gli altri Priori, e Comendatori di tutte l'altre Parti del Mondo.

E perche cio tende ancora in dannatione dell'Anime voſtre, & in noſtro inſopportabil danno; Poſciache qui mantener non ci poſſiamo, ſenza eſſere ſouuenuti delle debite Riſponſioni, che da' Beni noſtri, in ogni Parte del Mondo ſituati, giuſtamente ci appartengono; ſtrettamente, & in virtù diſanta ubbidienza, comandiamo, & ordiniamo à tutti, & à ciaſcun di voi, che ſenza ſcuſa, o contradittione alcuna, debbiate infallibilmente gagare ogn'anno, le Riſponſioni di coteſti Priorati; in mano del Riceuitore dell'Ordine noſtro in Fiandra. Aſſicurandoui, che ſe vi trouaremo con effetto Figliuoli ubbidienti, & divoti; Voi all'incontro ci trouarete Padre benigno, & amoreuole; all'utile, & honor voſtro inchinato, e prontiſſimo. Data in Rodi, a'venticinque d'Agoſto, dell'anno mille trecento, e quaranta ſette. *Ex Boſio*, Tom. 2. p. 76.

PROOF VIII. *at the bottom of page* 270.

PROOF IX. *p.* 271.

ONde eſſendo il Papa informato di quei diſordini, & eſſendogli da' Veſcoui, & da' Prelati date ogni giorno molte querele, intorno alla licentioſa vita de' Caualieri, e Religioſi; ſignificandogli, che la maggior parte delle Chieſe di queſt' Ordine, erano maliſſimo ſervite, e che molte ſe n'andavano in rouina; fece ſpedire una lettera; data in Avignone, a' diciaſette di Giugno, dell'anno ſeguente, mille trecento ſettandue; con la quale, dando particolarmente conto, & informatione al Gran Maeſtro, di quanto paſſava; gli ordinò in virtù di Santa Vbbidienza; ſotto pena di Scomunica, e Soſpenſione del Magiſterio, che doueſſe far convocare un Capitolo Generale, in qualche luogo vicino alla Romana Corte, per il primo giorno di Maggio, dell'anno futuro, mille trecento, e ſettantatrè; per riformar i coſtumi de' Religioſi; e per far tutte l'ordinationi, ch'erano neceſſarie; per riſtoramento, e riforma dell'Ordine; delle Chieſe, e de' Beni ſuoi. Ordinandogli di comandar eſpreſſamente à tutti i Priori, e Comendatori, che doueſſero andar al detto Capitolo ben'inſtrutti, in informati delle Perſone, e della vita di tutti i Cavalieri, e Religioſi, ch'erano ſtati deputati al gouerno, & all'amminiſtratione de' Beni della Religione; e particolarmente di quelli, che già furono de Templari. E ſcriſſe al Caualier Fra Sicardo Muronetro, al quale il Gran Maeſtro, & il Conuento hauenano conferito il Priorato di San Gilio, col'carico di Luogotenente del Gran Maeſtro; mandandogli copia della lettera, ch'all'iſteſſo Gran Maeſtro ſcritta hauena, e dandogli particolar commiſſione di far adunar il Capitolo ſuddetto; il quale per alcuni riſpetti, ordinò poi il medeſimo Pontefice, che ſi prolungaſſe fin'al Settembre, del detto anno, mille trecento, e ſettantatrè. Et hauendo ſcritto al Gran Maeſtro, che mandar doueſſe al Capitolo ſuddetto, due Religioſi per ogni Lingua, di quelli, ch'erano in Convento; ordinò poi, che per euitar la ſpeſa, & il faſtidio di tanti; ne mandaſſe ſolamente quattro, per tutte quante le Lingue. *Ibid. ad ann.* 1372. *pag.* 112.

PROOF X. *p.* 273.

SOllicitato ita Ludovico, ut terra Amuratem aggrederetur, conſtituit Pontifex, ut quingenti equites Hoſpitalarii S. Joannis Jeroſolymitani ſuccincti totidem ſcutatis militibus, armiſque egregiè inſtructi in Græciam trajicerent ad Græcos contra Turcicos impetus tutandos: qua de re encyclicis litteris ad Hoſpitalarios Bohemiæ, Galliæ, Navarræ, Caſtellæ, Aquitaniæ, Angliæ, Luſitaniæ datis expoſuit miſerandum orientalium rerum ſtatum, inſulas Ægæi maris ſubactas, everſum pene Græcorum imperium, Turcarum vectigalem Conſtantinopolim factam, Bulgariam & Serviam quati, Armeniam Saracenis Turciſque cinctam. Ad reſtituendam itaque collabentem religionem illos inſtruere arma juſſit, ut appetente anni hujus ſeculi ſeptuageſimi ſeptimi vere, mare trajicerent.

GREGORIUS, &c. Hoſpitalariis Regni Bohemiæ, &c. Ingentiſſima damna aliaque mala animarum & corporum, non abſque flebili memoratu fidelium recitanda, quæ evenerunt propter Chriſtianorum negligentiam, in graviſſimum diſpendium fidei Chriſtianæ commiſſam, piget & pudet recolere: ſed id cogit urgens neceſſitas, ut oſtenſis negligentiæ culpis, & infeliciſſimis eventibus ſubſecutis, ex eis ipſæ culpæ horreantur deteſtabilius, & promptioribus animis poſſibilis emendatio præbeatur. Eſt ſiquidem notiſſimum, quod olim, etiam de multorum memoria, impii Turchi perſecutores nominis Chriſtiani, non inventa reſiſtentia ſufficienti fidelium, poſt diſſipationem multarum inſularum, quæ fertiles erant & habitatæ per populos Chriſtianos, invaſerunt, occuparunt, & deſtruxerunt fere totum glorioſum imperium Romaniæ, & ſibi tributarium effecerunt, abductis ab inde inſervitutem miſerrimam infinitis perſonis utriuſque ſexus, quas ad terras ſuas abducere voluerunt: nuncque imperium Bulgariæ & regnum Serviæ aliaſque partes dictorum Chriſtianorum crudeliter impetere aſſeruntur. Civitas quoque glorioſa Conſtantinopolitana & ejus Imperator illuſtris adeo ſunt arctati à Turchis eiſdem, quod non ſolum eis tributarii facti ſunt, ſed fere in eorum manibus conſiſtunt, niſi ipſis per auxilium fidelium occidentalium celeriter ſuccurratur: regnumque Armeniæ minoris, utique Chriſtianum, poſitum inter Saracenos & Turcos eoſdem, jam longis temporibus auxilium fidelium occidentalium

lium etiam minimum non præſenſit; propter quod paulatim & quaſi totaliter in manus decidit impiorum.

Præmiſſis igitur & nonnullis aliis utilibus & neceſſariis cauſis circa iſtam materiam, quæ conſultius præſentibus ſubticemus, matura deliberatione digeſtis, ad laudem Dei, defenſionem & dilatationem dictæ fidei, gloriam & honorem Romanæ eccleſiæ, animarum veſtrarum ſalutem, & religionis veſtræ reformationem ac augmentum in ſpiritualibus & temporalibus, dante Domino, proventurum, auctoritate apoſtolica duximus ordinandum, ut quingenti fratres milites dicti hoſpitalis & totidem eorum ſcutiferi tempore veris anni nativitatis Domini milleſimi trecenteſimi ſeptuageſimi ſeptimi ad partes Romaniæ præfatas debeant tranſfretare, in eiſdem partibus ad dictæ ſedis beneplacitum, permanſuri, & geſturi bellum contra Turcos, prout per dilectos filios magiſtrum & conventum Rhodi dicti hoſpitalis & alios præſidentes & conſiliarios ad hoc deputandos pro tempore provide diſponetur, &c.] Præcipit, ut equitum numerum, qui ab ipſis ſubmittendus eſt, eorumque armigeros neceſſariis omnibus ad expeditionem illam obeundam inſtruant. *Dat. Avin.* VI. *id. Decembris anno* V. Quingenti illi equites totidem ſcutiferi ex variis regnis tanquam militiæ Chriſtianæ delibatus flos colligendi ab hoſpitalariis deſignati erant in ſingulis provinciis certo numero, pro quibus ſuſtentandis ſumptus conferebantur: cumque vigintiquinque ejus ordinis equites cum totidem ſcutatis militibus e Caſtella ſubmittendi forent, Henricum Regem hortatus eſt Gregorius, ut bellico apparatu inſtruendo operam daret. De quo alii etiam Reges & Principes rogati vigentur, Veneti præterea ac Genuenſes ſunt excitati, ut claſſes ornarent in Turcas: ac Thomas Gradenſis patriarcha & Andreas archiepiſcopus Genuenſis in hanc rem incumbere juſſi. Tum Joanna Regina Siciliæ, quæ vires ad Syriam recuperandam explicare affectabat, impulſa ut primum eas ad reprimendos Turcas & Conſtantinopolim defendendam converteret: ita enim conficiendæ ex univerſis regnis cruce ſignatæ expeditioni pro terra ſancta liberanda viam ſtructum iri. Reſtituendæ in Syria Chriſtianæ fidei Joanna Regina Siciliæ verſabat conſilia, cum à viris piis, qui ex oriente redierant, ſacro ſtudio eſſet accenſa: retulerant enim ii ad commovenda in impios occidentis arma, Saracenos plures ad fidem amplectendam comparatos, egregiamque ad alios opprimendos occaſionem affulſiſſe.

Spargebantur tum rumores inter Saracenos, Syros & Afros ſuperſtitionem Mahometicam à Chriſtianis exciſum iri: Joanneſque de Caſtello, Nicolaus Malavena, Corſeletus de Hamcuria, Joannes Pelizor, aliique exiſtimatione & probitate inſignes viri ad ſedem Apoſtolicam acceſſere, ut Gregorium de barbarorum conſternatione certiores facerent: ſtructam videlicet inſtaurandis rebus Syriacis egregiam viam, ac facile de trepidis, qui nondum viſo hoſte victos ſe putarent, triumphum reportatum iri. Diſcuſſis iis Gregorius, licet vaticiniis infidelium leviter fidem adhibendam non putaret, quia tamen divino miraculo interdum impiis hominibus vaticinari datum eſt, ſpernenda hæc omnino non putavit: & Carolum Francorum, Eduardum Anglorum Reges, Philippum ducem Burgundiæ, Joannem ducem Lancaſtriæ ad bellum ſacrum tentavit accendere, auctorque fuit, ut Saracenorum trepidationem explorandam curarent.

De his etiam Pontifex Bertrandum e Cliquino magiſtrum equitum in Francorum regno bellica gloria hoc tempore florentiſſimum certiorem fecit, cum ſæpius audiſſet, ipſum pio deſiderio contra Mahumetanos exercendæ religioſæ militiæ æſtuare. Negligentibus vero Regibus pontificias adhortationes, plures viri nobiles propagandæ Chriſti fidei deſiderio accenſi ſedi Apoſtolicæ expoſuere, ſe ſuaque pro orientali expeditione conficienda collocaturos; tantumque catholicorum numerum eodem pio ſtudio inflammatum, ut florentiſſimus colligi exercitus, ac militantium ipſorum opibus aut piorum eleemoſynis ſuſtentari poſſet. At Gregorius, ut neceſſariam in ea re conſilii maturitatem in bello ſacro indicendo adhiberet, Joanni Baliolo & Jacobo Mortarolo viris prænobilibus Cameracenſis & Morinenſis diœceſeon auctoritatem contulit, ut Chriſtianorum regna ac provincias obirent, & coram epiſcopis ac præſulibus aliis in publicos commentarios eorum nomina, qui bello ſacro nomen daturi eſſent, tum facultates huic expeditioni addicendas referrent, ut his omnibus exploratis ſedes Apoſtolica optimum conſilium expedire poſſet. De quo encyclicæ litteræ ad patriarchas, archiepiſcopos, & epiſcopos, univerſoſque fideles datæ ſunt.

Cùm vero ad ingentia ea conſilia mandanda operi Francorum Anglorumque concordia neceſſaria eſſet, Carolum & Eduardum graviſſimis ineunte anno litteris ad pacem conficiendam ſollicitarat, cum oratorum regiorum conventus ea de cauſa indixiſſent; atque diſerte expoſuit, quanti ad æternam ſalutem aſſequendam pacem reſtituere feſſis populis momenti foret: quot & quanta mala bello invehherentur, divinus cultus exoleſceret, atque omnium ſcelerum, quæ committantur, reum futurum, cujus culpa bellum geratur: reliquum orbem Chriſtianum ob ipſorum diſcordias fluctuare; augeri barbarorum potentiam, atque univerſum orientem periclitari: milites quos ipſi in mutuas cædes committerent, libentiſſime, uti acceperat, in religionis hoſtes ferrum converſuros. *Ex Raynald.* T. 16. ad ann. 1375. n. 19.

PROOF XI. *p.* 279.

HIS verò ad notitiam dicti Gregorii Papæ deductis, ipſe vehementer turbatus eſt & triſtis effectus, providitque circa ea quantum ſibi poſſibile fuit. Et primò fecit proceſſus ſuos contra dictos Florentinos, qui eiſdem, prout præmiſſum eſt, cauſam & occaſionem præſtiterant; quos etiam aggravavit, & reaggravavit. Et poſtquam eos ſententialiter pronuntiavit hoſtes ſuos & Eccleſiæ, ſub pœnis & ſententiis contentis mandavit ne aliquis eis vel eorum alicui participaret loquendo, comedendo, bibendo, emendo, vendendo, aut aliàs quovis modo, daretque conſilium, auxilium, vel favorem directè vel indirectè. In eorum etiam majorem deteſtationem pari modo mandavit quòd panni aut aliæ merces quæcunque per eos aut in earum territorio factæ ſive titulo emptionis, ſive donationis, aut aliàs qualitercunque ad uſum aliquorum nullatenus cederent aut reciperentur, niſi in quantum hoc ad eorum damnum ſeu jacturam cedere poſſet. Confiſcavit nihilominus omnia eorum bona tam mobilia quàm immobilia, ubicunque conſiſterent. Perſonas inſuper eorum capientium ſuas fieri ordinavit. Quorum occaſione multi tam in Avinione quàm aliis variis partibus collocati cum damnis & detrimentis innumeris ad propria redire ſunt compulſi. Ex quibus eorum communitas ad cor minimè reverſa eſt, immò fortiùs in ſua malitia extitit indurata, continuè pejora prioribus contra dictam Eccleſiam procurando & machinando, libellos etiam diffamatorios, falſa tamen & erronea continentes, contra ſtatum ipſius Eccleſiæ & perſonam dicti Papæ ubique tranſmittendo. *Bal. Pap. Aven.* Tom. 1. p. 435.

PROOF XII. *p.* 283.

TUNC verò iſti maledicti Romani nolebant exire; tranſactaque quaſi una hora, Dominus Maſſilienſis fecit tantum quòd exirent præter quadraginta vel quaſi; qui etiam armati erant, & ipſi nolebant exire; ſed perquiſiverunt totum conclavum per omnes lotgias ſeu cameras Dominorum Cardinalium ſub lectis & retro & in latrinis, dicentes: *Volumus videre ſi hic ſunt homines armorum abſconſi, aut ſi ſunt foramina per quæ aliquis poſſet intrare vel exire.* Alii verò qui exierant cuſtodiebant portam conclavi clamantes & dicentes alta voce in lingua eorum: *Romano lo volemo lo Papa.* Ibid. p. 457.

PROOFS
OF THE
HISTORY
OF THE
Knights Hoſpitallers
OF
St. JOHN of JERUSALEM.

BOOK VI.

PROOF I. *p.* 296.

REdiit quoque animus Græcis, qui continuis à Bajazete cladibus atterebantur. Immiſerat ille jam ante Jacupum Baſſan quinquaginta millibus Barbarorum ſuccinctum in Peloponneſum, totque ſtrages ediderat, ut Theodorus deſpota porphyrogenitus Emmanuelis Imperatoris frater, cum ex obſeſſa Conſtantinopoli nulla accerſere auxilia poſſet, Spartam Rhodiis equitibus pretio vendiderit, ut eo reliquam ditionem facilius tueretur, ac Spartiatæ Latinorum virtute contra barbarorum impetus tuti eſſent. Meminit Jacobus Boſius ex vetuſtis equitum religioſorum monumentis Raymundum Leſtura Toloſanum priorem, & Eliam Foſſatum præceptorem ad inuendam Spartæ poſſeſſionem miſſos, atque hoc anno XXI. Junii die, religioſi Ordinis equeſtris in Peloponneſo legatos creatos, inſtructoſque ſumma auctoritate, ut cum Spartiatæ equitum dominatum admittere abnuerent, de variis arcibus peninſulæ cum Petro e S. Superano Achaiæ moderatore paciſcerentur. Hic vero obſervandum, ut Spartiatæ ſe Turcarum furori objicere maluerint, quàm equitum Hieroſolymitanorum imperium ſuſcipere, unde juſta in eos Dei ultio perſpici poſſit: nam miſeri repudiato Latinorum patrocinio ac dominatu, poſtea Turcica tyrannide ſunt oppreſſi. *Ex Rainaldo*, Tom. 17. ann. 1401.

Proof II. *at the bottom of page* 302.

PROOF III. *p.* 336.

EUGENIUS PP. IV. chariſſimo in Chriſto filio Joanni Caſtellæ & Legionis Regi illuſtri, Salutem, &c. Ex literis dilecti filii Antonii Fluviani Magiſtri Hoſpitalis S. Joannis Jeroſolymitani, & fide digna aliorum relatione intelleximus, quod Chriſtianæ fidei perfidus hoſtis ſoldanus Babyloniæ, ſumma diligentia parat magnam claſſem ad oppugnandam in æſtate futura inſulam Rhodi, & eam de manibus fidelium auferendam. Nos his cognitis, ſummo dolore mentis commoti ſumus, dolentes vicem Chriſtianorum principum, qui cùm illis canibus bellum inferre, & ſua auferre hactenus conſueviſſent, nunc veluti dormientes permittant & regna & inſulas Chriſtianis ſubditas capi & conculcari per gentem omnium viliſſimam in dedecus & opprobrium totius nominis Chriſtiani. Dolemus quoque, quod propter malignitatem temporum, ne dicamus hominum, ita undique premimur variis moleſtiis, ut non poſſimus ad illius inſulæ defenſionem vacare, prout gerimus in deſiderio cordis noſtri: nulla enim in re libentius exponeremus facultates noſtras & Eccleſiæ, ſi quæ eſſent: ſed tamen ſubveniemus religioni pro eorum tutela, de aliquibus galeis, prout temporum anguſtiæ permittent. Verum cum hoc parum ſit futurum, reſpectu potentiæ, quæ à canibus paratur, decrevimus exhortari etiam principes Chriſtianos, præſertim qui potentes mari ſunt, ad fidelium defenſionem. Itaque quamquam fides catholica & Chriſti nomen, pro ejus reverentia, debent tuam & aliorum mentem permovere ad impendendam operam non ſolum pro defenſione fidelium, ſed etiam infidelium oppugnatione; tamen per Dei miſericordiam hortamur tuam ſerenitatem, eidem in remiſſionem peccatorum injungentes, ut pro ſalute animæ tuæ, pro honore regio, pro fama, & gloria tui nominis, velis mittere magiſtro præfato pro defenſione inſulæ aliquod firmum auxilium, prout dignitas tua & regni amplitudo requirit. Scis quanta mala intulerunt dudum regno Cypri, & cum ignominia totius populi Chriſtiani. Itaque providendum eſt per tuam & aliorum principum ſubventionem, ne ſimilis calamitas accipiatur in ea inſula, quæ quaſi eſt ſcutum fidelium in partibus Orientis, ex quo non ſolum maxima damna, ſed etiam perpetuum dedecus inſurgerent nomini Chriſtiano. Si mercedem apud Deum requiris, ex hac re conſequeris ampliſſimam: ſi laudem apud homines, nulla præclarior eſſe poterit, quàm ea, quam præſtant honeſtæ, piæ, & ſalutiferæ actiones; hæ præſertim, quæ collocantur pro defenſione Chriſti fidelium adverſus infidelium iniquitatem. Dat. Florentiæ, &c. XVII. Kal. Januarii anno IV.

EUGENIUS PP. IV. univerſis & ſingulis bajulivis, prioribus, caſtellano Empoſtæ, præceptoribus, capitularibus, & aliis præceptoribus, & Fratribus Ordinis S. Joannis Jeroſolymitani, Salutem. Cum, dilecti filii, Magiſter, & conventus Hoſpitalis S. Joannis Jeroſolymitani nobis per nuntios proprios per hos dies nunciare curaverint, perfidos Chriſti hoſtes ſaracenos, ſoldano Babyloniæ ſubjectos, ingentem parare claſſem, & alios, quantos poſſunt facere apparatus animo & intentione inſulam Rhodi & alia religionis veſtræ loca invadendi; & nos, qui defenſionem ipſius inſulæ & locorum libenter pro poſſe curam ſuſcipimus, claſſis noſtræ, quam adverſus Teucros parari faciebamus, expeditionem accelerari curemus, quo poſſit ipſa claſſis utrique neceſſitati, pro ut opportunum fuerit, ſatisfacere; cupientes huic tantæ rerum uno tempore ſimul incumbentium neceſſitati quibuſcumque modis poſſibilibus ſubvenire, decrevimus eos omnes, qui honorem & emolumenta ab ordinis veſtri religione reportant, ad tam honeſta tamque debita onera convocare. Quare vobis omnibus & ſingulis præceptoribus in tota Italia conſtitutis, ſive veſtris locum tenentibus, quibus per dictam Italiam cura principalior eſt commiſſa, præſentium tenore mandamus, quatenus omnes præceptores & fratres veſtris ſingulorum Prioratibus ſubjectorum, qui bello, ac militiæ idonei videantur, conceſſa tamen prius per vos illis, qui ire debebunt, licentia, ſuas præceptorias arrendandi ad tres annos, pecunia anticipata juxta ritum & conſuetudinem religionis prædictæ; eos præſertim, qui facultatibus adeo præditi ſint, & Rhodum petere, & per certum tempus ad religionis obſequia, ſine communis theſauri gravamine, ibidem commorari poſſint, cogere viſis præſentibus debeatis.

Illos autem ex prædictis præceptoribus & fratribus, qui non viderentur armorum & belli exercitio ſatis idonei, & facultatibus fulciti, cogatis ad ſolvendum extraordinarium ultra ſolitas & ordinarias impoſitiones dictæ religionis, tantum, quantum diſcretionibus veſtris, & duorum proborum præceptorum bene ſolventium vobiſcum aſſumendorum, viſum fuerit oportere. Qua in re magnam debetis diligentiam adhibere, ut nullus amicitiæ reſpectus, nulla ſub excommunicationis pœna obſtet corruptela, quominus prædicta debitam & votivam habeant executionem; quia licèt omni tempore, debitores ſitis ordini veſtro & religioni cum fidei & integritatis puritate ſervire; hoc tamen tempore, hoc in caſu id ipſum majori quadam affectione & attentione tenemini adimplere. Atque ut hi, qui parere noluerint, ſaltem pœnæ formidine ab ipſo parendi defectu retrahantur, vobis prioribus ante dictis, quatenus præmiſſa adimplere autoritate noſtra curetis, duximus committendum, atque ipſis præceptoribus, ut vobis obedire teneantur ſub eadem excommunicationis forma ac privationis officiorum & beneficiorum habitorum, & in poſterum habendorum pœna, harum ſerie præcipimus & mandamus. Dat. Romæ apud S. Petrum anno, &c. MCCCCXLIIII. Id. Aprilis anno XIV.

Eadem mandata data ſunt cunctis ipſius religioſæ militiæ in Galliis, Germania, Anglia & Hiſpania præfectis. Ne vero plus æquo gravarentur, à perſolvenda ea auri vi, quam Regi Aragonum pro paranda in Turcas claſſe conceſſerat, exemit. Denique Joanni è Laſtco, de quo paulò ante memoravi, ſolemnis equitum cœtus Rhodi celebrandi poteſtatem fecit.

Saraceni porrò meditatam de ſubigenda Rhodo expeditionem aggreſſi, exſcenſione in inſulam facta, agros vaſtarunt, obviis quibuſque igni ferroque abſumptis, urbem obſidione cinxere, eamque pluribus hoſtilibus impreſſionibus tentarunt: ſed equitum virtute fortiter excepti propulſatique recedere, non ſine dedecore & damno compulſi ſunt. Hæc pluribus Jacobus Boſius in ſua hiſtoria Rhodiana, & ex litteris Apoſtolicis confirmantur. Ex quibus etiam illud perſpicuum eſt, Eugenium ad reprimendos Chriſtiani nominis hoſtes, qui ex accepta clade odio iraque efferata Rhodum ſe iterum bello perituros ſoloque æquaturos comminabantur, ingentem claſſem inſtruere & parare adorſum eſſe: hæc enim poſterorum memoriæ tradi voluit.

EUGENIUS PP. IV. ad perpetuam rei memoriam. Accidit quod impetus dictorum Saracenorum fuit multò major periculoſiorque, quam ante ipſorum adventum fama prævia timebatur; cum dictæ gentis perfidæ claſſis potentiſſima adveniens, & ipſa gens impia in terram deſcendens, tales tantoſque fecerit impetus, ut niſi fratres ipſius religionis divino protegente præſidio ſe ſe maximis cum impenſis, maximiſque cum laboribus adjuviſſent, periculum fuerit manifeſtum perdendi Rhodum & ejus inſulam cum omnibus, quæ religio illa longo jam tempore tenuit in partibus Orientis, unde privatus fuiſſet populus Chriſtianus maximo firmiſſimoque præſidio adverſus Chriſti hoſtes, quibus patefactis remanſiſſet aditus ad reliquas Chriſtianorum partes uſque in Italiam invadendas. Quanquam verò dicti Saraceni à religioſis S. Joannis Jeroſolymitani, divinâ favente clementiâ, fuerint tunc repulſi; non tamen ideò ceſſat ſuſpicio, ſed certis fide dignis habetur autoribus, eoſdem Chriſti hoſtes majorem potentioremque prima illa claſſem continuò parare, cum qua prædicant & præſumunt Rhodum iterato univerſam ad ſolum uſque proſternere. Quamobrem nos tantis malis obviare volentes, conſtituimus & jam cœpimus ingentem parare claſſem ad Rhodi defenſionem vere proximo tranſmittendam: ad quam parandam fortioremque & munitiorem faciendam claſſem juſſimus ſicut decet, religioſos omnes præfati Ordinis S. Joannis Jeroſolymitani aut perſonaliter venire, aut galeas aliaque navigia mittere, aut neceſſariis expenſis taliter contribuere, quod nullus eorum à poſſibili onere eximatur, &c. Dat. Romæ apud S. Petrum anno Dominicæ Incarnationis MCCCCXLIIII. IV. Cal. Decembris, Pontificatûs noſtri anno XIIII..

EUGENIUS PP. IV. ad futuram rei memoriam. Cum nos pro evidenti totius Chriſtianæ religionis utilitate & fidei Catholicæ exaltatione, nec non pro civitatis Conſtantinopolitanæ & Hungariæ ac Cypri regnorum, aliarumque provinciarum Chriſtianorum tutelâ & conſervatione quam plures & maximos ſumptus nos ſubire oporteat, quos propter multiplices expenſas, quas pro Armenorum, Græcorum & aliorum populorum Orientalium à doctrina Romanæ Eccleſiæ dudum diſſidentium unione expoſuimus, & alias præteritorum temporum calamitates ſine fidelium ſuffragiis tolerare non poſſimus, cùmque infideles ipſi tot præliis & certaminibus ſuperati viribus & animis fracti ac debilitati ſint, hanc nobis & Catholicis principibus, populoque occaſionem diutius oblatam non deſerentes; magnam claſſem parari fecimus, cum magnus Fidelium exercitus in Hungaria per venerabilem fratrem noſtrum Julianum Epiſcopum Tuſculanum legatum de latere de noſtra commiſſione paretur, (dum ea ſcribebat Eugenius, nondum de illius nece certior fuerat factus) ut terreſtri maritimaque potentia Teucros & alios Chriſti nominis inimicos Chriſtianorum exercitus aggrediatur, ad quod ſanctum opus eò ardentius incitamur, quò Saraceni civitatem Jeruſalem in dedecus Chriſtianorum occupantes, longe magis quam præteritis temporibus, adverſus Chriſtianos ſepulchrum Dominicum viſitantes ſævierunt, & (quod horrendum dictu eſt) Infideles Chriſti barbarica & efferata quadam rabie inflammati imagines Salvatoris Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti & B. Mariæ Virginis & aliorum Sanctorum ibidem exiſtentes dirui fecerunt, eas nefanda turpitudine & variis ignominiarum generibus afficientes, quod tam perfidè & impiè fortaſſis divina ſapientia fieri permiſit, ut nos & alii Catholici tam atroci & perverſa injuria provocati ad comprimendum hujuſmodi immanem fidei Chriſtianæ ignominiam illatam ardentiùs invitaremur. Nos verò huic & fidei cauſæ, quæ cæteris rebus anteponenda eſt, omnes noſtras cogitationes atque conatûs adhibentes, quemadmodum in dicto terreſtri exercitu dictum legatum habemus, illique exercitui noſtra & ſedis Apoſtolicæ auctoritate præſidet, ita dilectum filium noſtrum Franciſcum tit. S. Clementis Presbyterum Cardinalem S. R. E. Vice-Cancellarium ad claſſem hujuſmodi contra Infideles ipſos conducendam & nationem Græciæ & alias nationes Chriſtianas à feritate Teucrorum & aliorum Infidelium liberandas legatum pronuntiavimus, quæ ſi Dei miſericordia ſequuntur, recuperatio Dominici ſepulchri & Terræ Sanctæ facilè ſequi poterit.

Accedit ad ſuperius enarrata imminentia Chriſtianis pericula, quod cum Soldanus Cayri dominus jam duobus proximis ſuperioribus annis inſulam Rhodi arcem quandam Chriſtianorum adverſus barbaros magna ac terribili claſſe invaſerit, adeò ut parum defuerit quin ultimà vice ipſa Rhodienſis civitas, & per conſequens inſula tota fuerit expugnata, &, pro ut certiſſimis litteris & nuntiis quotidie habemus, jam Soldanus ipſe claſſem longe majorem magiſque formidandam primo veris tempore ad expugnationem dictæ inſulæ tranſmittendam paret, nos, niſi pati velimus ipſam inſulam ad manus barbarorum in maximam Chriſtianorum perniciem devenire, alteram (nimirum ab ea, quæ immiſſa in Helleſpontum fuerat,) claſſem parare oportet non minorem ea, quæ ſuperiùs dicta eſt, qua & dictorum barbarorum conatibus reſiſtatur, &, prout nos in Domino ſpem habemus, præparetur & aperiatur via ad Terram Sanctam de manibus barbarorum hujuſmodi celeriter eruendam. Pro quo quidem ſanctiſſimo ac neceſſario opere effectui mancipando venerabilem Fratrem noſtrum Marcum Patriarcham Alexandrinum, Apoſtolicæ ſedis legatum cum magna & ſumptuoſa claſſe ex parte jam ordinata duximus tranſmittendum. (Subdit ſe tolerandis ſacri illius belli ſumptibus imparem, atque ad Chriſtianorum, de quorum nomine & ſalute agitur, liberalitatem confugere: ad quam excitandam præmia indulgentiarum proponit, iiſque potiſſimum qui religioſam militiam in Soldanum alioſve Infideles fuerint profeſſi, vel inſtructos armis milites ſubmiſerint.) Datum Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum anno, &c.

EUGENIUS PP. IV. venerabili fratri Marco Patriarchæ Alexandrino adverſus Saracenos in inſulis Cypri & Rhodi, & Ægypto, ac Syria, Apoſtolicæ ſedis legato ſalutem, &c.

Poſt magnos multoſque labores pro Dei noſtri honore & ejus fidei augmento, & populorum ab Infidelibus oppreſſorum liberatione ex injuncta nobis deſuper paſtoralis officii cura multo jam tempore impenſos, novis nunc & ſummè ingentibus bellorum fragoribus non invitamur modo, ſed rapimur atque impellimur, ut piiſſima juſtiſſimaque arma in hoſtes fidei moveamus. Nam cum facta communibus expenſis & diutinis laboribus unione Orientalis cum Eccleſia Occidentali, reductiſque ad ſanctum fidei cultum Armenis, Jacobitis, Neſtorinis, Georgianis, & aliis pleriſque populis; data quoque ſinceræ fidei norma Æthiopibus primo, & poſtmodùm Regi Boſniæ ac ſuorum regnorum populis, innotuiſſet nobis regnum Hungariæ civilibus ſimultatibus adeò ardere, ut timerent omnes Chriſtiani ne ob ipſas diſſenſiones ſimultateſque Teucri magnam Europæ partem, præſertim provincias ipſis Hungaris continentes invaderent, ac incendiis & rapinis potiſſimè populorum in ſervitutem redigendorum fœdatas nefando Machometo manciparent, penitùſque ſubjicerent, inducias primo in ipſo regno per legatum noſtrum illuc miſſum fieri obtinuimus, quarum beneficio poſtea eſt ſecutum ut Chariſſimus in Chriſto filius noſter Wladiſlaus Hungariæ ac Poloniæ Rex noſtris uſus conſiliis legato noſtro comite ac adjutore expeditionem paraverit terreſtrem, quam anno ante acto primùm & poſteà præſenti in Teucros ducta ea gens tantis pridem victoriis per annos fermè octoginta in Chriſtianos uſa multoties fracta, multoties repulſa, & infinitis propè cædibus debilitata penè ad extremum in Europæ partibus ſit perducta, quibus parandis rebus niſi alia etiam auxilia dediſſemus, niſi aliam feciſſemus proviſionem claſſis, alios Teucros Aſiam incolentes ut in Europam trajicerent prohibituræ, tanta victoria, tanta Dei noſtri gloria nullo pacto potuiſſet haberi, aut aliquibus exercitus terreſtris viribus obtineri: quamprimùm verò claſſis quam ad ſtrictum Gallipolis duxit prout continuò paratiſſimam tenet dilectus filius Franciſcus Cardinalis Venetiarum nepos noſter illo in ſtricto viſa eſt, illicò Teucri, qui in Europa erant territi animos amiſerunt, alia verò Teucrorum multitudo, quæ ex Aſia in Europam trajicere conabatur non claſſis noſtræ præſentia & modo, ſed viribus eſt repulſa: cum autem tot tantiſque negotiis gravaremur etiam ſupra vires, perfidi Saraceni hoſtes & ipſi nominis Chriſtiani claſſem adducentes numero navium & gentium multitudine copioſam anniſque duobus ante actis Rhodum invadentes cum multis inſultibus oppugnationibuſque preſſerunt; & licèt Rhodus & loca religionis Hoſpitalis S. Joannis Hieroſolymitani illam tenentis Dei adjutorio & ob alias, quæ priùs à nobis aliquibuſque fidelibus principibus factæ fuerant proviſiones tunc fuerit diſpenſata, non tamen liberati ſumus dictorum Saracenorum timore, imò magis magiſque cogimur formidare, quia claſſem prima majorem parant cum qua dicunt præſumuntque non ſolum modò Rhodum & ſuæ religionis loca capturos, ſed Chriſtianos uſque in Italiam invaſuros; quæ maxima cum anxietate animi cogitantes & cum Dei noſtri adjutorio opportuna cupientes remedia adhibere claſſem & noſtri ærarii expenſis & fidelium principum religioſorumque prædicti ordinis & aliorum Chriſtianorum auxilio armare diſpoſuimus adverſus prædictos Saracenos impiiſſimos Chriſti hoſtes pro Rhodi aliorumque locorum prædictæ religionis, atque etiam aliorum Chriſtianorum circa Mediterraneum mare habitantium defenſionem vere proximo perducendam. Cum itaque in omni regenda multitudine præſertim in bellicis artibus gubernandis requiratur potiſſimè probus & ſufficiens dux ac caput, nos ad hoc diligentiùs attendentes, & cum proprii etiam ſanguinis effuſione ſi oportuerit, providere cupientes de tuæ perſonæ ex gentis noſtræ familia & noſtro ſanguine oriundæ prudentia, fidelitate & rerum experientia ſtudio ac diligentia in arduis noſtris & Romanæ Eccleſiæ negotiis comprobata ſumentes in Domino fiduciam ſingularem, ſperantes inſuper indubiè quod ex tuis actibus virtuoſis, illo tibi aſſiſtente qui juſta bella gerentibus victoriam repromittit, dictorum Chriſti hoſtium deſtructio reſultabit, ad perſonam tuam convertimus aciem noſtræ mentis, & te adverſus Saracenos ſupra dictæ claſſis noſtræ rectorem & gubernatorem de venerabilium fratrum noſtrorum S. R. E. Cardinalium conſilio & aſſenſu ſedis Apoſtolicæ legatum ad dictam inſulam Rhodi & Cypri, & per totam Ægyptum & Syriam cum poteſtate legati de latere duximus faciendum, &c. (Inſtruit legatum plurima auctoritate, ut munus pro dignitate gerat, adigat ad ſua imperia claſſiarios, rebelles coerceat, & cætera quæ ad propulſandum à Rhodo hoſtem debilitandoſque ejus conatus conduxerint, perficiat.) Datum Romæ apud S. Petrum anno MCCCCXLIV. Cal. Jan. Pontificatûs noſtri anno XIV.

EUGENIUS PP. IV. ad futuram rei memoriam. Pro parte dilectorum filiorum Fratri Joannis de Laſtico Hoſpitalis S. Joannis Jeroſolymitani magiſtri, & balivorum, priorum, procerum, præceptorum, ac fratrum conventualium omnium linguarum aſſembleam dicti Hoſpitalis facientium nobis nuper exhibita petitio continebat, quod cum anno proximè tranſacto, (videlicet die vigeſimâ menſis Februarii, anno Incarnationis Dominicæ milleſimo quadringenteſimo quadrageſimo quarto ipſi omnes ſimul, ſecundum mores & ritus dicti Ordinis, congregati in generali aſſembleâ, communi conſenſu, & nemine diſcrepante conſiderantes aſſiduas expenſas & diſpendia, quibus dudum affecti erant reſiſtendo conatibus infidelis impiiſſimique Soldani Babyloniæ, cum jam tribus annis tres potentiſſimæ claſſes eorum inſulam & civitatem Rhodi invaſerant, & eodem anno ipſam civitatem obſederant cum ruinâ & deſolatione inſulæ, ac jacturis, & cupientes opportuna ac omnino neceſſaria remedia adhibere, ordinaverint atque ſtatuerint, quod omnes priores, &c. (Decreverant, ut ad reprimendos Babyloniorum impetus omnium vectigalium ordinis media pars à ſingulis prioribus caſtrorum, domorum, ac poſſeſſionum præfectis feſto S. Joannis Baptiſtæ Rhodii conventus ærario inferretur, cui decreto Eugenius ipſe robur Apoſtolicum adjecit.) Dat. Romæ apud S. Petrum anno MCCCCXLV. v. Cal. Auguſti Pontificatûs noſtri anno XV.

PROOFS

OF THE

HISTORY

OF THE

Knights Hoſpitallers

OF

St. JOHN of JERUSALEM.

BOOK VII.

PROOF I. *p.* 361.

EXTRAIT du 3e. comte de Jacques l'Empereur, Tréſorier des Guerres, communiqué par Monſieur du Fourny, Auditeur des Comptes, portant que Meſſire Gui d'Aubuſſon, Chevalier Seigneur de la Borne, ſervoit le unziéme de Juillet de l'an 1356 avec neuf Ecuyers de ſa compagnie, ſous le commandement de Meſſire Pierre de Bourbon, Capitaine Souveraine pour le Roy, dans les parties du Berri.

EXTRAIT des titres de la maiſon de Mercœur, communiqué par Monſieur de Fourni, Auditeur des Comptes, portant que Guillaume d'Aubuſſon, Seigneur de la Borne, fut l'un des Seigneurs qui ſe rendirent cautions des conventions du mariage qui fut traité le 22 de May de l'an de 1313 entre Jean Dauphin, Comte de Clermont & Anne de Poitiers.

VIES des Poëtes provençaux écrite par Jean de Noſtradame, & imprimées à Lion, l'an. 1575, & l'Hiſtoire de Provence, écrite par Céſar de Noſtradame, & imprimée à Lyon l'an. 1614, dans leſquelles il eſt rapporté que Gui d'Uzés Seigneur d'Uzés, & Ebles, & Pierre d'Uzés ſes freres ayant réſolu de courir les Cours des Princes pour faire fortune, s'adreſſerent d'abord à Raynaud, Vicomte d'Aubuſſon, & à la Vicomteſſe Marguerite ſa femme qui prenoit un ſingulier plaiſir à la poëſie provençale, & qu'après avoir fait preuve de leurs inventions & poëſies, & déplié infines belles & doctes rimes, ils reçurent pluſieurs beaux, & riches preſens du Vicomte & de la Vicomteſſe, à la louange de laquelle

Gui d'Uzés (qui mourut l'an 1230) fit des vers qui ſont dans un manuſcript de la Bibliotheque du Roy, cotte 7226, fol. 216.

EXTRAIT d'un regiſtre des dons faits par les Rois d'Angleterre aux Comtes d'Angoulême, cotté V. & communiqué par Monſieur de Fourni Auditeur des Comptes, contenant des lettres du Roy Louis VIII. données à Valence au mois de Juin de l'an. 1226, par leſquelles il mande au Vicomte d'Aubuſſon de faire l'hommage de ſon château d'Aubuſſon au Comte de la Marche, quoiqu'alors ſes ancêtres ne l'euſſent rendu qu'aux Rois ſes prédéceſſeurs.

EXTRAIT de la Chronique de Geofroi, Prieur de l'Abbaye du Vigeois en Limouſin, qui vivoit encore l'an. 1184, dans laquelle il eſt marqué qu'Aſſalide fille d'Archambaud, Vicomte de Comborne, fut mariée avec Gui Comte d'Aubuſſon.

CONFIRMATION faite le 4 des Ides de Juillet (le 12 de Juillet) de l'an. 1192 par Gui Vicomte d'Aubuſſon, après ſon retour de Jéruſalem, d'un échange que Ranulfe ſon frere (auquel il avoit laiſſé le gouvernement de ſon Vicomté & de ſa terre) avoit fait avec les Religieux de l'Abbaye de Bonlieu, pendant qu'il faiſoit ce pelerinage.

EXTRAIT de la Chronique de Vigeois, dans laquelle il eſt marqué que Matabrune fille d'Eblés de Ventadour, & de Marguerite ſœur de Bozon de Turenne, & veuve d'Aimar Vicomte de Limoges, fut mariée avec Rainaud, ſurnommé le Lépreux, Vicomte d'Aubuſſon, & qu'elle fut remariée après ſa mort avec Eſquivat de Chabanois.

EPITRE de Geraud Evêque de Cahors écrite à l'Empereur Frederic premier, par laquelle il mande à ce Prince, qu'après qu'il eût plû à ſa ſublimitè de vouloir qu'il aſſiſtât à la cérémonie de ſon couronnement qui s'étoit fait à Albe le jour de Noel, & qu'entre les autres faveurs qu'il avoit reçues de ſa benignité, il lui eût accordé des lettres de ſauf-conduit par tout ſon Empire, & lui ordonné de le venir trouver à Plaiſance le jour des Rameaux; les graces que ſa Magnificence Imperialle lui avoit faites, en le recevant & en le congediant, lui avoient donné lieu de croire qu'il pouvoit aller au Mont Caſſin pour y viſiter le Vicomte Eble de Ventadour ſon couſin, qui y étoit demeuré malade à ſon retour de Jeruſalem: mais qu'étant venu delà trouver l'Eveſque de Bamberg, que ſa Majeſté Imperiale avoit commis avec l'Evêque de Minden pour travailler à la paix de l'Egliſe, parceque le Roy de France lui avoit dit de s'informer de ce que l'on avoit fait pour la terminer; il avoit été arrêté & mis en priſon avec ceux qui l'accompagnoient en revenant du lieu où ces Evêques étoient aſſemblez, à cauſe qu'il n'avoit point de lettres de créance; c'eſt pourquoi proſterné à ſes pieds, il ſupplioit très-humblement la clemence de ce Prince qu'il commendât que l'on le mît en liberté avec ſon couſin le Vicomte d'Aubuſſon qui étoit Marquis de cette terre, &c. *Quemdam conſanguineum meum Vice-Comitem de Albucione illius terræ Marchionem.* Quoique cette Epitre n'ait point de datte qui apprenne en quelle année elle a été écrite, il eſt cependant certain qu'elle l'a été l'an. 1170, parceque ce fut dans cette année que l'Evêque de Bamberg dont elle parle, fut nommé par l'Empereur Frideric I. ſurnommé Barberouſſe, pour accorder les differends qu'il avoit avec le ſaint Siege.

CHARTE qui eſt dans le Cartulaire de l'Egliſe Collegiale de Montier-Roſeille en Limouſin, portant que Rainaud Vicomte d'Aubuſſon, ayant appris que le Monaſtere de Roſeille, établi par le ſoin d'une noble femme appellée Cariſſima, avoit été détruit par ſes ancêtres, ordonna que l'on le rétablît, & que pour réparer les torts de ſes parens, il remit Seguin Abbé de ſaint Irier en poſſeſſion de cette Egliſe, du conſentement d'Itier, Evêque de Limoges, & y ajouta celles de S. Porject & de S. Julien pour le repos de l'ame de Ranulfe ſon pere, pour le repos de la ſienne, & pour le repos de celle de Guillaume Comte d'Auvergne. (*Vivente adhuc Henrico Rege, & Iterio Præſule, Canonici ſancti Aredii, Rauſſoliæ monaſterium, favente Guilelmo Comite Arverniæ recuperavere,* &c.) qui l'avoit obligé à faire ce rétabliſſement, qu'il reſtitua tout ce que lui, & ſes prédéceſſeurs y avoient uſurpé, qu'il autoriſa toutes les donations que ſes vaſſaux voudroient y faire, & qu'il voulut que ſi quelqu'un frapoit un des Clercs de cette Egliſe, il en devînt homme de corps, ou que l'on lui coupât la main avec laquelle il l'auroit frapé, à moins qu'il ne la rachetât pour le prix de cent livres d'argent. Enſuite de quoi Roger averti par le même Itier Evêque de Limoges, & exhorté par Guillaume Comte d'Auvergne, & par le même Raimond Vicomte du Chau d'Aubuſſon de rendre ce que ſes Ancêtres avoient pris à l'Egliſe d'Aubuſſon, donna aux Chanoines du même lieu de Roſeille, la moitié du droit de ſépulture qui lui appartenoit dans leur Egliſe, & leur promit de ne donner qu'à eux les biens qu'il poſſedoit encore. Cette Charte eſt dattée de la ſeconde férie du mois de Mars, & du 15 de la lune; & comme elle nomme Itier Evêque de Limoges, qui fut élu l'an. 1052, & qui mourut l'an. 1073, le Roi Philippe I. qui ſucceda au Roi Henri I. ſon pere le 4 d'Août de l'an. 1060, & Guillaume Comte d'Auvergne qui mourut l'an. 1063, ſuivant la généalogie de ces Comtes publiée l'an. 1665, avec celle de la maiſon de la Tour en Auvergne par M. du Bouchet. On peut juger par ces caracteres que ce rétabliſſement fut fait entre l'an. 1060 & l'an. 1063.

AUTRE Charte qui eſt dans le Cartulaire de la même Abbaye d'Uzerche, portant qu'une Religieuſe nommée Albergue, donna pluſieurs biens a l'Egliſe de ſaint Pierre d'Uzerche en preſence de Jourdain Evêque de Limoges, de Guillaume Evêque d'Angoulême, & de Géraud Evêque de Perigueux, & que cette donation fut faite l'an. 1048 ſous le regne du Roi Henri, & le même jour que l'on fit la dédicace de ce Monaſtere, à la cérémonie de laquelle ſe trouverent le Vicomte Aimart, le Vicomte Archambault, Ranulfe Vicomte d'Aubuſſon, Aimart de Laron, Gaucelin de Pierre Buffiere, Bozon de Corſo, & Pierre ſon frere.

EXTRAIT de la Chronique de Geoffroi, Prieur du Vigeois, dans laquelle il eſt marqué que Gulfier Seigneur de Las-Tours qui rendit ſon nom illuſtre dans l'hiſtoire de la guerre de Jéruſalem, épouſa Agnès fille de Ranulfe Vicomte d'Aubuſſon, & qu'elle lui apporta la moitié du Château de Gimel en mariage: *ſuperior ille magnuſque Gulferius, de quo mentio fit in hiſtoria Jeroſolimitani belli, de Agne filia Ranulfi vicecomitis de Albuſſon, per quam habuit medietatem caſtri de Gimel, genuit Gulferum qui Lemovicæ vulneratus, obiit in monaſterio ſancti Martialis, tertio nonas Martii.* Ce Gulfier de Las-Tours étoit à la Terre Sainte l'an. 1096, & lorſque Raymond Comte de Toulouſe, vint avec l'armée des Chrétiens aſſieger la ville de la Marra l'an. 1089, après que l'on eut attaché les échelles ſur les murs de cette ville, il fut le premier qui y monta, & qui anima ſi bien par ſon exemple, qu'il fut cauſe que l'on s'en rendit maître; *Calendis Novembris omnes principes Marram urbem munitiſſimam expugnare proponunt, &c. Præparatis igitur neceſſariis comes Toloſanus, &c. Flandrenſis, &c. Cum autem continuatus eſſet aſſultus, &c. Applicatis ad murum ſcalis, violenter noſtri muros conſcendunt, inter quos vir nobilis de Epiſcopatu Lemovicenſi, Gulferius cognomento de turribus, murum primus conſcendit, quem plures ſubſecuti, mortuus eſt ibi Willelmus Auracienſis Epiſcopus.* Et comme la mort de cet Evêque eſt marquée au onziéme de Decembre, de l'an. 1098 dans le *Gallia Chriſtiana* de Meſſieurs de Sainte-Marthe, cette datte prouve clairement l'année dans laquelle vivoit encore ce Seigneur de Las-Tours.

EXTRAIT du Concile de Limoges aſſemblé le 18 de Novembre de l'an. 1301, dans lequel il eſt marqué que l'Abbé d'Uzerch fut repris par Jourdain Evêque de Limoges, de ce qu'au mépris des Reglemens de ce Concile, il avoit enterré dans ſon Monaſtere, le Vicomte d'Aubuſſon qui étoit excommunié, parcequ'il avoit été tué en pillant l'Egliſe.

EXTRAIT de la Chronique d'Aimar de Chabannois (qui vivoit l'an. 1029) dans laquelle en parlant de Turpion Evêque de Limoges l'an. 914, & qui mourut l'an. 944; il remarque qu'il étoit d'une race ſi illuſtre qu'il étoit oncle de Rotbert Vicomte d'Aubuſſon, *Anteceſſor verò ejus (ſcilicet Ebli Epiſcopi Lemovicenſis) Turpio genere clariſſimo, avunculus Rotberti Vicecomitis Albucenſis in rebus Dei magnificus fuit*, &c. La Chronique de Maillezais remarque auſſi que Turpion

Evêque de Limoges, étoit oncle de Robert Vicomte d'Aubuſſon. *Ebulus enim Pontifex Lemovicæ civitatis factus eſt, &c. Fuit autem ſucceſſor Turpionis Epiſcopi avunculi Rotberti Vicecomitis Albuconenſis, &c.* Et cela eſt encore confirmé par l'hiſtoire Chronologique des Evêques de Limoges écrite vers l'an. 1320 par frere Bernard Gui Religieux Dominiquain, qui mourut l'an. 1331 Evêque de Lodeve.

CHARTE tirée du Cartulaire de Limoges portant que Rainaud Vicomte, & Bezon Comte de la Marche, Marquis, ſouſcrivirent une donation qui fut faite à cette Egliſe le ſixiéme des Ides d'Août, & la cinquiéme année du Roi Lotaire, c'eſt-à-dire le 8 d'Août de l'an. 958, parceque ce Prince ſucceda au Roi Louis d'Outremer ſon pere, le 15 d'Octobre de l'an. 954.

EXTRAIT de la Charte du rétabliſſement de l'Abbaye de ſaint Auguſtin de Limoges, fait par Turpion Evêque de Limoges, qui gouverna cette Egliſe depuis l'an. 914, juſqu'au 26 Juillet de l'an. 944 qu'il mourut dans le Château d'Aubuſſon, portant que ce fut du conſentement d'Hildegaire, Vicomte de Limoges, de Rainaud Vicomte d'Aubuſſon, d'Archambault & d'Aimar ſes parens (qui étoient les Grands de la Province de Limoſin) qu'il donna à cette Abbaye les biens qu'il jugea néceſſaires pour l'entretien de ſes Religieux.

QUOIQUE cette Charte ne donne point la qualité de Vicomte à ce Ranulfe, il y a cependant lieu de croire, que non ſeulement il l'avoit été, mais qu'il fut l'un de ceux qui le furent inſtituez dans le Limouſin par le Roi Ludes, après qu'il eût été couronné Roi d'Aquitaine dans la ville de Limoges l'an. 887.

PROOF II. *p.* 389.

SED ne modò etiam te lateat quæ in urbe geruntur: hoc vel unum videtur mihi cognitu dignum fratris Imperatoris magni Turcorum acceſſus, qui ſolemni pompâ acceptus eſt totâ urbe ſpectante. Inceſſit enim per ſpecioſiores vias inſigni inſidens equo, mediuſque inter Francheſchetum Papæ filium, & grandis magiſtri Rhodiorum equitum fratrem. Denique in ſacrum palatium invectus eſt, ibique honorificè habitus. Non multos poſt dies publicum in conſiſtorium deductus ad pontificis maximi conſpectum conſpicuo in throno ſedentis: neque flecti ante illum neque deoſculari ex more veſtigium, ut qui præſunt ſacris ritibus & ceremoniis illum edocebant, ullo paſſus eſt modo: ut dolore & indignatione permoti Chriſtiani, qui ſpectaculo aderant, rabidam omnes bilem deſpumarent, & in alterutros fremerent, quod non vi incurvaretur à ſtipatoribus armatis, aut barba raptaretur ad ſacros pontificis pedes, ne impunè Chriſtianam dignitatem & divinam rem noſtram contemneret is qui ſub patre Mahumeto tantùm beati ſanguinis noſtri profuderit ſævus & impius, quantus quaſi lacum efficeret, aut quantum vix rivus egereret. De illius adventûs cauſa, multa variaque fabulantur ocioſi. Sed omnium vulgatiſſima hæc opinio eſt, ut tradatur Sultano armandus in fratrem regnantem, qui legatos Romam nuperrimè miſit illum depoſcentes: Pro quo ſultanum aiunt magnam vim auri ſanctamque Hieroſolimam Papæ polliceri. Et per fratrem ſi Imperatorem Turcorum vicerit, Imperio regniſque illius devicti potitus fuerit, ſe omnia Chriſtianis erepta priſtinis bellis reſtituturum. Aſpectus barbari dirus & truculentus, corpus compreſſum & validum, cervix lata, pectus vaſtum & prominens. Statura ultrà quàm mediocris, habens & oculorum alterum luſcum ac torvum, naſum aquilinum, caput inquietum, ſemper omnia colluſtrans & tanquam minax inſpectans. Ætas illi (ut mihi videtur) anno quadrageſimo proxima, patrem, cujus cælatam ære ſæpius imaginem vidi, ad unguem referens: & ut indole, ſic & moribus peſſimis inſigni atrocitate atque ſævitia æquans. *Ex Papirio Maſſ. p. 368.*

PROOF III. *p.* 397.

INNOCENTIUS Epiſcopus ſervus ſervorum Dei, dilecto filio Petro Magiſtro Hoſpitalis ſancti Joannis Hieroſolymitani, ſalutem, & Apoſtolicam benedictionem. Cum inſcrutabilis ſummi Dei providentia ſtatuiſſet humanum genus, ſub peccati jugo, vetuſta ſervitute detentum, in libertatem vendicare, & ad beatitudinis gratiam reparare, Unigenitum filium ſuum, noſtræ mortalitatis car-

nem ſuſcipere voluit, ut per ejus ſanctiſſimam Incarnationem, ac Chriſti fidelium in eum, ſuæque Eccleſiæ Vicarios, pietatem, & obedientiam, regna cœleſtia promereremur. Qui cùm in terris regnum Dei prædicando verſaretur, Apoſtolos ſibi elegit, ut poſt ſuam in cœlis glorioſiſſimam Aſcenſionem, Eccleſiam ſuo ſanguine fundatam, uſque in ſeculum regerent, & ſecundiore fructu in dies adaugerent. Inter quos Petrum Apoſtolorum Principem, & Eccleſiæ ſuæ ſanctæ caput inſtituit, datâ ei, ſuiſque ſucceſſoribus ſolvendi, & ligandi plenaria poteſtate. Neceſſe enim fuit, cùm ſit unicuique hujus vitæ finis conſtitutus, ut Petri autoritas, dignitas, & poteſtas ad ejus in Romana Eccleſia ſucceſſores transfunderetur, ut eſſet uſque ad ſeculi conſummationem, qui Chriſtum repræſentans caput eſſet Eccleſiæ ſuæ, & ſolvendi ac ligandi vicariam poteſtatem obtineret. Cum igitur per hanc ab ipſo Petro continuatam Romanorum Pontificum ſucceſſionem, felicis recordationis Sixtus Papa quartus Prædeceſſor noſter, ſummus dictæ Eccleſiæ Pontifex, ac verus Jeſu Chriſti Vicarius, qui in ſede Petri hactenus ſedens, in hâc almâ urbe duodecimâ Auguſti die, animam Deo reddiderit poſt ſolemnium exequiarum, ut moris eſt, celebrationem; Nos unà cùm venerabilibus Fratribus noſtris ſanctæ Romanæ Eccleſiæ Cardinalibus, de quorum numero tunc eramus, Romæ in palatio Apoſtolico, ubi idem Prædeceſſor obierat, loco ad id rationalibus ex cauſis per eoſdem Fratres concorditer electo; modo, & tempore congruis, Conclave pro futuri Pontificis electione ſumus ingreſſi; ubi quarto die qui fuit XXIX. dicti menſis Miſſa in honorem ſancti Spiritûs celebrata, poſt diligentem tractatum, prout tantæ rei dignitas efflagitabat, prædicti Fratres, ejus qui invocatus erat gratia cordibus eorum infuſa; nos tunc Tituli ſanctæ Ceciliæ Presbyterum Cardinalem in ſummum Pontificem unanimi voluntate concordiaque elegerunt. Nos igitur & ſi humilitatem, & fragilitatem noſtram ad Univerſalis Eccleſiæ ſarcinam perferendam imparem eſſe cognoſceremus, tamen in eo confiſi qui humilia eligit ut fortia confundat, quique in ſe ſperantes non deſerit, colla ſubjecimus Apoſtolicæ ſervituti supernâ nobis diſpoſitione commiſſæ. Hanc verò aſſumptionem noſtram ad tuam conſolationem ſignificandum duximus devotioni tuæ, quæ uti peculiarem noſtrum, & Eccleſiæ filium ſingulari complectimur charitate, hortantes eamdem devotionem tuam in Domino, ut porrigi facias preces ad Dominum Deum noſtrum ut nobis ſua gratia aſſiſtat, & greſſus noſtros dirigat, ut Eccleſiam ſuam ſanctam, ad gloriam, & honorem ejus, exaltationem fidei, hæreſeos extirpationem, pacem, & quietem populi Chriſtiani adverſus Teucros Chriſtiani nominis inimicos, feliciter in Domino gubernare valeamus. Tunc autem devotio quod maximè Catholicos Magiſtratus decet, à quibus cæteri bene vivendi exempla debent aſſumere; fidem Catholicam noſtram, & Apoſtolicæ ſedis autoritatem, honorem, & libertatem Eccleſiaſticam protegere, ac defendere velis, ut cæteri fideles exemplo tui, ad ſimilia incitentur. Nos enim qui Ordinem tuum ſemper dileximus, te, & eumdem Ordinem habebimus ſpecialiter commendatos, ac ad omnia quæ ſpectabunt ad tuum, & ipſius honorem, & augmentum, auctore Domino, paratos invenies. Datum Romæ apud ſanctum Petrum, anno Incarnationis Dominicæ, milleſimo quadringenteſimo octageſimo quarto, pridie Idus Septembris, Pontificatûs noſtri, anno primo. *Ex Boſio*, Tom. 2. p. 488.

PROOF IV. *p.* 401.

Instructions données per le Pape Alexandre VI. au Nonce par lui envoyé à Sultan Bajazet Empereur des Turcs, avec les Lettres d'icelui Sultan audit Alexandre.

SUPERIORIBUS diebus Cardinale Gurcenſe referente, D. Georgius Baſardus Litterarum Apoſtolicarum ſcriptor, per ſanctiſſimum D. N. Papam ad magnum Turcam Nuntius, oratorque miſſus, ut ipſe Cardinalis dicebat, per illuſtriſſimum D. Joannem de Ruvere almæ urbis præfectum, illuſtriſſimi Cardinalis S. Petri ad vincula fratrem germanum captus fuit, & apud Senogalliam detentus, apud quem idem Cardinalis Gurcenſis compertas fuiſſe dixit informationes per eumdem ſanctiſſimum D. N. ſibi datas, ſuper iis quæ apud magnum Turcam agere deberet, quæ dictus Cardinalis Gurcenſis ſanctiſſimo D. N. ad infamiam improperabat, quarum informationum nuntii & oratoris ad magnum Turcam tenor. Alexander Papa ſextus inſtructiones tibi Georgio Baſardo Nuntio &

familiari noſtro, poſtquam hinc receſſeris directè & quanto citius poteris ibi ad potentiſſimum magnum Turcam Sultan Bajazet ubicunque fuerit, quem poſtquam debitè ſalutaveris, & ad divini numinis timorem excitaris, ſignificabis ipſi nomine noſtro qualiter Rex Franciæ properat cum maxima potentia terreſtri & maritima, cum auxilio ſtatus Mediolanenſium, Britonum, Burdegalenſium, Normandorum & cum aliis gentibus huc Romam veniens eripere è manibus noſtris Gem Sultan fratrem celſitudinis ſuæ, & acquirere regnum Neapolitanum, & ejicere Regem Alfonſum cum quo ſumus in ſtrictiſſimo ſanguinis gradu & amicitia conjuncti, & tenemur eum defendere, cùm ſit feudatarius & ſubditus noſter, & annuatim ſolvat nobis cenſum, & ſunt anni ſexaginta tres & ultra quod fuit inveſtitus Rex Alfonſus avus ejus, deinde Ferdinandus pater, cui ſucceſſit Rex qui per prædeceſſores noſtros, & per nos fuerunt inveſtiti & incoronati de dicto regno, & ideo hac de cauſâ prædictus Rex Franciæ effectus inimicus noſter, qui non ſolum properat ut dictum Gem Sultan capiat, & ipſum regnum acquirat, ſed etiam in Græciam transfretat, ut patrias celſitudinis ſuæ debellare queat, prout ſuæ Majeſtati innoteſcere debet, & dicunt quod mittant dictum Gem Sultan cum claſſe in Turquiam, & cùm nobis opus ſit reſiſtere, & nos defendere à tanta Regis Franciæ potentia, omnes conatus noſtros exponere oportet, & ſe bene præparare; quod cùm jam fecerimus, opuſque ſit facere maximas impenſas, cogimur ad ſubſidium præfati Sultan Bajazet recurrere ſperantes in amicitia bona quam ad invicem habemus quod in tali neceſſitate juvabit nos, quem rogabis & nomine noſtro exhortaberis ac ex te perſuadebis cum omni inſtantia, ut placeat ſibi quam citius mittere nobis ducatos quadringenta millia in auro Venetos, pro annata anni præſentis, quæ finiet ultimo die Novembris venturi, ut cum tempore poſſimus nobis ſubvenire in quo majeſtas ſua faciet nobis rem gratiſſimam, cui impræſentiarum nolumus imponere aliud gravamen, & ſic exponendo vires & conatus noſtros in reſiſtentia facienda, ne dictus Rex Franciæ aliqua victoria contra nos potiatur, & contra fratrem ſuæ majeſtatis, cùm aut ipſe Rex Franciæ terra marique ſit longe potentior nobis, indigeremus auxilio Venetorum, qui obſiſtunt, nec volunt nobis eſſe auxilio, imò habent arctiſſimum commercium cum inimicis noſtris, & dubitamus quod ſint nobis contrarii; quod eſſet nobis augmentum magnæ offenſionis: & non reperimus aliam viam eos convertendi ad partes noſtras tractandas quam per viam ipſius Turcæ, cui denotabis ut ſupra: & quod ſi Franci victores forent, ſua majeſtas pateretur magnum intereſſe, tum propter ereptionem Gem Sultan fratris ſui, tum etiam quia proſequerentur expeditionem & longe cum majori conatu contra altitudinem ſuam, & in tali cauſa haberet auxilium ab Hiſpanis, Anglicis, Maximiliano, & Hungaris, Polonis & Bohemis qui omnes ſunt potentiſſimi Principes. Perſuadebis & exhortaberis majeſtatem ſuam, quam tenemur certiorem reddere ob veram & bonam amicitiam quam habemus ad invicem, ne patiatur aliquod intereſſe, ut ſtatim mittat unum Oratorem ad Dominium Venetorum, ſignificando qualiter certo intellexit Regem Franciæ movere ſe ad veniendum Romam, ad rapiendum Gem Sultan fratrem, inde regnum Neapolitanum, demum terraque & mari contra ſe præparare, quod velit facere omnem reſiſtentiam, & ſe defendere contra ipſum, & deviare ne frater ſuus capiatur ex manibus noſtris, quos exhortetur & ſtringat, quod pro quanto cari pendant amicitiam ſuam, debeant eſſe adjumento & defenſioni noſtræ, & Regis Alfonſi terra marique; & quod omnes amicos noſtros, & primum Regem habebit pro bonis amicis ſuis, & noſtros inimicos pro inimicis: & ſi Dominium pollicebatur conſentire tali petitioni ſuæ, Orator habeat mandatum de non recedendo Venetiis, quouſque viderit effectum, & quod dicti Veneti declarent ſe eſſe amicos & adjumento nobis, & Regi Alfonſo, & eſſe contra inimicos Francorum & aliorum adhærentium Regi Franciæ: & ſi contradixerint, Orator ſignificet quod S. D. non habebit eos amicos, & poſtea recedat ab eis indignatus: quanquam credimus quod ſi ſua Majeſtas ardenter aſtringat eos modo convenienti, condeſcendent ad faciendam voluntatem Majeſtatis ſuæ, & ſic perſuadens eis multum ut facere hoc velint, quia iſtud eſt majus adjuvamen quod habere poſſumus, impetret reſiſti injuriis noſtris, & ſollicitabis quanto citius talem Oratorem, ut recedat ante te: nam multum importat acceleratio tua.

Denotabis pariter magno Turcæ adventum Oratoris magni Soldani ad nos cum litteris & muneribus quæ tranſmiſit nobis, quando Gem Sultan fratrem ſuum um accepimus, ac magnas oblationes & promiſſiones quas nobis fecit de magno theſauro, ac de multis aliis rebus, ut bene ſcis, quandoquidem tuo medio omnia ſunt practicata, & ſicut continetur in capitulis quæ dictus Orator fecit & dedit, ſignificabis Majeſtati ſuæ intentionem noſtram: in quantum ſibi promiſimus firmiter tenebimus, & nunquam contraveniemus in aliqua re, imo noſtræ intentionis eſt accreſcere & meliorare noſtram bonam amicitiam. Bene gratum nobis eſſet, & de hoc multum præcamur & hortamur D. Sereniſſimum, quod pro aliquo tempore non impediat Hungarum, neque in aliqua parte Chriſtianitatis & maxime in Croatia & civitatibus Leginæ, quod faciendo & obſervando nos faciemus quod Hungarus non inferat ei aliquod damnum, & in hoc Majeſtas ſua habebit compaſſionem complacendi nobis, attento maxime motu Francorum, & aliorum Principum. Quod ſi in bellando perſeveraret, habeat pro comperto ſua Magnitudo quod in ejus auxilio eſſent quam plures Principes Chriſtiani, & doleret Majeſtatem ſuam non feciſſe ſecundum conſilium noſtrum, quod damus ſibi primo ex officio, quando ſimus pater & dominus omnium Chriſtianorum: poſtea deſideramus quietem Majeſtatis ſuæ ad bonam & mutuam amicitiam; quoniam ſi aliter Majeſtas ſua ſtatueret proſequi & moleſtare Chriſtianos, cogeremur rebus conſulere, cum aliter non poſſemus obviare maximis apparatibus qui fiunt contra Majeſtatem ſuam. Dedimus tibi duo Brevia quæ exhibebis Turcæ: in uno continetur quod faciat tibi dare & conſignare 40000. ducatos pro annata præſenti: aliud eſt credentiæ, ut præſtet tibi fidem in omnibus quæcumque nomine noſtro ipſi expoſueris. Habitis 40000. ducatis in loco conſueto facies quittantiam ſecundùm conſuetudinem, & venies recto tramite cum navi tuta, & cum illuc applicaveris, certiores nos reddes, & expectabis reſponſum noſtrum: præſens tua intimatio conſiſtit in acceleratione; facies ergo diligentiam hîc in eundo ad Turcam in expeditione & in redeundo ſimiliter. Et ego Georgius Baſardus nuntius & familiaris præfatæ ſanctitatis per præſens ſcriptum & ſubſcriptum manu meâ propriâ fidem facio & confiteor ſupradicta habuiſſe in commiſſis ab ore præfatæ Sanctitatis Romæ de menſe Junii 1494, & executum fuiſſe apud magnum Turcam in quantum fuit mihi ordinatum ut ſuprà, & quantum ad Oratorem quem requiſivit Sanctitas ſua à Turca mittendum Venetias eſt obtentum, qui è veſtigio debeat recedere à Conſtantinopoli, de menſe Septembris poſt me, ad exequendum, in quantum erat, voluntatem præfatæ ſanctitatis cum illuſtriſſimo DD. Venetorum. Idem Georgius Baſardus manu propria ſcripſi & ſubſcripſi. Et ego Philippus de Patriarchis Clericus Forolivienſis, Apoſtolicâ & Imperiali auctoritate Notarius publicus, ſupra ſcriptam inſcriptionem & inſtructionem ex originali ex Senogallia tranſmiſſo, de verbo ad verbum tranſumpſi & ſcripſi, nihil mutando aut addendo, & hoc ipſum tranſſumptum, prout jacebat ad litteram feci requiſitus & rogatus: in cujus rei teſtimonium hic me ſubſcripſi, & ſignum meum appoſui conſuetum. Florentiæ die 25 Novembris, anno Domini 1494.

SUltan Bajazet Chan Dei gratiâ Rex maximus, & Imperator utriuſque continentis, Aſiæque & Europæ, Chriſtianorum omnium excellenti Patri & D. D. Alexandro divinâ providentiâ Romanæ Eccleſiæ Pontifici digniſſimo reverentiam debitam & benevolam cum ſincerâ diſpoſitione: poſt convenientem & juſtam ſalutationem, ſignificamus tuo ſupremo Pontificio, quemadmodum in præſenti miſiſtis veſtrum hominem & Legatum Georgium Baſardum, cum litteris quæ continebant de veſtra ſalute & amore & amicitia, venit & pervenit in optimo tempore ad meam altiſſimam Portam, & didicimus quæ per litteras ſignificabantur, & quæ commiſiſtis ipſi dicere ex ore: retulit etiam coram magnitudine mea integra, quemadmodum tua glorioſitas ipſi mandavit. Cum didicerimus primum nos de ſalute & bona habitudine tuæ dominationis, delectati ſumus maximè, & exultavit ſpiritus meus, propterea & illis quæ per ipſum ſignificaſtis, aſcenſi ſumus etiam & fecimus ipſa, & miſimus etiam ad loca quæ ſignificaſtis ut mitteremus, ſicut valebat Magnitudo veſtra ulterius, & id quod conventum eſt, quamvis ad noſtrum tertium ſatis temporis reliquum ſit, tamen de quo ſcripſiſtis, & petiſtis, ipſum cum feſtinatione datum eſt, & prædictus Legatus Georgius jam perfecit omnia bene quæcumque requirit officium Legati, unde & honoratus eſt dignè à mea Altitudine, ut ipſum decet. Miſimus etiam unà cum ipſo à noſtra altiſſima Porta fidelem noſtrum hominem Caſſimen,

& data eſt ei licentia, ut rurſus ad tuum Pontificium redeat: noſtra enim amicitia Dei voluntate in dies augebitur; nuntiis autem veſtræ ſalutis nunquam nos privetis, ut audientes magis delectemur. Datum in aula noſtræ Sultanicæ autoritatis in Conſtantinopoli 1494 anno à Jeſu Prophetæ nativitate, die 18 Septembris.

SUltan Bajazet Chan Dei gratiâ Rex maximus, & Imperator utriuſque continentis Aſiæque & Europæ, Chriſtianorum omnium excellenti Patri & Domino Alexandro divina providentia ſupremo Pontifici digniſſimo reverentiam debitam & benevolam cum ſincerâ diſpoſitione: dignum & fidelem veſtrum hominem & Legatum Georgium Baſardum in altiſſimam Portam miſiſtis: venit & attulit nobis nuntios de veſtra ſalute & bona habitudine, & delectavit nos mirificè; attulit etiam & verba quæ mandaſtis ipſi privatim, & etiam miſiſtis, integrè & didicimus, & bene commiſimus & nos ipſi ſermones, ut nuntiet ipſos coram tuo Pontificio, & detur ſibi fides in his quæcumque dixerit; quæcumque ſunt verba noſtra indubitata: etiam præfatus Georgius perfecit omnia bene quæcumque requirit officium Legati, unde honoratus eſt digne à mea altitudine, ſecundum ipſius decentiam, & data eſt ei licentia ut redeat rurſus in aulam tuæ magnitudinis, & manifeſtet illi illa quæ nos ipſi commiſimus. Datum in aula noſtræ Sultanicæ autoritatis in Conſtantinopolitani 1494 anno à Jeſu Prophetæ nativitate, 18 Septembris.

SUltan Bajazet Chan, &c. Alexandro divina providentia Romanæ Eccleſiæ ſupremo Pontifici digniſſimo, &c. Poſt convenientem & juſtam ſalutationem, ſignificamus tuæ dominationi, quemadmodum in præſenti fidelem noſtrum Caſſimen ſervum cum noſtris litteris miſimus ad ſummum tuum pontificium, ut ferat ad nos de veſtra ſalute & bona habitudine, quod nos cupimus quotidie audire & delectari; ſimiliter ſignificet etiam & vobis de noſtra felici ſanitate & amore, ut & vos quæ de nobis ſunt ab ipſo dicenda audientes delectemini, ſicut & nos delectamur. Juſſimus etiam & eſt datum id quod eſt conventum prædicto ſervo meo Caſſimi, ut perferat ipſum ad tuam glorioſitatem, & cum auxilio Dei reverſus fuerit, rurſus ad meam altitudinem ſignificet nobis veſtram ſalutem & amicitiam, ut inde cum audiverimus, magis etiam delectemur, & quæ ipſi mandavimus nota faciet tuæ magnitudini: date autem ipſi fidem in his quæcumque dixerit. Datum in aula noſtræ Sultanicæ autoritatis in Conſtantinopolitani 1494 anno à Jeſu Prophetæ nativitate, 18 Septembris.

SUltan Bajazet Chan, &c. &c. Alexandro, &c. Poſt convenientem & juſtam ſalutationem, notum ſit tuo ſupremo Pontificio, quemadmodum Reverendus Dominus Nicolaus Libo Archiepiſcopus Archatenenſis eſt dignus & fidelis homo ipſius & à tempore præcedentis Papæ ſupremi Pontificis Domini Innocentii uſque in hodiernum diem in tempus ſuæ magnitudinis continuè ad pacem & amicitiam feſtinat, ſemperque animo & corpore in fideliſſima fide duabus partibus ſervivit & adhuc ſervit. Hujus igitur rei cauſa juſtum eſt à vobis decerni majori in ordine ipſum eſſe debere; unde & rogavimus dictum ſupremum Pontificem ut faceret illum Cardinalem, & aſſenſus eſt noſtræ petitioni, adeo ut litteris etiam nobis ſignificaverit quod petitum eſt datum fuiſſe ipſi. Verum quia non erat tempus Id. Septembris menſis, non ſedet in ordine ſuo, & ut requirit conſuetudo. Interea verò juſſu Dei dedit Pontifex commune debitum, & ſic ipſe remanſit. Ea igitur de cauſa ſcribimus & rogamus tuam magnitudinem, propter amicitiam & pacem quam inter nos habuimus, & propter meum cor, ut adimpleas ipſi tuum Pontificium, videlicet ut facias ipſum perfectum Cardinalem: habebimus & nos id in loco magnæ gratiæ. Datum, &c. ut ſupra. Supraſcriptæ quaternæ literæ erant ſcriptæ ſermone in charta authentica more Turcarum, cum quodam ſigno aureo in capite, quas litteras tranſtulit in Latinum de verbo ad verbum, me excipiente & notante, eruditus vir Laſcaris natione Græcus, aſſiſtente ille & adjuvante interpretationem Reverendiſſ. D. Aloiſio Cyprio Epiſcopo Famaguſtano, & Marcello Conſtantinopolitano, illuſtriſſimo Principis Salernitani Secretario: in cujus rei fidem & teſtimonium ego Philippus de Patriarchis clericus Forolivienſis Apoſtolicâ & Imperiali autoritate Notarius publicus, omnia ſupradicta manu meâ propriâ ſcripſi & ſubſcripſi, & meum ſignum appoſui, rogatus & requiſitus.

SUltan Bajazet Chan filius Soldani Mahumeti, Dei gratiâ Imperator Aſiæ, Europæ ac omnis maritimæ, patri & domino omnium Chriſtianorum divinâ providentia Papæ Alexandro ſexto Romanæ Eccleſiæ digno Pontifici, poſt debitam & meritoriam ſalutationem, ex bono animo & puro corde ſignificamus veſtræ magnitudini, per Georgium Baſardum ſervitorem & Nuntium veſtræ potentiæ, intelleximus bonam convaleſcentiam veſtram, & etiam quæ retulit pro parte ejuſdem veſtræ magnitudinis: ex quibus lætati ſumus, magnamque conſolationem cepimus. Inter alia mihi retulit quomodo Rex Franciæ animatus eſt habere Gem fratrem noſtrum, qui eſt in manibus veſtræ potentiæ, quod eſſet multum contra voluntatem noſtram, & veſtræ magnitudinis ſequeretur maximum damnum, & omnes Chriſtiani paterentur detrimentum: idcircò una cum præfato Georgio cogitare cœpimus pro quiete, utilitate, & honore veſtræ potentiæ, & adhuc pro mea ſatisfactione bonum eſſet quod dictum Gem meum fratrem qui ſubjectus eſt morti, & detentus in manibus veſtræ magnitudinis, omnino mori faceretis: quod ſi vita careret, eſſet & veſtræ potentiæ & quieti commodiſſimum, mihique gratiſſimum, & ſi in hoc magnitudo veſtra contenta ſit complacere nobis, prout in ſua prudentia confidimus facere velle, debet pro meliori ſuæ potentiæ, & pro majori noſtra ſatisfactione, quanto citius poterit, quocumque meliori modo placebit veſtræ magnitudini, dictum Gem levare facere ex anguſtiis iſtius mundi, & transferri ejus animam in alterum ſeculum, ubi meliorem habebit quietem. Et ſi hoc adimplere faciet veſtra potentia, & mandabit nobis corpus ſuum in qualicumque loco eſſe citra mare, promittimus nos Sultan Bajazet ſupradictus, in quocumque loco placuerit veſtræ magnitudini, ducatorum trecenta millia, ad emenda filiis ſuis aliqua dominia, quæ ducatorum trecenta millia conſignare faciemus illi cui ordinabit veſtra magnitudo, antequam ſit nobis dictum corpus datum, & per veſtros meis conſignatum. Adhuc promitto veſtræ potentiæ quod vita mea comite, & quandiu vixero habebimus ſemper bonam & magnam amicitiam cum eadem veſtra magnitudine, ſine aliqua deceptione, & eidem faciemus omnes beneplacitas & gratias nobiles. Inſuper promitto veſtræ potentiæ, pro meliori ſua ſatisfactione, quod neque per me, aut per meos ſervos, neque etiam per aliquem ex patriis meis erit datum aliquod impedimentum aut damnum dominio Chriſtianorum, cujuſcunque qualitatis aut conditionis fuerit, ſive in terra ſive in mari, niſi eſſent aliqui qui nobis aut ſubditis noſtris damnum facere vellent, & pro majori adhuc ſatisfactione veſtræ magnitudinis, ut ſit ſecura, ſine aliqua dubitatione de omnibus his quæ ſupra promitto, juravi & affirmavi omnia in præſentia præfati Georgii, per verum Deum, quem adoramus, & ſuper Evangelia veſtra obſervare veſtræ potentiæ omnia uſque ad complementum, nec in aliqua re deficere, ſine defectu, aut aliqua deceptione, & adhuc pro majori ſecuritate veſtræ magnitudinis, ne ejus animus in aliqua dubitatione remaneat, imo ſit certiſſimus de novo. Ego ſupradictus Sultan Bajazet Cham juro per Deum verum, qui creavit cœlum & terram, & omnia quæ in eis ſunt, & in quem credimus & adoramus, quod faciendo adimplere ea quæ ſupra eidem requiro, promitto per dictum juramentum ſervare omnia quæ ſupra continentur, & in aliqua re nunquam contra facere, neque contravenire veſtræ magnitudini. Scriptum Conſtantinopoli in Palatio noſtro ſecundum adventum Chriſti die 15 Septembris 1494. Et ego Philippus de Patriarchis Clericus Forolivienſis Apoſtolica & Imperiali autoritate Notarius publicus infra ſcriptus, litteras ex originali quod erat ſcriptum litteris Latinis in ſermone Italico, in charta oblonga Turcarum, quæ habebat in capite ſignum magni Turcæ aureum, in calce nigrum, tranſumſi fideliter de verbo ad verbum, & manu propria requiſitus & rogatus ſcripſi & ſubſcripſi, ſignumque meum in fidem & teſtimonium conſuetum appoſui. Florentiæ die 15 Novemb. 1494, in conventu Crucis Ordinis Minorum. *Obſervations ſur Philippe de Comines, ſur l'année* 1494, p. 434.

PROOF V. *p.* 402.

DUM paucos dies in urbe rex agit, nec ullus auditur militaris tumultus, ſecurior ſui Alexander, arce egreſſus, regem ad colloquium admittit. Et inter eos contracta eſt amicitia. Edideruntque nonnullos articulos, quorum ſummarii ſunt iſti.

Traité entre le Pape & le Roy.

In primis Papa remanebit bonus pater Regis, & Rex bonus filius Papæ.

Item, Papa contentus eſt, quod Cardinalis Valentinenſis vadat in ſocietate Regis; & permaneat quatuor menſes, & ultrà, ad beneplacitum Regis.

Item, Papa Turcum conſignabit in manus Regis; & ſervabitur per Regem in Terracina.

Item, Rex in reditu ſuo reſtituet Turcum Pontifici.

Item, Rex pollicetur Pontifici, ſi Turcus ei intulerit aliquod nocumentum, ipſum Pontificem juvare, & defendere.

Item promittit rex Pontifici, quod faciet dare conſenſum Rhodianorum infra ſex menſes.

Item, Rex pro reſtitutionis ſecuritate dabit Summo Pontifici obſides.

Item, Pontifex ſemper recipiet tributum quadraginta millium ducatorum, conſuetum per magnum Turcum mitti. *Charles VIII.* p. 286.

Relation du ſiége de Rhodes en 1480 *par Merri Dupui, témoin oculaire.*[*]

EN l'an. de noſtre Seigneur Jeſus-Chriſt mille quatre cens huitante, le grand Turc infidele ennemi de la foi Chreſtienne, plain dorgueil & denvie, & pour cuider deſtruire la foy Catholique & la Chreſtienne: & pour ſoubjuguer les Chreſtiens & conqueſter pais & Royaulmes, feiſt quatre groſſes armees, lune deſquelles envoya contre le Roy de Hongrie, laquelle armee par la grace de Dieu fut du tout deſtruicte: & tous les Turcs prins mors & occis. La ſeconde envoya au Royaume de Poulle contre le Roy Ferrand Roy de Naples ou ils firent moult de grans maulx, & prindrent par force une Cite nommee Octrante en laquelle ils ſe fortifierent. La tierce envoya contre le Soubdam. Et par force vouloit faire ung chaſteau en la terre du Soubdam pour aucunement le tenir en ſoubjection, & amoult grant puiſſance le commença a faire. Mais quant le Soubdam en fut adverti, il y envoya ung Capitaine avec ſon armee. Et par force feiſt rompre & abatre & demolir tout le chaſteau encommence. Et fut l'armee du Turc rompue & moult grant quantite de Turcs occis & prins: & la quarte armee envoya devant la Ville & Cite de Rhodes icelle Cite cuider avoir par force & la deſtruire pour ce que c'eſt la ville du monde qu'il hait le plus, & que il deſtruiroit plus volentiers. Mais par la grace de Dieu il en a eſte bien garde, & encore ſera, ſe Dieu plaiſt: de laquelle derniere armee, ceſt aſſavoir de celle qui a eſte devant Rhodes, je Mary Dupuis gros & rude de ſens & de entendement je veuille parler & deſcripre au plus brief que je pourray & au plus pres de la verite ſelon que je peu voir a lueil; & peu de temps apres ce que ledit ſiege fut oſte ou leve, & auſſi pareillement en ce que je n'ai oui parler, raconter, & auſſi pareillement teſmoigner a pluſieurs qui y ont eſte preſens, & qui ont tout veu tant Chevaliers quautres gens de la Ville. Non obſtant que en moy na pas ſcience ne intelligence pour comprendre, ne de ſcripre une ſi haulte & une ſi grant victoire que Dieu a donne & envoye aux nobles Chevaliers & vaillans gens qui eſtoient dedans ladicte Ville de Rhodes ladicte année durant le ſiege. Mais ſeulement en gros le deſcrips ſelon que je le peu ſavoir pour en advertir ceulx les quieulx en vouloront ſavoir des nouvelles, & auſſi les quieulx y prendront plaiſir de loir lire.

Et premierement eſt aſſavoir que la Ville & Cite de Rhodes eſt aſſiſe en une belle & bonne & grant Iſle moult bien fertille & habundante de biens du couſte du ſoleil levant: laquelle Iſle ſi eſt toute encloſe de mer. Et eſt ladicte Ville ou

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[*] On a ſuivi dans l'impreſſion l'ortographe de l'original, imprimé en Gothique: mais on en a changé, ou multiplié la ponctuation en pluſieurs endroits, pour rendre le diſcours plus intelligible.

Cite de Rhodes une tres-belle & tres-bonne Cite & grant, & y a bien en bon port de mer, bien marchant, & lung des plus grans paſſaiges de tout le Levant, devant laquelle & aloppoſite dicelle eſt aſſiſe & ſituee la Turquie, qui eſt terre ferme & ung grant pais dont le infidele Turc joyſt & poſſede: & peut avoir depuis ladicte Ville juſques a ladicte Turquie a xviii. mille de mer a paſſer qui valent environ ſix lieues françoiſes, & laquelle Ville de Rhodes eſt aſſiſe en beau pais & de belle venue de toutes pars bien muree & tourree & a la muraille à xxii. piex deſpeſſeur & plus; & y a de beaux foſſes & larges tours à fons de cuve & la Ville la mieulx clauſe que je veix oncques qui ſoit au monde comme je croi, & eſt bien garnie d'artillerie tant groſſe que petite & de tous aultres batons, & y a touſiours beaucoup de nobles & vaillans Chevaliers & de toutes les nacions du monde qui ſont chacun jour preſts & appareilles de combatre pour la foy catholique & deffendre la chreſtiente, & qui ſouvent courent en Turquie, & qui jamais n'ont paix aux Turcs & Infideles: devant laquelle Ville & Cite du couſte de terre & comme au meillieu des deux bandes de la marine y a une petite montaigne plate, laquelle montaigne eſt nommée & appellée la montaigne ſaint Eſtienne. Et tout autour de ladicte Ville & Cite de Rhodes a le plus beau lieu du monde pour mettre & pour poſer ſiege. Car tout autour de ladicte Ville y a beaucoup de jardins & tout plain de petites maiſons Eſgliſes & Chapelles de Grecs, vieilles murailles tant de pierres & petis roches où l'on ſe peut mettre a couvert contre ceulx de la Ville, en telle maniere que ſe toute l'artillerie du monde eſtoit dedans la Ville, elle ne ſaroit faire nul mal à ceulx qui ſont dehors s'ils ne ſe approuchent près de la Ville.

Or de la maniere comment vint l'armee du Turc, & que le ſiege fut mis devant ladicte Ville & Cite de Rhodes, eſt aſſavoir, que le vingt & troyſeſme jour de May audit an mil iiii. cens huitante arriverent au tour de ladicte ville cent voelles ou environ: c'eſt aſſavoir galeres, fuſtes, pallendrees, gapperies, & aultres telles navieres chargees de gens & de artillerie & aultres choſes que leur etoit neceſſaire pour leur ſiege, leſquels prindrent port en pluſieurs lieux de l'iſle au tour de ladicte Ville. Et illecques deſcendirent en terre grant quantite de Turcs, leſquels incontinent & de prime face, ſen allerent monter ſur ladicte montaigne ſaint Eſtienne, de laquelle l'on peut veoir aucunement en aulcuns lieux de la Ville, & illec & tout entour dicelle & de la ville mirent & tendirent leurs pavillons & deſcendirent en terre leurs groſſes bombardes, pierres & autres engins a eulx neceſſaires.

Et ce fait, grant partie de leurs dictes navieres ſen alerent au fuſto, qui eſt ung beau port de mer en Turquie a viii. mille de ladicte Ville de Rhodes, ou avoit anciennement une grant Cite, de laquelle y ſont encore les murailles, ouquel port de Fuſto eſtoient venus par terre grant quantite de Turcs tant a pie que a cheval, & delecques paſſoyent ſur leſdictes navieres juſquen leur dit ſiege devant ladicte Ville de Rhodes, tellement quils furent en tres grant nombre devant ladicte Ville & Cite. Et auſſi eſt aſſavoir que durant ledit ſiege paſſoient touſiours gens dudit Fuſto en Rhodes pour donner aulcun refrechiſſement audit ſiege. Quant le ſiege du Turc fut ainſi mis devant ladicte Ville de Rhodes comme avez oy, Monſieur le Grant Maiſtre de Rhodes, nomme Meſſire Pierre d'Aubuſſon, qui avoit donne bonne proviſion & bonne pollice en la Ville, & ordonne & eſtabli Capitaines & Gardes pour la Ville, & fait preparer & ordonner lartillerie & aultre batons & fait mettre en ordre & en armes tous ceulx de la Ville chacun en ſon endroit, en telle maniere quil ny avoit que redire: & meſmement lui meſmes touſiours en armes & le premier devant ſe trovoit chacun garde touſiours viſitant, & ſi portoit ſi vaillamment que lon pourroit penſer. Doncques quant ledit ſiege fuſt ainſi mis devant ladicte Ville, aulcuns des Turcs tant a pie que a cheval faiſans les vaillans ainſi comme sils voulſiſſent ſaluer ceulx de la Ville par une maniere de moquerie, vindrent courre juſquaux foſſes de la Ville a tout grans plumes blanches ſur leurs teſtes: mais les gens & gardes qui etoient ſur les murailles & es tours de la Ville qui les virent venir ſi pompeuſement & ſi arrougamment ſi pres de leurs foſſes, les ſervirent ſi bien & ſi dru de bonne artillerie & de aultre trait, quil en demoura la plus grant partie en la place qui navoyent garde de retourner en leur ſiege pour dire des nouvelles de la Ville. Ung jour quils vindrent courre devant ladicte Ville, aulcuns des Grecs & gens de la Ville firent une ſaillie ſur eulx, & les chaſſerent bien loing comme de ung trait darc. Mais ung Chevalier Catelan nomme Meſſire Pierre de Bourges, par le commandement de mon Seigneur le Maiſtre, affin que aulcun inconvenient ne advint a ceulx les quieulx eſtoient ſaillis dehors de la Ville, ſaillit dehors par le boulevart du palais de mondit Seigneur pour faire recueillir ceulx les quieulx etoient dehors; mais il fut ſurprins & enclos des Turcs.

Et il ſe deffendit moult fort & vaillamment: ung Turc gecta ung dart & le frappa en la teſte & le feiſt cheoir & tomber à terre; & incontinent le tuerent ſur le champ & lui couperent la teſte: & ne peuſt eſtre ſecouru aſſez a temps de ceulx qui eſtoyent dehors. Mais non obſtant ſon corps fut recours en deſpit de tous les Turcs, & porte au palais de mondit Seigneur le Maiſtre, & en ſepulture ainſi quil appartenoit. Et tous ceulx de la Ville qui eſtoient ſaillis ſe recueillirent.

Peu de temps apres le ſiege mis, le Capitaine & Chief de ladicte armee, que les Turcs nomment & appellent leur Bachal, feiſt mettre & auſſi aſſeoir troys groſſes bombardes de couſte une petite Eſgliſe fondee de ſaint Anthoine qui eſt pres de ladicte Ville ſur le bord de la mer pour tirer & pour abatre la tour ſaint Nicolas qui eſt au droit de ladicte Eſgliſe environ deux cens pas en mer, laquelle tour eſt au bout dung mole qui ſalt de ladicte Ville au devant du port environ troys cens cinquante pas en mer. Et eſt une tres-belle & groſſe tour ronde de groſſe muraille & forte qui a deſpeſſeur par le hault vingt piez bonne meſure. Et avecques ce fit mettre & aſſeoir es jardins dudit ſaint Anthoine & es lieux endroit du boulevart du palais de Monſeigneur le Maiſtre pluſieurs aultres groſſes bombardes pour batre icellui.

Pendant que les Turcs affutoyent leſdictes troys groſſes bombardes pour tirer contre ladicte groſſe tour S. Nicolas, ceulx de la Ville affuterent incontinent troys de leurs groſſes bombardes quils mirent dedans la Ville es jardins de Loberge d'Auvergne, qui tiroyent droictement ſur ceulx qui affutoyent leſdictes troys groſſes bombardes devant ladicte tour ſaint Nicolas, & leur venoient de couſte, & leur rompirent leur atodis & repaires quils faiſoient pour affuter leurſdictes troys bombardes, & leur firent grant mal & vexation, en telle maniere que avant quils peuſſent avoir fait leur mantellet & repaire, furent tue beaucoup de leurs gens.

Quant ils furent afuſtez, & quils commencerent a tirer contre ladicte tour, ung jour bien matin ſen vint au bourt du foſſe du boulevart du palais de mondit Seigneur le Maiſtre ung Alemant nomme Maiſtre George, qui eſtoit Chreſtien renie, fort excellant homme en fait dartillerie. Et de prime face quil fut arrive ſalua les gens de la Ville moult gracieuſement, en leur priant quils le miſſent dedans la Ville, & quil ſen venoit rendre a Monſeigneur le Maiſtre. Finablement, & pour abregier, fut tire a mont a une corde, & mene a mondit Seigneur le Maiſtre. Ce Maiſtre George eſtoit ung homme grant, bien forme de tous ſes membres & de belle ſtature, beau langagier, de grant entretenement, & homme fort malicieux a le veoir & oyr parler. Mondit Seigneur le Maiſtre le fit interroguer & examiner par quoy il ſen eſtoit venu; lequel reſpondit, que pour la vraye amour & zele quil avoit a la foy Chreſtienne, & auſſi pour le bien & pour l'utilite de la Ville & de tous Chreſtiens, & quil ſe repantoit du mal quil avoit fait davoir erre encontre la foy Chreſtienne. Pourquoi il fut amiablement receu & le bien venu cuidant quil dit verite & lui fut demande des nouvelles de la facon & diſpoſicion de larmee & du ſiege des Turcs, & auſſi de la qualite & quantite diceulx: & de toutes les choſes que on lui demanda reſpondit moult prudemment & moult ſaigement, ainſi comment ung homme lequel eſt bien conduit & moult bien introduit & adviſe, & qui bien ſavoit parler.

Premierement diſoit que du nombre des gens eſtant audit ſiege eſtoient environt cent ſeptante mille hommes de toutes manieres & conditions. De gens de bombardes y avoit entre les aultres ſeize groſſes pieces qui avoyent XXII. piez de longueur, & ung pie quatre dois deſpeſſeur de metail, leſquelles gectoyent la pierre de neuf a unze paulmes de rondeur: & ſix gros mortiers qui gectoyent la pierre auſſi groſſe ou plus que leſdictes bombardes; & grant quantite daultres plus petis batons a feu.

De la venue dudit Maiſtre George diverſes furent les opinions. Aulcuns diſoient quil etoit venu pour eſpie. Les autres diſoyent quil eſtoit venu pour bien & quil ſe repantoit. Les aultres diſoyent quils lavoyent veu aultreffoys avant quil fut renye, quil eſtoit homme cault & malicieulx & ingenieur, & quil ſen faiſoit bon garder. A la fin fut grant ſouſpecion ſur luy, car lon commenca a tirer dedans ladicte Ville & Cite de Rhodes des fleches ou il avoit ateche des eſcripteaulx dedans, leſquieulx eſcripteaux avoient en eſcript: Gardez vous de Maiſtre George. Et faignoyent les Turcs leſquieulx tiroient leſdictes fleches eſtre bien marris & courouces de ce qu'il ſen eſtoit venu rendre a la Ville. Mondit Seigneur le Maiſtre prudent & ſaige du tout en tout entierement, commanda que ledit Maiſtre George fut bien garde. Et le bailla en garde a ſix hommes, & leur commanda que ſur paine de la vie nuyt & jour ils le gardaſſent.

Le dernier jour du moys de May les Turcs commencerent a tirer dedans ladicte ville gros courtaulx & mortiers, dont entre les aultres en tomba deux ou palais de mondit Seigneur le Maiſtre, lung deſquieulx perſa trois eſtages & cheut en leſtable, & ſe miſt la pierre bien avant en terre. Lautre courtault tomba ſur la voulte dune ſale ou les freres mangeoient, & abatit la voulte, & rompit par le meillieu deux gros pilliers de marbre qui eſtoient ou meillieu de ladicte ſale, qui ſouſtenoyent ladicte voulte que deux hommes auroyent aſſes affaire a embraſſer lung a ung coup, & perſa tout oultre ladicte pierre & cheut en la cave qui eſtoit deſſoubs ſur une bocte de vin quelle rompit en pieces, & le vin perdu, & encores entra bien avant en terre; mais la Dieu mercy, de tous les courtaulx & mortiers qui cheurent dedans ladicte ville ne firent nul mal aux gens de dedans, comme il ſera dit plus aplain cy apres.

Quant le Bachal Capitaine principal de larmee dudit ſiege des Infideles euſt eſte par aulcun temps devant ladicte ville ou Cite, veu & cogneu aucunement la ſituacion & fortificacion dicelle, ſelon ſon ymaginacion ſe penſa que ſe il povoit avoir ladicte tour ſaint Nicolas & le mole ou quel ladicte tour eſt aſiſe & ſituee, que facilement apres & beaucoup plus a ſon aiſe il auroit ladicte ville. Pourquoy les premiers quinze jours apres que ledit ſiege fut mis, fiſt battre ladicte tour fort & merveilleuſement des troys groſſes bombardes, eſtant pres de ladicte Eſgliſe ſaint Anthoine, en telle maniere que eſdits quinze jours ladicte tour receut environ troys cens coups de bombardes, & batue en telle maniere & facon, que du couſte de terre de la ou les bombardes tiroyent, ſembloit que fut ung grant tas de pierres: tant fut icelle tour batue & egratignee, & les pierres cheutes les unes ſur les aultres. Mais de lautre couſte de la tour, ceſt aſſavoir du couſte de la mer, demoura ſaine & entiere en telle maniere quil ſembloit que jamais on ny eut tire coup de bombarde, ſi non tant ſeulement le hault de ladicte tour ou eſtoyent les crenaulx qui furent du tout abatus & rues en mer: & de fait qui euſt veu ladicte tour du couſte de terre du lieu ou les bombardes tiroyent, ſembloit quelle ne fut pas deffenſable, & que perſonne ne ſe fut oſe tenir dedans.

Mondit Seigneur le Maiſtre prudent & ſaige veant ladicte tour qui ſe battoit ainſi fort, & que les infideles Turcs tachoyent & deſiroyent moult fort a la prendre, cognoiſſant auſſi que s'ils en eſtoyent les maiſtres, quils euſſent fait grant mal & grant domaige a la ville, & garde que naviere ne fut entree ne saillie du port dicelle, & que ladicte ville euſt eſte en moult grant adventure deſtre du tout perdue & deſtruite, delibera & ordonna que par force de Chevaliers & aultres gens elle fut bien gardee & deffendue. Et mondit Seigneur le Maiſtre prudent & ſaige y ordonna & eſtabit Capitaines & Gardes, & auſſi pareillement grant quantite de Chevaliers y envoyaſt & daultres gens, leſquels mondit Seigneur le Maiſtre y envoya & y tramiſt pour la tuicion & auſſi pour la deffenſe dicelle tour & mole, leſquels firent todis, baſtides tout autour & long de ladicte tour & mole de pierres de bois, touneaulx & aultres vaiſſeaux plains de terre pour ce que ceſt tout roc, & aſſirent & affuterent bombardes, ſerpentines, canons, coleurines & aultres artilleries ſur ledit mole es lieux propres & convenables, ſi bien & ſi proprement qui ny avoit que redire. Et avecques ce affuterent & apreſterent autour de ladicte tour & mole grant quantite de petites barques & vieux touneaulx, leſquieux eſtoyent tous plains de compoſicion de feu, afin que ſe ils avoyent aſſault, fuſt pour fere bruler les galees, fuſtes & aultres manieres de Turcs s'ils approchoient de ladicte tour & mole, & ſe tindrent ſur leur garde nuyt & jour.

Le Bachal des Turcs, quant il vit que ladicte tour fut ainſi fort batue que aves ouy, pour icelle cuider avoier, le neufvieſme jour du moys de Juing environ deux heures devant le jour, feiſt venir devant ladicte tour moult grant quantite de navieres, galeres, fuſtes, barques & pareillement aultres manieres de inſtrumens pour bailler laſſault a icelle, leſquels commencerent a faire ung moult grant bruit en criant & en invocant leur Mahon, & faiſant grand bruit & horribles & eſpouventables ſons de gros taborins, guiſternes, viellez, & aultres inſtrumens, ſouvent huyant & tournoyant tous enſemble en telle maniere quil ſembloit que le ciel deuſt venir abas en tirant canons & bombardes; ſe approucherent de ladicte tour & mole, & en telle façon, que ceſtoit choſe horrible, merveilleuſe & eſpouventable de les oyr approucher. Finablement quand ils furent approuches de ladicte tour & mole, & pres de mettre pie in terre, les gardes & les gens de ladicte tour & mole ils faiſoient bonne garde & qui bien eſtoient armes, artilles, & auſſi pareillement eſtoient bien affutes, les receurent ſi bien & ſi vaillamment & de ſi grant couraige, & les ſervirent ſi tresbien & ſi treſdru & ſi fort de bombardes ſerpentines & tret de pierres & coups de main, quils les firent bien & haſtivement reculer & retourner en les rebourant & reculant fort & vaillamment; leſquels mauldis Turcs & Infideles ſen alerent & retournerent pour ceſte foys tous camus & tout esbahis: mais non obſtant ils ne ſceurent ne auſſi pareillement ne peurent ſi preſtement reculer, ne ſi toſt pour eulx en aler quil nen demourat audit aſſault ſept cens de mors ou plus ſans ceulx qui furent noyes, & nen mourut point de ceulx de ladicte tour & mole, & ſi furent peu de bleſſies. Pour laquelle victoire mondit Seigneur le Maiſtre accompaigne de pluſieurs Chevaliers & aultres gens ſen ala rendre graces & louengez a notre Dame de Philarme qui lors eſtoit en la ville en une petite Eſgliſe de grecs pres du chaſteau, laquelle y avoit eſte pourtee avant le ſiege mis, pour ce que ſon Eſgliſe eſt en liſle ſur une montaigne environ quatre mille loing de ladicte ville de Rhodes.

APRES que le Bachal ſceut que ces gens avoient eſte ainſi vilainement reboutez, ſaches quil en fut fort deſplaiſant, & ſe penſa de gaſter & dommaiger la ville de tout ſon povoir, & de retourner a ladicte tour par aultre maniere. Ores il eſt aſſavoir que pendant quils tiroyent contre ladicte tour S. Nicolas, auſſi ſemblablement tiroyent & batoyent fort le boulevart du palais de mondit Seigneur le Maiſtre: mais pour ce que ledit boulevart ſi eſtoit tout macif & plain de terre juſques pres des crenaux, & avoit deſſus comme ung pre ou jardin de plaiſance, les pierres des bombardes non obſtant quelles fuſſent groſſes & furieuſement gectees ne faiſoient que ung petit egratigner la muraille, & en demoroit beaucoup de fichees dedans. Le Bachal doncques voyant ceci ſe penſa de faire remuer leſdictes bombardes, & bactre la muraille de la ville en aultres divers lieux, & le fiſt pour deux cauſes. La premiere pour ce que en batant la ville dautre couſte & loing de ladicte tour ſaint Nicolas ſe penſa que les gens de la ville ſe y rendroyent la plus part, & que ladicte tour ſaint Nicolas ne ſeroit pas ſi bien gardee ne deffendue: lautre pour batre la muraille & emplir les fauſſes pour y bailler l'aſſault & pour tacher a avoir la ville. Doncques feiſt remuer & pourter huit des groſſes bombardes, & les feiſt mectre & aſſeger de l'autre coſte de la ville & pres de lautre bande de la mer au droit de la Juifrie pour ce que ceſtoit le plus beau lieu & plain & uni pour batre la ville, & ſi en feiſt mettre & aſſeoir pluſieurs aultres pour batre aucunes tours & aultres lieux de ladicte ville. Si feiſt doncques batre & tirer fort & merveilleuſement contre la muraille de la ville audroit de la Juifrie & aultres lieulx en telle maniere & facon que en peu de temps ils le domagerent fort, & les Turcs auſſi non obſtant que la muraille audroit de ladicte Juifrie a plus de XXVIII piez deſpoiſſeur; & tant tirerent & batirent ladicte muraille ſi durement & ſi aprement & ſi dru qui ny avoit perſonne en la ville qui ne fut fort eſmerveille de la fureur deſdictes bombardes. Et diſoyent ceulx de ladicte ville que jamais ne fut veu ne ouy parler de ſi furieuſes ne merveilleuſes bombardes: & ſi en Rhodes de toutes manieres & nacions de gens & ſi vieulx, & afferment les Chevaliers & freres de la religion qui eſtoyent pour lors au Lango, qui eſt une petite ville & ung fort chaſteau qui eſt en une petite iſle a cent mille de Rhodes du couſte de ponant. Et auſſi ceulx qui eſtoyent au chaſteau rouge qui eſt une autre iſle a cent mille dudit Rhodes du couſte du levant qui ouyent tout a plain les coups deſdictes bombardes quant ils tiroient.

TOUTEFFOYS mondit Seigneur le Maiſtre & les vaillans Chevaliers & aultres gens qui eſtoyent dedans la ville veant leurdicte muraille qui ſe batoit ainſi furieuſement, pour y mettre remede firent par dedans la ville grans todis de pierres,

res, bois & terre contre ladicte muraille, & toutes les nuyts faiſoyent grans todis & repaires ſur ladicte muraille de clayes, bois & terre, touneaulx plains de terre, & aultres choſes actendans illec laſſault, & ſi avoient ordonne & prepare illec troys ou quatre mille fagots avec ſouffre, pouldres & aultres compoſicions de feu pour quant ils bailleroient l'aſſault & quils viendroyent aux foſſes les gecter ſur les Turcs & mettre le feu dedans, en telle maniere beſoignoient & ſe fortiffioyent par dedans la ville, quil ny avoit perſonne de quelque eſtat ne condicion quil fut qui ny miſt volentiers la main, & eſtoit lors ung grant plaiſir & une belle choſe de veoir la bonne volente du peuple qui continuellement travailloit pour leur fortificacion tant hommes, femmes que enfans, les ungs portoyent pierres, les aultres chau, les aultres boys & tous en bonne ordonnance.

QUANT le Bachal vit que lon ſe fortiffioit ainſi fort, & que le jour quant ils avoient bien batu en ung lieu, la nuyt il eſtoit rempli de touneaulx, terre, boys, & aultres choſes quant venoit ſur le ſoir, faiſoit charger ſes bombardes, & la nuyt quant il penſoit que ceulx de la ville fuſſent ſur la muraille pour faire leurs todis & repaires ou ils avoyent batu de jour, faiſoit mettre le feu dedans & tuoyt les gens, & faiſoyt de grans maulx a ceux qui faiſoyent leſdits repaires & todis & juſques a ce quils furent advertis de ce, & ſen garderent le mieulx quils peurent: & auſſi dauſtre part ledit Bachal feiſt afeuter & mectre du couſte de la montaigne ſaint Eſtienne & es aultres hault lieux alentour de ladicte ville pluſieurs aultres bombardes & courtaulx qui tiroyent au travers de la ville pour gaſter & demolir les maiſons, & tiroyent nuyt & jour en telle maniere qu'il ny avoit perſonne qui ſe oſaſt tenir en ſa maiſon ne en la ville, mais ſe tenoyent le plus pres de la muraille quils povoyent & tiroyent leſdits courtaulx plus groſſes pierres que ne faiſoyent les bombardes, & tiroyent la pierre ſi hault en lair que on la perdoit de veue & cheoit ſi furieuſement, que en cheant elle bruiſſoit en lair merveilleuſement fort, & en la veant cheoir ne ſembloit pas plus groſſe que ung eſteuf, & poues penſer que la ou elle cheoit, ce neſtoit pas mocque, & ny avoit perſonne qui nen tremblaſt de paour, mais par la grace de Dieu peu de gens furent tues deſdits mortiers, & fault dire que ce fut comme une choſe miraculeuſe: car communement leſdits courteaulx & mortiers cheoient es places vagues & es lieux inhabitables de gens, & ne faiſoient gueres de mal, ſi non a aucunes beſtes mues quil tuoient pour ce que en la ville y en avoit grant foiſon que lon y avoit retraictes de ceulx de liſle.

VEANT toutes leſquelles choſes tout le peuple de la ville tant grans que petis Chevaliers, hommes, femmes & enfans eſtoient bien confeſſes & repetans de leurs pechez & eſtoient tous bien ordonnes comme bons Chreſtiens, & comme actendans de mourir de jour en jour, & de heure en heure, & eſtoyent ſouvent es Eſgliſes en prieres & en devocion en priant a Dieu devotement quil voulſit ſaulver eulx & la ville, & deffendre de la main des faulx chiens Turcs qui ainſi les parſecutoient de jour en jour & de heure en heure ſans aucun repos avoir. Brief ceſtoit lors une belle choſe & honnorable de veoir les belles prieres & devocions de tout le peuple, & auſſi de la grant diligence quils faiſoyent nuyt & jour pour la fortification de leur ville, & de la grant volente & grant couraige qu'ils avoyent pour ſouſtenir la foy Chreſtienne.

DURANT ledit ſiege pluſieurs des gens dudit ſiege tant Turcs que Chreſtiens renies ſen vindrent rendre en la ville pour bons Chreſtiens devenir, & pour aider a ceulx de la ville, comme ils diſoyent; mais mondit Seigneur le Maiſtre qui ne ſe y fioit pas trop, & ſur toutes choſes ſen faiſoit bien touſiours donner garde, de paour de trahiſon, & la venue qui ſe venoyent rendre les faiſoit garder & diligemment examiner ainſi quil appartenoit, & entre les aultres de 6 Chreſtiens renies qui ſe vindrent rendre en la ville, ſen vint rendre ung, lequel en linterrogant fut trouve variable en ſon lengaige; parquoy il fut incontinent ſuſpecione & mis en gene, lequel a la fin confeſſa quil eſtoit venu en la ville, & avoit apporte des poiſons pour trouver facon & maniere dempoiſonner mondit Seigneur le Maiſtre, & que le Bachal ly avoit envoye & promis que ſi leuſt peu empoiſonner & faire mourir, de luy faire beaucoup de biens, & confeſſa beaucoup daultres choſes qui ſeroient tropt longues a raconter. En effet mondit Seigneur le Maiſtre lui fit lier une groſſe pierre au col, & le fiſt gecter en la mer, & eſt aſſavoir que tous ceulx qui ſe vindrent rendre en la ville, mondit Seigneur le Maiſtre ne ſen eſt volu ſervir en aucune maniere, mais les a mondit Seigneur le

Maiſtre apres le ſiege leve, mis ſur une nave, & les a tous envoye au Pape, leſquieulx eſtoyent environ ſoixante.

DURANT leſquelles choſes les Turcs tiroient & batoient touſiours fort la muraille de la Juifrie & les tours de la ville, & ſi faiſoyent de grans foſſes & repaires & approuches parvenir aux foſſes de la ville: ung jour ceulx de la ville ſaperceurent que les Turcs avoyent fait grans foſſes & grans repaires au bort du foſſe & gectoyent grant force de pierres dedans les foſſes pour les emplir, mondit Seigneur le Maiſtre feiſt ſaillir ſoixante hommes ung matin eſdits foſſes & repaires, leſquieulx de grant couraige chaſſerent tous les Turcs qui y eſtoyent, & les firent reculer juſques en leur ſiege, & en tuerent dix dedans leſdicts repaires, deſquieulx ils apporterent les teſtes en la ville, & furent miſes au bouc des lantes ſur la muraille, & baillierent & mirent le feu dedans leurs foſſes & repaires, & les abatirent, de quoy les gens de la ville furent bien aiſes de ladicte vaillance.

LE Bachal penſant & cuidant que la pluſpart des gens de ladicte ville fuſſent fort embeſoignes & occupes a ladicte muraille, ſe penſa de donner ung aultre aſſault a ladicte tour ſaint Nicolas, & ſi penſa & ymagina tous les expediens quil peuſt ſavoir pour la prendre: ſi feiſt faire ung pont de boctes & touneaulx & aultres vaiſſeaux bien relies, & galefetes & lies & attache les ungs es aultres, & fit par deſſus clouer tables, planches, aix & aultres choſes, & ſi le fit faire ſi long qui povoit aler & toucher deſpuis leſgliſe ſaint Anthoine juſques a la tour ſaint Nicolas, & ſi large que ſix hommes y povoyent bien aler de front ſur ledit pont, & eſtoit dung coſte & daultre enpanoiſe & armes comme eſt une galee. Une nuyt les Turcs alerent gecter ſur ung petit eſquif une encre en mer pres de ladicte tour ſaint Nicolas, ou avoit lie & atache une groſſe corde dont ils tenoient le bout devers eulx pour mieulx tirer & varier leurdit pont en mer & plus a leur aiſe. Mais la garde de ladicte tour qui ne dormoit pas les apperceut bien: ſi fuſt incontinent envoye ung maronnier qui plungea & ala au fond de leau couper la cable, & leva lencre, & fut tiree dehors, & portée a Monſeigneur le Maiſtre: & quant les Turcs virent que leur cable eſtoit coupee, & que ce quils avoyent fait ne leur ſervoit de riens, ordonnerent certaines quantite de barques pour mener & tirer leur pont en mer, & daultre couſte ordonnerent trente de leurs galeres avec grant quantite de feuſtes, barques & aultres navieres pour gecter & mectre leurs gens en grant puiſſance ſur le mole de ladicte tour, ſur leſquelles barques & navieres eſtoit le Capitaine des galiaces du Turc. Le Capitaine des natelies & Merlabay gendre du fils du Turc, gens de grant reputacion & auctorite, & pluſieurs des aultres Capitaines & Seigneurs furent mis ſur ledit pont, leſquels ne retournerent pas en leurdit ſiege, mais furent tues audit aſſault: & ceci fait ung jour apres minuyt quils eurent afeuſte toutes leurs barques, mirent & varierent leurdit pont en mer, & mectant lung des bouts devers ladicte tour ſaint Nicolas, & de lautre couſte de ladicte tour du couſte de la mer, vindrent les galeres, fuſtes & aultres navieres en grant puiſſance pour eulx gecter ſur ledit mole, en gectant grans & eſpouventables cris, & faiſoyent de moult grans bruits de tabours, & aultres vielles plus quils navoient fait pour cuider eſpoventer & eſbahir les gardes & gens de ladicte tour & mole & pour leur cuider faire habandonner icelle. Mais les nobles & vaillans Chevaliers & aultres gens qui eſtoient ſur ledit mole pour la garde dicelluy & de ladicte tour plains de hardieſſe & de bon couraige, & qui bien eſtoyent armes, afeuſtes & prepares tindrent pie ferme, & receurent leſdits Turcs ſi bien & ſi vaillamment, & ſi les ſervirent ſi dru de bonnes bombardes & aultres traix de coups de haches & de feu, en telle maniere que incontinent quils mectoyent pie en terre, ils eſtoyent mors & tues & haches en pieces, & brules. Et pour ce que ceulx dudit mole avoyent eſte advertis dudit pont, avoyent afeuſtes troys groſſes bombardes du couſte ou devoit venir ledit pont tellement, que quant ledit pont fut varie & mis en mer, & pres daborder a ladicte tour ſaint Nicolas, tirerent leſdictes bombardes, & fut ledit pont rompu tout oultre par le meillieu, & mis en pieces, & furent tues & noyes grant partie des Turcs qui eſtoyent deſſus ledit pont & des plus principaux Capitaines; & au regard des galeres fuſtes & aultres navieres, pluſieurs furent miſes au fond de la mer de coups de bombardes, & tous les Turcs leſquieulx eſtoyent deſſus mors & noyez, & furent prinſes neuf de leurs barques, & tous les Tourcs qui eſtoient dedans auſſi mors & noyes, & y morurent les troys Capitaines deſſus nommes: & avoit audit aſſault ſur ledit mole ung Cordelier de ſaint Francoys, lequel fiſt merveille darmes; car quant leſdictes barques approuchoient du mole, il entroit a la mer juſques a la ſaincture, & tiroit les Turcs hors de leurs barques, & leur coupoit la teſte, ou haſchoit en pieces, & puis gectoit en mer. Brief ce fut merveilles des fais darmes quil il fiſt, ainſi que laſſerment ceulx qui lui virent faire les grans coups: touteſfois a la fin il fut fort naure & blecie; mais mondit Seigneur le Maiſtre le feiſt bien penſer, & quant il fut guery luy donna & feiſt faire ung habillement tout neuf, & furent leſdits Turcs derechief villainement reboutes & plus quils navoient eſte la premiere foys, & dura ledit aſſault depuis peu apres la minuyt juſques a dix heures du matin, & y furent tues deux mille cinq cens Turcs & plus, & des principaux Capitaines & Seigneurs qui fuſſent audit ſiege, & pareillement grant foyſon leſquieulx furent naures & blecies; & ne fut tue de ceulx dudit mole que unze ou douze des Freres Chevaliers; mais il y en euſt beaucoup de bleciez. Apres laquelle vitoire mondit Seigneur le Maiſtre accompaigne de pluſieurs Chevaliers & aultres gens, ſen ala rendre graces & louenge a Dieu & a Noſtre Dame de Philerne, & a Monſeigneur ſaint Jehan Baptiſte, de la grace que Dieu leur faiſoit de obtenir victoire a lencontre de leurs ennemis, & quant le Bachal vit que ſes gens avoyent eſte de rechef ainſi villainement reboutes, & quil avoit tant perdu de gens & des meillieurs, de grant douleur & melencolie quil euſt, ſen ala mectre en ſon pavillon, ou il fut leſpace de troys jours ſans vouloir parler a perſonne de ſes gens.

APRES peu de temps vint le jour de la feſte Monſeigneur ſaint Jehan Baptiſte qui eſt le XXIV jour de Juing, patron de ladicte Ville & Cite de Rhodes, la veille de laquelle feſte, & pour la louenge & ſolennite dicelle, eſt de bonne couſtume faire grans feulx, pour quoy ceulx de la ville firent la nuyt grans feus ſur toutes les tours de ladicte ville, & ſur les clochiers & aultres lieux haulx de ladicte ville. Les Turcs veans leſdis feux ſi grans, & en tant de lieulx, ne ſavoient pas aquelle fin ceulx de la ville les faiſoient, & ſe approucherent des foſſes pour veoir que ceſtoit. Or ceulx de la ville le jour avoient charge & aſeuſte toute lartillerie de la ville pour la tirer a ung coupt pour ladicte ſolennite, leſquels incontinent que les feux furent fais, tirerent, & deſemparerent ladicte artillerie toute a ung coupt: mais ſi bien advint quil fut bien tue environt troys cens Turcs de ladicte artillerie de ceulx qui ceſtoyent approuches du foſſe.

QUANT ledit Bachal euſt perdu leſperance davoir ladicte tour ſainct Nicolas, & que tout ce quil y avoit fait ne luy ſervoit de riens, fiſt faire a grant puiſſance trenchees, foſſes & approuches devant la muraille de la Juifrie qui eſtoit fort batue, en telle maniere, que les Turcs venoyent a couvert juſques pres du foſſe, en faiſant emplir fort les foſſes de pierres de boys & aultres choſes. Mondit Seigneur le Maiſtre veant leſdictes trenchees & approuches, & que lartillerie de la ville ne leur pouvoit faire nul mal, feiſt faire tribus de boys, qui eſt ung engin qui gecte une groſſe pierre par paine, & leur en fit gecter ſouvent & dru, tellement quil leur fut effondre & abatu beaucoup de leurs approuches & repaires, & touſiours y demouroit quelque ung Turc mort deſſoubs, & leur faiſoient leſdits tribus grant mal & domaige, & ſi faiſoit mondit Seigneur le Maiſtre vuider les pierres des foſſes, & tirer en la ville en toute diligence.

UNG jour ledit Maiſtre George fut amene ſur ladicte muraille en luy monſtrant la muraille qui eſtoit moult fort batue, & les repaires & approuches des Turcs, en lui demandant ſon opinion, & quil luy en ſembloit: & il reſpondit que l'artillerie des Turcs eſtoit ſi furieuſe & ſi puiſſante, que muraille du monde narreſteroit devant, quelque eſpeſſeur quelle euſt, & lui ſembloit que la ville eſtoit en grant dangier, veu les tranchees, approuches, & les foſſes qui ſempliſſoient fort, & la grant quantite de Turcs qui eſtoyent devant: & de tout ce que on luy demanda reſpondit moult laſchement au moins choſe ou il ny avoit apparence, & luy fit lon tirer deux ou troys coups de bombarde; mais il ny fit choſe qui vaulſit: en la fin fut ſouſpecione, car lon tiroit touſiours en la ville fleches, ou avoit en eſcript: Gardez vous de Maiſtre George: pour quoy il fut mis en la gehine, & en effet confeſſa comment il avoit ja ſervi le Tourc long temps, duquel il avoit eu beaucoup de biens, & comment il avoit fait avoir au Turc par trahiſon beaucoupt de Villes & de Cites par pluſieurs manieres, & que le Turc luy avoit promis faire plus de biens quil navoit jamais eu ſil luy povoit faire avoir Rhodes; & que par ceſte cauſe, il ſen eſtoit venu en la ville pour trouver facon & maniere de trahir ladicte ville, & confeſſa beaucoupt daultres choſes qui ſeroyent trop longues a raconter: & pour ce que ceulx de ladicte ville parloient fort que ledit Maiſtre George feuſt excecute, mondit Seigneur le Maiſtre qui le voloit garder plus longuement pour touſiours ſavoir quelque choſe de luy, pour ce que ceſtoit ung homme fort eſpert & ſavant en toutes choſes, le feiſt pendre & eſtrangler en la place au meillieu de ladicte ville & Cite de Rhodes devant tous ceulx de ladicte ville, pour contenter & pour donner meillieur couraige a tous ceulx de ladicte ville & Cite de Rhodes, & pour eſbabir & decouraiger les mauldis & Infideles Turcs.

Le Bachal pour mieux cuider faire ſon fait, fit tirer dedans la ville des lectres qui diſoyent que lon ſe rendit a luy, & quil donneroit a tout homme la vie ſaulve & a cheſcun tous ſes biens; & quil ne vouloit ſeulement que la ville, & ne leur demandoit aultre choſe; deſquelles lectres mondit Seigneur le Maiſtre, ne les aultres Chevaliers, ne gens de la ville ne tindrent pas grant compte; mais comme bons & vaillans Chevaliers & bons Chreſtiens, navoient garde de y obtemperer; mais avoyent bon & ferme propos & volente, comme bons & vrays Catholiques, de bien garder la ville, & de leur tenir bon pie & ferme; & deſia ils leur avoyent bien monſtre, comme avez ouy, & avoyent bien entencion de leur monſtrer encore mieulx, ſils approuchoient de leur muraille & de leurs foſſes.

Ung jour que ceulx de la ville eſtoyent ſaillis dehors pour faire une courſe ſur ledit ſiege; de la male adventure, les Turcs prindrent ung frere, & ung de ceulx de la ville, leſquieulx furent mis au pal au hort du foſſe avecques ung aultre de ceux de la ville qui ſen eſtoit ale rendre a eulx: & pour ce quils cuidoyent quil y fuſt ale pour eſpie, comme Dieu le voloit, le mirent au pal, qui eſt une maniere de martire que les Turcs font aux Chreſtiens, pour les faire morir plus angoiſſeuſement, & a plus grant martire. Quant mondit Seigneur le Maiſtre vit quils les avoient mis au pal, le lendemain fit mectre cinqs Turcs quil avoit prins, ſemblablement au pal, leſquels il fit picquer & mectre hault ſur la muraille a la veue de tous les Turcs, en leur demontrant que pour ung Chreſtien quils y mectroyent, il y en mectroit deux Turcs.

Quant le Bachal vit & apperceut que pour lettres, ne pour traictres, ne pour aultres choſes quil put faire, tout ne luy ſervoit de riens, ung jour envoia ung Grec renie qui eſtoit de Rhodes, qui aultreffoys ſen eſtoit ale rendre Turc, vint en une Eſgliſe de Grecs nomme Noſtre Dame des Limoniſtres, qui eſt pres du foſſe de la ville, & appella les gardes qui eſtoyent ſur la muraille, en leur diſant que le Bachal lavoit envoye pour dire a Monſeigneur le Maiſtre, que le Bachal parleroit volentiers a luy, & quils donnaſſent ſaufconduit lung a lautre pour parlamenter enſemble; a quoy fut reſpondu au Grec, que lendemain il vint au bort du foſſe, & que la il parleroit a lui. Le Bachal ny ala point; mais ſon embeſſades y ala, a laquelle Monſeigneur le Maiſtre ne ſe volut point monſtrer, ne parler a eulx, mais ordonna le Chaſtelin de la ville nomme Meſire Anthoine Gautier, qui eſt ung bon Chevallier & homme de bien, pour reſpondre a ladicte ambeſſade: & premierement lambeſſade du Bachal commenca a parler & a dire ces mots ou ſemblables, en effet & ſouſtance: Meſſeigneurs, il nous ſemble quil feuſt bon & licite pour vous & pour la ville, que Monſieur le Maiſtre, & vous aultres Chevaliers de la ville, feiſſies paix & union avecques notre Sire le Grant Turc & ſon Bachal, & que ſeroit le grant bien & proffit de la ville & de ceulx de dedans; & ſey voles entendre, nous le tracterons par la meillieur maniere que nous pourrons adviſer: & nous eſbaiſſons fort comment Monſieur le Maiſtre, & vous de la ville, oſes reſiſter a ung ſi puiſſant prince comme eſt notre Seigneur le Turc, lequel de ſon temps a conquis grant quantite de belles terres & de beaux pais, & grans, comme deux empires, XII. royaulmes & pluſieurs aultres Seigneurs, en vous advertiſſant, ainſi que ayes pitie de vous & de votre ville; & que ne vous laiſſies pas faire ſi cruelles choſes, comme fait faire le Bachal a ceulx dune ville quant il la prent par force: & pluſieurs choſes diſoient qui ſeroient trop longues a eſcripre. Monſieur le Chaſtelain commis de reſpondre, comme dit eſt, reſpondit en ceſte maniere: Mais ſaiches que Monſeigneur le Maiſtre & nous de ceans ſommes fort eſmerveilles de votre Bachal, & de vous qui eſtes venus icy en ſi grant puiſſance & aves tant de ſi bonne &

belle artillerie, & tant daultres engins, & qui eſtes vaillans gens en grant nombre, & qui eſtez ſi puiſſans comme dictez que eſt votre Seigneur le Turc; comme vous nous exhortes a faire paix & union avecques luy, & puis daultres part vous nous menaſſes. Nous ne ſavons ſe le faictes pour eſprouver nos couraiges & voulentes; mais ſaiches que tout ce que nous aves dit, & tout ce que vous avez fait par devant ne nous meuvent point a faire choſe qui ſoit deſhoneſte a notre foy & a noſtre religion; ne vos menaſſes ne nous font aucunement paour; nous ſommes tous ungs en couraige, & creons fermement en noſtre Seigneur Jeſus Chriſt qui eſt vray Dieu, & pour lequel ſommes tous preſt & apareilles de combatre & mourir pour luy, & pluſtoſt que eſtre conjoings a voſtre Mahon qui eſt une loy faulce & mauvaiſe que vous tenes; & la noſtre eſt bonne & juſte, & de tout noſtre povoir la garderons. Puiſque eſtes venus en grant puiſſance, parfaictes ce quaves commence: & en la grace Jehus Criſt, nous vous reſpondrons ſi bien & de ſi bon couraige, que vous cognoiſtres que vous naves point affaire aux Aziens, ne a gens demeſchant couraige; & dictes a voſtre Bachal, qui eſt ſi hardi & qui fort aime le profit du Turc ſon Seigneur, quil ne deſpende plus tant quil fait pour tirer ſes bombardes & mortiers, mais quil ſen vienne a toute ſa puiſſance; & que les deux portes de la ville quil eſlira, luy ſeront ouvertes a plain & face du mieulx quil pourra. Quant les Embaſſadeurs du Bachal virent quils ne peurent avoir aultre reſponſe, baiſſerent les teſtes, & ſen alerent a leur Bachal compter la reſponce quils avoyent eu de ceulx de la ville.

Quant le Bachal euſt entendu la reſponce, fut fort couroce contre ceulx de la ville, & plus quil navoit eſte, & jura ſur ſon Mahon que ſil povoit prendre la ville, quil nen ſaulveroit pas ung que tous ne fuſſent mis au pal, & fit faire iiii. cens paulx tous propres, & fit en grant diligence batre les murailles de la ville, & faire foſſes, approuches, & emplir les foſſes, & montrer a ceulx de la ville environt deux cens eſchelles, faignant quils voulſiſſent prendre la ville par eſchelles, affin que ceulx de ladicte ville ſeſpandiſſent plus au long de la muraille, & quil ny en yeuſt pas tant a ladicte Juifrie ou ils batoyent.

Le xxvi. jour de Juillet batit fort & merveilleuſement la muraille de ladicte Juifrie, & les tours prouchaines des huit groſſes bombardes ſans aucun repos, en telle maniere que la muraille fut razee & batue au rez du foſſe, & le foſſe illec au droit tout empli de pierres, par telle maniere que ung homme a cheval fut bien monte du couſte des champs ſur la muraille de la ville, tant fut batue & razee, & le foſſe emply le lendemain qui fut le Jeudi & le xxvii. jour de Jullet, devant le jour commencerent a tirer ſi fort & ſi aſprement, que en peu de temps tirerent bien cens coups de bombardes groſſes, & ſi tiroyent communement hault pour deſloger les gens & les gardes de deſſus la muraille, & pour rompre les todis & repaires que ceulx de la ville avoyent fait la nuyt ſur la muraille batue, & pendant que ils tiroyent ainſi fort, les Turcs ſe approuchoyent des foſſes en moult grant puiſſance par leurs todis, repaires & aproches, tellement quils eſtoient pres du foſſe en moult grant nombre, & tant quils ne ſe povoient nullement contourner en leurs approuches les ungs pour les aultres, & ceux de la ville ne les apperceurent point aproucher pour ce quils ne ſe oſoyent tenir ſur la muraille, ne en lieu hault pour la furer des bombardes; mais eſtoient bas ou ils avoient fait leurs repaires, & y demoura peu de gens: car la plus grant partie repoſoit pour le trauail quils avoient des eſtodis, les aultres ſervoient Dieu & cuidoient quils deuſſent tirer comme ils avoyent acouſtume. Quant il fut jour, comme une heure apres ſoleil levant, & quils eurent tire environt cens coups des bombardes, tirerent ung mortier pour leur ſignal, & incontinent les Turcs qui eſtoient pres du foſſe en grant puiſſance ſaillerent hors de leurs aprouches, & monterent incontinent ſur la muraille, tellement que en peu deure furent ſur ladicte muraille environt deux mille cinq cens Turcs & plus, & furent ceulx de la ville ainſi ſoubdainement ſurpris, & fault bien dire quil y euſt grant faulte du couſte de ceulx de la ville pour ce quils ne ſe tenoient pas bien ſur leur garde; mais Dieu les garda & preſerva ainſi ores. De prime face que les Turcs eurent ainſi gaigne la muraille, & quils furent deſſus en grant nombre ſans trouver aulcune reſiſtance, miſrent & aſſirent le grant eſtendart du Turc ſur une tour quils avoient ja gaigne, & ſi mirent pluſieurs autres eſtendars & bandieres ſur la muraille, & rebouterent les Turcs qui y eſtoyent en ſi grant puiſſance, & ne les virent aucunement juſques a tant quils montoyent ſur la muraille; car il ny avoit celluy qui ſe oſaſt montrer, tant avoyent les Turcs furieuſement tire tout le matin. Toutteſfois la trompete ſonna incontinent, & lors euſſiez veu les Chevaliers & gens de la ville ſaillir en armes. Mais quant vint a monter ſur la muraille, trouverent que les Turcs gardoient les montees de la muraille, & eſtoient maiſtres de leur artillerie & aultres armes eſtant ſur icelle. Et lors euſſies veu faire de belles armes, car les gens de la ville qui eſtoyent deffendeurs furent lors aſſailleurs, car de grant couraige gaignerent les degres pour monter amont & pour regaigner leur muraille a coups de lances, de voulges & de trait montoient amont faiſant grans armes: & les Turcs qui eſtoyent ſur ladicte muraille ſe deffendoyent fort & aſprement en tirant fleiches, & auſſi en gectant pierres & tout ce quils povoyent ſur ceulx de ladicte ville de Rhodes: & auſſi pareillement eſtoyent leſdits Turcs ſi eſpes ſur ladicte muraille qui nuyſoyent, & empechoyent les ungs aux aultres, & ne ſe pouoyent contourner, & en tumba beaucoupt de deſſus la muraille en la ville qui furent tues & mis en pieces. Mondit Seigneur le Maiſtre qui neſtoit pas loing, acompaigne de pluſieurs Chevaliers & aultres gens, vint a lune des montees, & commenca a monter le premier, & de grant couraige montoit a mont faiſant armes merveilleuſes; mais en montant receut de grans & mauvais coups, & auſſi en donna il de bons, & fut gecte deux ou troys foys de la montee abas; mais il fut vaillamment ſecouru & releve des aultres Chevaliers qui eſtoyent avec lui, tous leſquels ſe porterent ſi bien & ſi vaillamment que par force & en deſpit de tous les Turcs monterent ſur la muraille, & illec Monſeigneur le Maiſtre blecie en deux lieux. Quant ceulx de la ville furent montes ſur la muraille, euſſies veu faire merveilles darmes; car ils combatoient illec main a main & vaillamment: mais Monſeigneur le Maiſtre feiſt deſploier une bandiere en laquelle eſtoit en peinture le crucefix eſtandu en l'arbre de la croix, noſtre Dame dung couſte & ſaint Jehan Baptiſte d'aultre couſte: & quand les Turcs virent la bandiere deſploye, commencerent a baiſſer la teſte comme s'ils ne viſſent gouſte, & ſaulter du hault en bas ſen faire aulcun ſemblant de eulx deffendre, & les tuoit on & aſſommoit comme pourceaulx, & eulx meſmes tuoyent lung lautre, car ceulx qui venoient les derniers pour venir a la ville, trouvoient les aultres qui ſen fuoyent & frappoyent deſſus comme ſus chiens. Brief il y euſt ſi grant tuerie de Turcs, que ce fut merveilles, & fut le grand eſtendart du Turc gaigne, lequel eſtoit de ſoie vermeille, & deſſus une pome dor faicte a maniere dung cueur de plat, & large de une pome ou plus, & ſi furent tous les aultres eſtendars & bandieres qui eſtoyent ſur ladicte muraille gaignes: car en leur en retournant ils neurent pas le loiſir de les prendre & retournerent, tant furent de pres chaſſes de ceulx de la ville. Mais au venir gaignerent leſtendart de Monſeigneur loſpitalier qui étoit lung des Capitaines generaulx de la ville: fut toute la gaigne que leſdits Turcs firent, laquelle leur fut bien chier vendue: en effet audit aſſault tous ceulx de la ville tant hommes que femmes ſi porterent ſi bien & ſi vaillamment que ce fut merveilles, auſſi en avoyent ils bien beſoing, & ny avoit gueres celluy qui ne portat des enſeignes; car ils tiroient ſi dru que les murailles des maiſons au droit dudit aſſault eſtoient ſi picquotees de leur trait, tant y a frape, que il ſemble encores a les veoir choſe merveilleuſe, & dura celluy aſſault environt deux heures.

Apres ledit aſſault paſſe leſdis Turcs ſe reculerent bien loing de la ville ſans ce que onques puis aprouchaſſent de la ville, autmoins ſi pres quils avoient de couſtume, & recullerent leurs groſſes bombardes, & ſe tindrent enſemble, & ſerres comme brebis, & incontinent ceulx de la ville ſaillirent dehors es foſſes, pour viſiter ceulx qui eſtoient demoures mors & auſſi pour achever de tuer ceulx qui eſtoient encores vifs, & qui neſtoyent que naures, & qui ne ſeſtoyent peu recueillir avec les aultres, & fut trouve dedans la ville que mors que vifs cent trente troys, & les plus beaulx hommes que lon peut regarder, leſquels on fit trainer & gecter en mer pour les eſclaux, & dedans les foſſes & autour diceulx furent trouves mors environt troys mille cinq cens ou plus, ſans ceulx qui furent naures quils emporterent, qui depuis moururent en grant nombre, comme on a ſceu depuis: & fault dire quil en mourut beaucoup; car au lieu ou eſtoit leur ſiege en III. lieux, & de grans champs ou avoit terre labourable, eſtoient tous plains de foſſes ou ils ont enterre leurs gens mors, & ou ils faiſoient leurs ſementieres, & a les veoir maintenant ſemble que lon y ait fait les foſſes pour y planter vigne, & furent les Turcs qui furent trouves mors au foſſes furent brules & mis ou feu dedans le boys quils avoient aporte pour leur aprouches & emplir les foſſez: & tant en y avoit quils mirent plus de huic jours a bruler, & les bonnes femmes qui les veoyent bruler & rendre la grece, les mauldiſoient, & diſoyent quils eſtoient ſi gras des figues & aultres fruits quils leur avoient menge en leurs jardins & aultres choſes ne plaignoient. De ceulx de la ville en fut trouve de mors environt XL. deſquels y avoit quinze freres des plus notables Commandeurs qui pour lors y fuſſent, dont ce fut domage, & y euſt plus de cinq cens de blecies. Brief ce fut merveilles des vaillances & fais darmes, & choſe fort a croire de ce qui fut fait ce jour qui ne la veu; & comme ont ſceu ceulx de Rhodes, les Turcs furent bien eſmerveilles de la reſiſtance quils trouverent, & cuidoient fermement & de fait avoir la ville, & ny avoit celluy lequel ne portaſt une ou deux cordes ceintes, ou en leurs ſaing pour lier ceulx de la ville a la venue quils les prendroient; mais comme Dieu le voulut, ils en furent gardes.

Non obſtant toutes leſquelles vaillances & prouſſe que firent ceulx de la ville, neuſſent peu eſtre maiſtre de recouvrer leur muraille, ne rebouter les Turcs qui lavoient gaigne & qui etoient deſſus en grant nombre, & qui touſiours y montoyent en grant puiſſance, ſe neuſt eſte la grace de notre Seigneur qui euſt pitie deulx & de la ville. Car ung grant miracle y fut monſtre, quand Monſeigneur le Maiſtre euſt fait deſploier la bandiere du crucefis, les Turcs virent en lair ſur ladicte bandiere une grant croix de couleur dor, & ſi daultre part virent ſur ladicte muraille, ſe leur fut advis une belle pucelle veſtue de blanc qui tenoit en lune de ſes mains une lance, & en lautre main ung eſcu blanc, au pres virent ung homme moult pourement veſtu, lequel eſtoit accompaigne de beaucoup de belles gens, leſquelles choſes leur fit ſi grand paour & frayeur, quils ne ſavoient que faire, & navoient povoir du monde de eulx deffendre, ſi non de fouyr & reculler; & ceulx de la ville ne virent riens de tout cecy, mais virent bien troys jours apres que les Turcs eurent mis le ſiege devant la ville une eſtoille qui ſapparut en lair moult grande & merveilleuſement figuree en maniere dune croix, & la perdirent de veue troys jours devant que les Turcs ſe partiſſent de devant ladicte ville, pour leſquelles choſes il fault bien dire & croyre, que la victoire vint de la grace de Dieu, & quil combatit pour la ville, & deffendit tous ceulx de dedans, pour laquelle victoire Monſeigneur le Maiſtre & tous les nobles Chevaliers & vaillans gens de la ville tant hommes que femmes & enfans rendirent graces a Dieu, a notre Dame, & a Monſeigneur ſaint Jehan Baptiſte, & rendent encores chacun jour de la grant grace quil leur avoit fait de les avoir ainſi ſaulves & delivres de la main des faulx chiens Turcs ennemis de la foy catholique, que Dieu par ſa grace les vueille tous deſtruire & confondre, Amen.

Quinze jours apres arriverent en Rhodes deux groſſes naves que le Roy Ferrand Roy de Naples y envoyoit pour le ſecours dicelle, leſquelles eſtoient chargees de toutes vitailles & refreſchiſſemens, & pourtoient mille hommes de ſecours. Quant les Turcs les virent venir, afeuſterent ſur le bord de lentree du port aucunes bombardes pour domager & fere perir les naves; & quant furent aprouches dudit port, & que la premiere cuida entrer dedans tirerent leurs bombardes en telle maniere quils rompirent larbre & les voilles, ploierent & cheurent bas, & fut la nave ſans voille; & une aultre bombarde frappa a travers de la pouppe, & tua deux hommes, & rompit ung coffre qui y eſtoient ou eſtoient les ornemens deſgliſe, de quoy le patron faiſoit chanter meſſe, & rua tout en mer, ſi non les oſties achanter qui eſtoient au coffre dans une boete, & demourerent ſans boete toutes entieres en la nave ſans nulle corruption, dont le patron & ceulx de la nave furent fort eſmerveilles, veu que tout le ſurplus du coffre avoit eſte tue en mer & peri, & le Chapellain de la nave les garde par grant eſpeciaulte, & la nuyt la nave fut tiree dedans le port, & lautre nave qui venoit apres qui vit ſa conſerve ainſi mal empoint de larbre, & auſſi quil ny avoit pas bon vent pour entrer au port cuida ſurgir pres la tour ſaint Nicolas. Mais quant elle vit la fureur des bombardes, print la roulte de mer ou elle voltoia leſpaſſe de trois jours, pendant lequel temps les galeres & fuſtes du ſiege la vindrent aſſaillir, leſquels ſe deffendirent vaillement tant que les Turcs ne leur peurent faire nul mal, & y fut tue beaucoup de Turcs des galeres, & fuſtes & lung des principaulx Capitaines du ſiege y fut naure & blecie & emporte comme mort, & ny euſt perſonne tue en la nave, mais aulcuns furent blecies & peu; & au bout de troys jours entrerent dedans le port, dont ceulx de la ville furent bien joyeux & reconfortes des vivres, & refreſchiſſemens & gens quils apporterent, & furent les tres bien venus & reccus de ceulx de la ville.

En la fin quant le Bachal vit quil ne pouoit riens faire de ſon prouffit, & quil neſtoit pas aſſes puiſſant pour avoir la ville, & quil ne pouoit garder & faillir du port qui ny entraſt ſecours, & quil labouroit en vain, & auſſi que liver aprouchoit, & quil neuſt peu tenir ſes navieres autour dudit Rhodes durant liver, ou aultre choſe a ce le movant, ſe delibera de ſen retourner en Turquie, & en ſon pais. Pourquoy le jour de la noſtre Dame de myaouſt, feiſt repaſſer ſur leſdictes navieres juſques au Fiſto grans partie des Turcs dudit ſiege avec leurs chevaulx & aultres choſes, & de la ſen retournerent leſdictes navieres lever & charger tout le demourant, & tout le ſurplus des Turcs & lartillerie & les aultres choſes a eulx neceſſaries, & ſen alerent du tout en leur pais, & devez ſavoir que en leur recueillant, ne faiſoient pas les grans cheres, ne ſonnoient leurs trompetes, ne tabours, & ne faiſoyent pas le grant bruit quils faiſoient quant ils mirent le ſiege, mais reculerent le plus coyement quils peurent, de paour quils avoyent de ceulx de la ville; & ainſi ſen retournerent les Turcs a grant deſhonneur. Si prions a Dieu devotement que en tel lieu puiſſent devenir bons Chreſtiens, & ſouſtenir la foy catholique, ou aultrement, Dieu par ſa grace les veuille du tout deſtruire, que jamais ne puiſſent nuire aux bons Chreſtiens, Amen.

Explicit.

CATALOGUE

DES GRANDS-CROIX, BAILLIFS,

COMMANDEURS, CHEVALIERS, CHAPELAINS,

ET FRERES SERVANS D'ARMES

Qui en 1480 ſe trouverent à la defenſé de Rhodes ſous le Grand-Maître d'Aubuſſon, & dont on trouve les noms dans les Archives de l'Ordre.

Frere Jaque de Gialtray Prieur de Catalogne, Lieutenant du Grand-Maître.
Fr. Pierre Papefilt Prieur de l'Egliſe.
Fr. Charles de Noroy Hoſpitalier.
Fr. Merle de Piozzaſque Amiral.
Fr. Guillaume de Caſtelvi Drapier.
Fr. Pierre Modarre Chancelier.
Fr. Jean Molet Prieur de Meſſine, auquel depuis la levée du ſiege, le Grand-Maître donna la Commanderie de Polizzi en recompenſe de la valeur qu'il y avoit fait paroître.
Fr. Marmaduc Lomelai depuis Prieur d'Irlande.
Fr. Sellon de Mandolis Bailli de Manoſque.
Fr. Conſalve Vela, Bailli de Venouſe.
Fr. Louis Sagra, Bailli de Negrepont.
Fr. Chriſtolphe de Nardemberg, Prieur de Brandebourg.
Fr. Thomas Grem, Bailli d'Aquila.

Du Prieuré de ſaint Gilles.

Fr. Arduin de la Plane, Commandeur de Selve.
Fr. Guillaume de la Plane Commandeur de Griſens.
Fr. Jean Vengius Commandeur de Puimeſſon.
Fr. René Martin Commandeur d'Aix.
Fr. Charles Aleman Commandeur de Jales.
Fr. Pierre Garige Commandeur de Treves-Eſclaret.
Fr. André de Pignau, dit Rochemaure.
Fr. Jean Grimauld.
Fr. Sebaſtien Gombert.
Fr. Antoine Viron.
Fr. Pierre de Leon, dit Caſtilion.
Fr. Pierre de la Grange.

Fr. Antoine Dumas.
Fr. Guillaume d'Archigeaud.
Fr. Antoine Comenges.
Fr. Bernard Berenger, dit Boſſac.
Fr. Charles Alemand de la Roche Chenard.
Fr. Pierre Raimand de Gueurs.
Fr. Jean d'Argentine.
Fr. Gui de Montarnauld.
Fr. Claude de la Tourette.

Du Prieuré de Thoulouſe.

Fr. Ponce d'Auriac Commandeur de Golfech.
Fr. Pierre de Champagne Commandeur de Monſones.
Fr. Roger de Polaſtron de la Illiere.
Fr. Bernard de Montlezun Commandeur de Caubin.
Fr. Antoine de Murat Commandeur de Burgau.
Fr. Pierre de Ruffin Commandeur de Garidech.
Fr. Bernard de Taide dit Villenaire.

Du Prieuré d'Auvergne.

Fr. Antoine Dumas Commandeur de Chamberri, Chambellan du Grand-Maître.
Fr. Arnaud Amagnone dit Bigni, Commandeur de Verrieres.
Fr. Antoine Davances Commandeur des Echelles.
Fr. Pierre de Bronllebaud Commandeur de la Racherie.
Fr. Roger Aubert Commandeur de la Foullouſe.
Fr. Antoine Aude Commandeur de Carlat.
Fr. Matelain de Bridiers Commandeur d'Oſelles.
Fr. Jean de Bridiers Commandeur de la Marche.
Fr. Pierre d'Arſon Commandeur de Poullach, Lieutenant du Sénéchal.
F. Robert de Valens Commandeur de Bourges.
Fr. Antoine Gualtier Commandeur de Maçon, Chatelain de Rhodes.
Fr. Jean de Saconai Commandeur de Montſenis.
Fr. Godefroi Mareſchal Commandeur de Bugnes.
Fr. Amedée de Seiſſel, nommé par le Pape à la Commanderie des Echelles; mais qui pour ne pas préjudicier aux privileges & aux regles de l'Ordre, n'en voulut pas prendre poſſeſſion.
Fr. Pierre Dupui.
Fr. Leonard Mangirols.
Fr. Godefroi du Cros.
Fr. Ademart Laſtic.
Fr. François de Gerri.
Fr. Claude de Rives.
Fr. Leonard de Rives.

Du Prieuré de France.

Fr. Gilles du Fay Commandeur d'Oiſement.
Fr. Renaud de Boſſiers Commandeur de Fieſſes.
Fr. Pierre Roulin Commandeur de Fontaines.
Fr. Gilles de la Marche.
Fr. Godefroi le Couturier.
Fr. Jean de Bondiflart.
Fr. Jean de Chevreuſe.
Fr. Simon Charpentier.
Fr. Charles Brumieres.
Fr. Nicolas Montmirel.
Fr. Gerard de Nevers.
Fr. George Utenhove.
Fr. Pierre de Tinteville.
Fr. Pierre Clouet.
Fr. Jean Volpis.
Fr. Jean Erre.

Du Prieuré d'Aquitaine.

Fr. Ives de Milon Commandeur d'Amboiſe.
Fr. Gui de la Lui Commandeur de Loudun.
Fr. Pierre de Noves Commandeur de Pontverve.
Fr. Gui Bouchet Commandeur des Expauls.
Fr. Antoine Chabot.
Fr. Pierre Foullet.
Fr. Charles Caperon.
Fr. Jacques Bardoul.
Fr. Antoine de Ferveſai.
Fr. Pierre de Pons.
Fr. Jean de la Haye.
Fr. Philippe de Cluix.
Fr. Pierre de Cluix.

Du Prieuré de Champagne.

Fr. Jean de Poincignon Commandeur de Marbotte.
Fr. Pierre de Boiſrond Commandeur de la Romagne.
Fr. Jean le Negre Commandeur de Braux.
Fr. Milon S. Leger.
Fr. Jean Emeguin.
Fr. Jean Huſſon, dit Leſſon.
Fr. Renaud de Comblanc.

De la Langue d'Italie.

Fr. Matthieu Gaetan Romain, Commandeur de Fano.
Fr. Bernardin Baſchi Commandeur de ſaint Juſtin.
Fr. François Carraciolo Napolitain Commandeur, de Venafre.
Fr. Jean Caſtalde Commandeur de Molſette.
Fr. Pierre Ridolfi Florentin, Commandeur du ſaint Sepulchre.
Fr. Roger de la Caſe Commandeur de S. Leonard de Sienne.
Fr. Amedée du Pont Commandeur de Nice de la Paille.
Fr. Coſme Zandi Mari Commandeur de Villantiere.
Fr. Jean André Guaſco Commandeur de Parme.
Fr. Nicolas Canigian Florentin, Commandeur Della Volpaia.
F. Lancelot di Raimo Commandeur de Melphe.
Fr. Charles de Geſvalde Commandeur de Larins.
Fr. Theodoſe Pignatelli Commandeur de Traiſne.
Fr. Jean Michel Dij-Pagnana Commandeur de Tortone.
Fr. Louis Tornabon Florentin.
Fr. Pierre Borromée Milanois.
Fr. Céſar Piozzaſco Piémontois.
Fr. Bonaventure de ſaint Georges.
Fr. André Vendramini Venitien.
Fr. Thomas Sangro Napolitain.
Fr. Matthieu de Vintimille Sicilien.
Fr. Bernardin Caraffa Napolitain.
Fr. Leon Badalochi.
Fr. Euſtache de Caſtelvago.
Fr. Hilarion de Bardi Florentin.
Fr. Diomede de Sanſone.
Fr. Antoine Ziola.
Fr. Antoine Delpozzo Piedmontois.

De la Langue d'Arragon & de la Chatellenie d'Empoſte.

Fr. Louis Sagra Commandeur du Temple d'Oſca.
Fr. Diomede de Villaragut Commandeur de Villaragut.
Fr. Pierre d'Oros Commandeur du Torrent.
Fr. Jean de Sangueſa Commandeur de Calamera.
Fr. Conſalve Dexea Commandeur d'Alventoſa.
Fr. François Sens.
Fr. George Coſcon,
Fr. Alphonſe de Linian.
Fr. Jean de Montfaucon.
Fr. Bernard de Villoſſa.

Du Prieuré de Catalogne.

Fr. Martin Blanc Commandeur de Coliour.
Fr. Jean d'Argenſola.
Fr. François Calaf.
Fr. Balthaſar Sonier.
Fr. Damaſe de Meja.
Fr. Calceran de Luge.
Fr. Raimond d'Eſplan.
Fr. Paul Sogar.
Fr. Bernard Garau de Requeſens.
Fr. Louis Fluvian.
Fr. Martin Suarez Navarrois.

De la Langue d'Angleterre.

Fr. Henri Haler Commandeur de Badsfort.
Fr. Thomas Ploneton.
Fr. Adam Sedbond.
Fr. Henri Bataſbi.
Fr. Henri Davalas.

De la Langue d'Allemagne.

- Fr. Georges Dow Commandeur de Romueil.
- Fr. Conrard de Venighen Commandeur de Tobeï, Lieutenant du Grand Bailli.
- Fr. Pierre Stolz Commandeur de Meiſenheim.
- Fr. Philippe Stolz.
- Fr. Erard Derningen.
- Fr. Jean Haſteim.
- Fr. Jean Hecher.
- Fr. Jean Scang.

Du Prieuré de Caſtille.

- Fr. Emmanuel de Cabreira Commandeur de Toſcina & de Roveina.
- Fr. Emmanuel Catanea Commandeur de Frexenal.
- Fr. Rodrigue de Quiroga.
- Fr. Diego Dellaquila.
- Fr. Alphonſe Soltera.

Du Prieuré de Portugal.

- Fr. Louis Petroſa.
- Fr. Domdiegue Dalmeida.
- Fr. Rodrigue de Mendez.
- Fr. Alvare de Godigne.
- Fr. Fernand Conſalve.
- Fr. Pierre Laurentie.

Chapelains & Freres ſervans d'armes.

- Fr. Jean Durugni Provençal, Commandeur de Vaudrome.
- Fr. Jean Garie Provençal, ſervant d'armes.
- Fr. Jean Baville ſervant d'armes & Secretaire du Grand-Maître.
- Fr. Jean Drujon Provençal, Chapelain.
- Fr. Fortuné Gavaſſan de Guaſcogne ſervant d'armes, & élevé à la dignité de Chevalier par le Grand-Maître en récompenſe des actions de valeur qu'il avoit faites pendant le ſiege.
- Fr. Jean Faiſati Commandeur de Rochebrune.
- Fr. Pierre Barvalis Auvergnac, Chapelain.
- Fr. Pierre Rubiac Chapelain de la même Province.
- Fr. Jean Routier, François Chapelain.
- Fr. Jean Cheverens de France, Chapelain.
- Fr. Henri Hurt de Cocq François, ſervant d'armes.
- Fr. André Hurt de Cocq François, ſervant d'armes.
- Fr. Olivier Quideteau Champenois, ſervant d'armes.
- Fr. Metelin Boyer Champenois, ſervant d'armes.
- Fr. Pierre Leſtilier Champenois, Chapelain.
- Fr. Jean Hennequin ſervant d'armes, Prieuré de Champagne.
- Fr. Jaques Dupauci Chapelain du Prieuré de Catalogne.
- Fr. Pierre de Jevenes Chapelain du Prieuré de Caſtille.

S'enſuivent les noms des Commandeurs qui furent tuez dans ce ſiege, & qu'on a trouvez dans les Regiſtres de la Chancellerie.

- Fr. Guillaume Ricard Grand Commandeur.
- Fr. Baptiſte Grimauld Commandeur de Marſeille du Prieuré de ſaint Gilles.
- Fr. Eſtienne de la Bulle, du Prieuré de Tholoſe.
- Fr. Claude de Giou Commandeur de Carlat, du Prieuré d'Auvergne.
- Fr. François de la Sarre Commandeur de ſainte Anne, du Prieuré d'Auvergne.
- Fr. Jean Chambon Commandeur de Foules.
- Fr. Amedée de Croiſi Commandeur de Belle-Croix du Prieuré de Champagne.
- Fr. Martel Martelli Florentin, Commandeur du Pré.
- Fr. Melchior, Aſinari Commandeur de Poncallier, du Prieuré de Lombardi.
- Fr. Bernard de Peruzzi Commandeur de la Caſſine di Cerbajola, di Maſſa & di Pontremoli, du Prieuré de Piſe.
- Fr. Amateur de Caccianemici Commandeur de Faence, du Prieuré de Veniſe.
- Fr. Troi le Montemellino Commandeur d'Oſimo, du Prieuré de Rome.

Fr. Jean-Baptiſte Caraffa Commandeur d'Aliſe, & di Morone du Prieuré de Capoüe.

Fr. Jean Ram Commandeur di Valdecona, de la langue d'Arragon.

Fr. Jaques Porguet Commandeur de Balbaſtro en Arragon.

Fr. Gabriel Marc Commandeur de Valfogna, du Prieuré de Catalogne.

Fr. Jean Vaquillino Anglois, Commandeur de Carbouch.

On peut bien juger par la rélation du ſiege, qu'il y périt un bien plus grand nombre de Chevaliers, mais on n'a pu recouvrer que le noms de ceux par leur mort ont laiſſé des Commanderies & des Dignitez vacantes, & dont les regiſtres de la Chancellerie ont fait mention.

PROOFS
OF THE
HISTORY
OF THE
Knights Hoſpitallers
OF
St. JOHN of JERUSALEM.

BOOK VIII.

Rélation du ſecond ſiege de Rhodes en 1485, par le Commandeur de Bourbon, témoin oculaire.

A tres reverend & tres illuſtre ſeigneur, Monſeigneur le Grand-Maiſtre de Rhodes, frère Philippe de Villers Liſleadam, de par ſon tres humble, & tres obeiſſant religieux & ſerviteur, frere Jaques Baſtard de Bourbon, Commandeur de ſaint Maulvis, Doyſemont, & Fenteynes, au prieuré de France.

PERSE poete tres eloquent dit en ceſte maniere:

Eſt aliquid quo tendis, & in quod dirigis arcum?

Voulant ſignifier par telles parolles, mon tres-redoubte & ſouverain ſeigneur, que toutes nos operations doibvent avoir leur regard & direction a quelque fin. Quoy conſiderant, apres avoir propoſe mettre par eſcript le ſiege loppugnation, & finablement prinſe de la jadis honoree, & qui a proſpere deux cens & quatorze ans en triumphe & gloire, a loccaſion des belles & honorables victoires quelle a eu ſur les Infidelles, & maintenant poure, deſolee, & captive Cite de Rhodes; ma ſemble bon & condecent a raiſon declairer premierement les cauſes qui ont incite mon poure & petit entendement a faire ceſte petite œuvre. La premiere eſt pour le grand deſir que jay de faire choſe qui ſoit aggreable a ta ſeigneurie renommee, & a lhonneur dicelle comme a mon ſuperieur & redoubte ſeigneur. La ſeconde affin que les Princes Chreſtiens & aultres Seigneurs ſoient mieulx informez de la verite des choſes paſſees au ſiege, & de la grande & incroyable puiſſance & fureur en laquelle le pervers & ſanguinaire ennemy de la foy Chreſtienne le grand Turcq eſt venu aſſieger ta ville de Rhodes, lequel (*tanquam leo rugiens circuit quærens quem devoret*) ne demande ſinon croiſtre & augmenter ſa faulſe & mauldicte ſecte & ſuperſtition. En deliberation a ceſte heure quil a leve ceſte eſpine de ſon pied, & quil eſt venu au deſſus de Rhodes par ſon oultrecuidance & temeraire voulente de venir juſques aux portes de Romme, & plus avant, ſi la divine puiſſance ny pourvoyſt. La troiſieſme pour obvier aulx calumniations & maulvaites parolles des mediſans & auſſi ignorans de laffaire, comme il eſt paſſe, leſquels voudroient parler contre ſes nobles & verteux faits. Nonobſtant je ne pretends point refrener du tout (car je ne pourroye) les perverſes & ſerpentines langues qui ont accouſtume de meſdire & attribuer le bien a mal, neantmoins en faire ſon debvoir, & dire ce que lon doibt dire, neſt choſe indecente; & quand aux ignorans (comme je croix) ſceue & congneue la verite des choſes, ne ceſſeront ſeullement de mal parler, mais ſe repentiront davoir mal dit ou penſe. La quatrieſme pour honorer les nobles Chevaliers & aultres perſonnaiges de ta compagnie, qui ſont mors martyrs en ce ſiege, & qui ont pour le nom & la foy de noſtre Saulveur Jeſuchriſt eſpandu leur ſang, & ont lave leurs eſtolles au ſang de laigneau.

La cinquieſme raiſon eſt pour advertir ung chaſcun pour deſcharge de ta ſeigneurie renommee des grandes & abominables trahyſons que pluſieurs faulx chreſtiens qui eſtoient dedans ta ville ont fait & machine contre toy & ta ſainte religion. Entre les aultres celle dung de tes propres diſciples & religieux, lequel enſuyvant le vray train de Judas, ta vendu aux Infidelles; & oultre cela affin que chaſcun ſoit informe que tu nas pas eſte obey ny fidelement ſervy de tous tes vaſſaulx, mais a la fin & aux plus grans affaires habandonne; pour leſquelles raiſons & aultres choſes qui te ſont venues a mains, tu nas peu ſubjuguer ton ennemy, & porter la palme triumphale, ſelon ton noble cueur & vouloir animeux. Mais tout conſidere ta ſeigneurie renommee ſe doibt ſoubſmettre au vouloir divin, lequel donnera remede a tout ſil luy plaiſt avec le temps. Suppliant icelle treshumblement de vouloir avoir pour agreable ce preſent labeur & œuvre de ton deſſus nomme tres-humble fils d'obedience, lequel par adventure a plus voulu que peu; toutesfoys la bonne voulente ne doit eſtre privée de louenge: car comme dit Properce, *In magnis & voluiſſe ſat eſt*.

Voulant fidelement, & a la verite rediger par eſcript, le grand & merveilleux ſiege, cruelle expugnation & prinſe lamentable de la noble & tres anciennement renommee Cite de Rhodes, clef es parties dorient de la choſe publicque Chreſtienne, eſperance des fidels tombes es mains des Turcqs pour en povoir eſtre delivres, ſoulagement, & repos ſeur des pelerins de la terre ſaincte a leur aller, & tourner, recueil & adreſſe de tous Chreſtiens marchans trafigans en levant propugnacle, & bollovart de Larchipelago & mer Mediterrane, je declareray ce a quoy perſonnellement me ſuis trouve, & quand au demeurant, pour ce quil eſt impoſſible que jeuſſe eſte preſent a tout ce qui a eſte fait pendant le ſiege (durant lequel nay point eſte abſent dudit Rhodes) neſcripray choſe que nay ſceu & entendu par gens de biens & ſi verteux, que je nadjouſte pas moindre foy a leur relation que a ce que ay veu de mes yeux: & du tout parleray ſommairement, & ſeullement des choſes principalles.

Et pour donner mieulx principe a la matiere, ma ſemble neſtre point impertinent declarer les cauſes & rayſons qui ont meu ce cruel grand Turcq Sultam Seliman ennemy de la ſaincte foy Catholicque venir avec merveilleuſe puiſſance, & non acouſtumee armee maritime & terreſtre aſſieger & combatre continuellement & ſans ceſſer jour ny nuyt par leſpace de ſix moys ceſte infortunee Cite de Rhodes, deſquelles, celle que puis juger lavoir grandement meu & incite, eſt que ledit Turcq conſiderant & cognoiſſant par experience, que en toute la Chreſtiente ne a lieu ne place de quelque qualite ou ſorte que lon la ſceuſt nommer, qui feiſt lennuy, dommaige & oultrage audit Turcq & ſes ſubjects, que faiſoit ceſte poure religion chevaleureuſe reſidente pour lors audit Rhodes, comme luy meſmes es lettres de deffiance declare aſſez, ainſi que cy apres plus amplement apparoiſtra. Et oyant journellement plainctes, lamentations, & cris de ſes ſubgects, tant de Turquie que Syrie, des prinſes que faiſoyent journellement ceulx de ladicte religion

ligion par mer & par terre, de leurs perſonnes & biens: au moyen de quoy eſtoient tellement contraints, quils ne pouoient plus gueres naviger. Et que plus eſt, en ſon particulier ſe trouvoit ledit Turcq tres fort empeſche & trouble, entant que touchoit le gouvernement de la Syrie, porceque par mer, qui eſt le chemin le plus expedient & bref (obſtant ce que deſſus eſt dit) ne pouoit bonnement dreſſer ſes affaires ſans deſpenſes exceſſives. Ains eſtoit contraint continuellement entretenir groſſe armee de mer pour le traffic de la Turquie en Syrie. Ce conſidere ſe reſolut aſſailir ceſte religion & cite de Rhodes, jugeant & ayant ferme opinion que icelle ſubjuguee & miſe en ſon obeiſſance, pacifieroit & mettroit en ſeurete perpetuelle, tous ces pays & eſtats quil a en ce levant.

LA ſeconde raiſon eſt, pource quil a voulu enſuyure les veſtiges & faicts de ſes anteceſſeurs, ceſtaſſavoir de ſon proave Sultan Mahommet le tresfelon & belliqueux, lequel print Conſtantinobie, & liſle de Negrepont, & depuis paſſa en Europe, pareillement de ſon ave Sultan Payas qui print la Moree, le Pantho & Modon, & pour ſe monſtrer auſſi vray ethlon du magnanime & victorieux Seigneur Sultan Sellin ſon pere (lequel apres avoir rompu en bataille le Sofy, & prins la cite de Tauris & Legipte, qui fut en lan mil cinq cens ſeize) a voulu mettre en execution lentreprinſe par ſondit pere laiſſee lan mil cinq cens vingt, lequel Sellin avoit ſon armee toute preſte au nombre de trois cens voilles, delibere de lenvoyer contre Rhodes, & luy venir en perſonne, ſi la mortalite ne ſe fuſt miſe en ſon camp, & luy bien-toſt apres par voulente divine prevenu & ſurpris de la mort. Parquoy luy eſtant ſur la fin de ſes jours ainſi que aucuns turcqs qui eſtoient en ce ſiege mont racompte & dit, en chergea par teſtament a ſon fils, de faire apres ſa mort deux entrepriſes premieres & principalles. Lune contre Belgrado, lautre contre Rhodes pour acquerir honneur ſus tout, auſſi pour mettre ces pays & ſubgects en repos & ſeurete; Laquelle perſuaſion paternelle facillement entra & fut imprimee au cueur & juveniſe voulente dudit Seliman ſon fils, qui bien toſt apres le decez de ſon pere, meiſt en effect la premiere entrepriſe, & dreſſa une groſſe armee, laquelle il envoya devant Belgrado tresforte place en Hongrie. Et apres lavoir combatue deux mois ou environ, par faulte de munitions de guerre, & auſſi de vivres ceulx qui eſtoient dedans, la rendirent le dixieſme jour de Septembre, mil cinq cens vingt-ung.

LEDIT Seliman apres avoir eue ceſte victoire, enfle de vaine gloire & eſleve en ſuperbe, tourna ſon cueur en contre Rhodes, toutesfoys luy non ignorant la force de ladicte ville, & conſiderant la qualite des gens qui eſtoient dedans, deſquels il ſeroit bien receu, comme autresfoys avoit eſte ledit Mahommet ſon proave a lautre ſiege, doubtoit aſſez & ne ſcavoit comme parfaire ſon entrepriſe, car tous ces capitaines & baſchas le deſtournoyent tant quils povoient de ce faire, luy remonſtrant pluſieurs inconveniens, reſerve Monſtafa baſcha, lequel luy conſeilloit & mettoit en teſte dy aller, finablement il delibera totalement de venir au deſſus par une ſorte ou autre. Et pource que ſon pere ayant ceſte meſme voulente en ſon vivant avoit envoye en Rhodes ung medecim juif pour eſpie, & pour eſtre mieulx adverty de toutes choſes, luy informe que ledit juif ſeſtoit encores la, luy manda dire quil ne bougeaſt pour la raiſon ſuſdicte, & feiſt donner charge a ung des principaulx hommes de Cyou, de livrer a ce juif tout ce qui luy ſeroit de beſoing pour ſon entretenement. Et ledit juif eſcripvoit a ceſtuy la de Cyou tout ce quon faiſoit en Rhodes ſoubs parolles couvertes pour en donner advis au grant Turcq. Et pour mieulx diſſimuler & couvrir ſa trahiſon ce juif ſe feiſt baptiſer, & pour eſtre aucunement expert en lart de medecine il feiſt aucunes belles cures aux malades, & commenca davoir credit, & entrer en amytie avec pluſieurs gens de bien. Entre les autres advis quil feiſt donner au grant Turcq, ce fut de la muraille de la ville quon rompit pour refaire le bollouard dauvergne, ladviſant que ſil mandoit preſtement ſon armée, quil pouroit ſurprendre la ville aux termes auſquels elle eſtoit. Depuys ledit juif donna autres advertiſſemens, deſquels ſera faicte mencion ſi apres.

LA tierce occaſion eſt, qui a eſmeu le grand Turcq de venir a Rhodes, a eſte pour la grande diſſenſion quil a veu entre les Princes chreſtiens, preſumant quils ne donneroient point ſecours a la ville, parquoy au long aller il en pourroit venir au-deſſus. Et oultre les choſes ſuſdictes linſtigacion dung Chevalier Portugalloys Chancelier de noſtre religion, homme dauctorite & ſcavoir, & des principaulx Seigneurs du Conſeil, nomme frere Andre de Merail eſmeut & enflamba de plus en plus ledit Turcq a faire ceſte entrepriſe. Dequoy neſt de merveilles, car celuy eſtoit une grande eſperance, & gros confort davoir ung tel perſonnaige pour luy qui ſcavoit tout letat, & gouvernement de la religion & de la ville, & qui luy donnoit advis de tout comme ſera dit cy-apres. Mais pour declairer les occaſions de la mauldicte & malheureuſe volunte dudit Mareil, qui a eſte cauſe de ſi grande perte & dommaige pour la Chreſtianite, & ſera davantage a long aller ſi la divine clemence ny met remede.

Est aſſavoir a ung chaſcun que ledit Merail aprez le decez du tres-illuſtre Seigneur frere Fabrice de Carreto Grand-Maiſtre de Rhodes enflambe dambicion & couvoitiſe de parvenir a telle dignite, ce voyant delcheu de ſon eſperance par lelection faicte le vingt-deuxieſme jour de Janvier, mil cinq cens vint, à la perſonne de tres-reverend & tres-illuſtre Seigneur frere Philippes de Villers Liſle Adam, a preſent Grand-Maiſtre par ces vertus & merites devant luy; de ceſte heure la print ſi grand envye & par conſequent inimytie & mal vueillance, non ſeullement contre ledit Seigneur, mais contre toute ſa religion, parquoy il miſt ſon eſtude & fantaiſie de la trahir & vendre aux infidelles, oubliant les grans biens & honneurs que dicelle avoit receu & eſperoit recepvoir, avec aultres plaiſirs que ledit Seigneur luy a faicts en particulier. Toutesfoys le dyable, ingratitude & fureur, avoient tellement offuſque les yeulx de ſa penſee, que nullement ſe povoit contenir, mais a chaſcun propos il ſe couppoit & ne povoit diſſimuler ſa trahiſon. Et ung jour entre les autres avant le ſiege il diſt devant pluſieurs gens de bien quil vouldroit que ſon ame fuſt au dyable & que Rhodes & la Religion fuſt perdue. Et pareillement le jour que le tres-illuſtre Seigneur qui eſt a preſent fut pronunce Grand-Maiſtre, il diſt a ung Commandeur de la nation Eſpaignolle homme de bien & amy ſien, que ledit Seigneur eſleu Grand-Maiſtre ſeroit le dernier Maiſtre de Rhodes, pour leſquelles parolles il donnoit aſſez a entendre & congnoiſtre ſon mauldit vouloir & la trahiſon que dicelle heure il machinoit en ſon meſchant couraige contre la religion. Ledit Commandeur tint ces parolles en ſon cueur & ny penſa point plus avant pour ceſte heure la. Pluſieurs autres parolles & deſhonneſtes propos tenoit ledit Merail a quoy perſonne ne ſarreſtoit ne penſoit lon quil euſt le courage ſi enrage de faire ce quil a fait. Toutesfoys obſtine comme Judas il meiſt en execution ſon mauldit vouloir; car bien-toſt apres que les nouvelles de lelection furent mandees au ſuſdit tres-illuſtre Seigneur, lequel pour lors étoit en France, il envoya en Conſtantinoble ung Turcq priſonnier ſien, faignant lavoir rachepte, par lequel il adviſa les Baſchas du Grand Turcq des affaires de Rhodes; & en quel eſtat eſtoit la ville de toutes choſes pour ceſt heure la, & de ce quil pourroit ſurvenir pour en informer ledit Seigneur, le provocant de venir en perſonne avec groſſe armee aſſieger la ville: Et depuis la venue dudit tres-reverend Seigneur Grand-Maiſtre, il donna aultre advis auſdicts Baſchas, reiterant quils ne povoient avoir meilleur temps de venir, veu que ledit Seigneur eſtoit nouvellement venu, & que partie de la muraille eſtoit miſe bas. Et que tout eſtoit trouble a Rhodes: a loccaſion daulcuns Chevaliers de la langue Ditalie, rebellez audit Seigneur, de laquelle rebellion luymeſme fut inventeur pour mettre mieulx en voulente au Turcq de venir: & ne laiſſa auſſi de ladvertir que le temps eſtoit bon pour luy, parce que les Princes chreſtiens eſtoient empeſchez a faire guerre les ungs contre les aultres. Et quil ne falloyt point quil doubtaſt que Rhodes fuſt par eulx ſecouru, quoy faillant au long aller la ville ſeroit ſienne ſans nulle doubte, comme ſeſt veu par experience. Car pour non avoir eu ſecours ny dune part ne daultre, mais habandonnee de tous chreſtiens, & daulcuns qui facilement la povoyent ſecourir pour eſtre voyſins & ayant leurs navires preſts, elle eſt au jourdhuy entre les mains dudit ennemy de la foy. Leſquels advertiſſemens & raiſons dudit traiſtre par le Grand Turcq entendues: penſa de ne perdre tant bonne ſayſon. Parquoy feiſt faire extreme diligence a faire calfater & mectre en ordre pluſieurs navires de diverſes ſortes, comme galleaces, galleres, pallandrees, fuſtes & brigantins, au nombre de deux cens cinquante voylles ou plus.

Ledit priſonnier apres avoir fait ſa commiſſion tourna en Rhodes, dequoy tout le monde fut eſmerveille, & aulcuns eurent maulvaiſe fantaiſie de ſon retour comme choſe non acouſtumee, mais perſonne nen oſa parler: voyant ledit Merail eſtre homme dauctorite & conſtitue en dignite, & faiſoit ledit Merail fort bonne chere a celluy qui eſtoit tourne, par quoy eſtoit de preſumer quil avoit bien fait ſon embaſſade, & quil luy avoit porte bonnes nouvelles, & ſelon ſa dampnable voulente.

LEDIT Grand Turcq intendant a groſſe diligence a faire ſon armee maritime pour mieulx venir a ſes fins & pour ſurprendre la ville, comme lon lavoit adverty, voulut couvrir ſon affaire, & deffendit que nully de ſes pays allaſt plus en Rhodes, pour quelque choſe que ce fuſt. Et pareillement de tous les ports feiſt prendre les barques & brigantins, affin quils ne donnaſſent advis de ſon armee, & par terre feiſt garder & fermer les paſſages. Toutesfois ſi grant appareil de navires ne peult eſtre longuement celle car les eſpies que le très illuſtre Seigneur Grand-Maiſtre avoit en Turquie apportoient au Caſteau Saint Pierre en Rhodes nouvelles de ce quon faiſoit & diſoit en Turquie, nonobſtant ledit Seigneur ne donnoit foy ne creance a tout ce quon luy apportoit, & ne penſoit au vray que larmee vint contre luy. Et principallement pour loppinion dudit faulx trayſtre, lequel diſoit & affermoit touſiours quelle ne viendroit point contre Rhodes, & diſoit cela pour empeſcher quon ne donnaſt proviſion de bonne heure davoir ſecours, alleguant que ce ſeroit heure grant deſpence a la Religion de faire venir ſecours, & puis apres que larmee allaſt en autre lieu. Et diſoit davantage ledit Merail & autres auſſi que pluſieurs annees les anteceſſeurs de ce Turcq avoient fait groſſes armees & touſiours le bruyt eſtoit pour Rhodes & que ne venoit en effect, & tenoit lon en mocquerie en pluſieurs lieux que le Turcq yroyt aſſieger Rhodes. Et pour ceſte raiſon dit que lon devoit encores faire doubte de ceſte derniere armee, & quelle pourroit aller en Chipre ou en la Polle, ou a Chartaro, terre de la Seigneurie de Veniſe. Toutesfoys le tres-illuſtre Seigneur Grand-Maiſtre non voulant eſtre ſurpris, mais comme prudent & ſollicitif des affaires de ſa Religion & de ſon peuple ayant en nouvelle que le Turcq preparoit armee, a toute diligence feiſt reparer & fortiffier ſa ville. Entre les autres choſes il feiſt parachever & haulſer le bollouard Dauvergne, & nectoyer & parfondir les foſſez, & pour inciter de plus en plus les ouvrier a deſpeſcher loeuvre, ledit Seigneur les alloit veoir trois ou quatre fois le jour. Puis penſa ledit Seigneur a fournir ſa ville de vivres davantage pour la tuycion & ſalvation dicelle. Et de cette affaire en parla & pluſieurs fois communiqua avec les Seigneurs qui avoient eu le manyement & gouvernement de la Religion & des fraits dicelle a ſon abſence, & encores depuis ſa venue, ceſtaſſavoir frere Gabriel de Pommerols Grand Commandeur & Lieutenant dudit Seigneur, frere Jehan Boucq Tricoplier de langue d'Angleterre, & ledit frere Andre de Merail Chancellier. Leſquels trois Seigneurs luy reſpondirent quil neuſt penſement de riens, car la ville eſtoit fournye de vivres juſques au temps nouveau, nonobſtant cela dirent quil ſeroit bon den avoir davantage quant le ſiege ſeroit mys, pource que alors il ſeroit de neceſſite de faire aporter des formens & autres choſes neceſſaires pour le ſecours de la ville, & que a ceſte heure la lon pourvoyroit a tout. Quant aulx munitions de guerre, ils affermerent quils en avoient pour ung an & davantage, dequoy a eſte veu le contraire, car ils ſont faillis plus dung moys devant que la ville fuſt rendue, il eſt vray qu'il y en avoit bonne quantite, & pour durer plus longuement quils non fait, mais il fut force den gaſter largement au commencement que larmee vint pour garder les ennemys de faire leurs approches, & de conduyre la terre au bort du foſſe, comme ils ont fait. Et oultre cela conſiderer le grant nombre des ennemys, & que leur puiſſance eſtoit eſpandue tout a lentour de la ville, & en donnant tant daſſaulx & eſcarmouches a tant de lieux comme ils ont fait. Et par leſpace de ſix moys entiers jour & nuit combatre la ville ſans ceſſer heure ne quart ny minute de tirer artillerie ou eſcoppeterie, il failloit bien que beaucoup de munitions fuſſent gaſtees pour reſpondre par tout. Et ſi elles ſont fallies neſt de merveilles, Toutesfoys le tres-illuſtre Seigneur Grand-Maiſtre y pourveut le mieux quil peut, & envoya comme ſera dit cy apres chercher les munitions dautres places pour ſubvenir à la ville, mais encores ne ſouffirent elles pas, car elles faillirent au beſoin. Mais pour retourner au faict des vivres fut adviſe par ledit Seigneur Grand-Maiſtre & ſes trois Seigneurs quil y auroit aſſez temps denvoyer quelque navire chercher des formens aux lieux circonvoyſins avant que larmee du Turcq fuſt arrivee. Et pour ce fuſt deſpeſchee une barche nommee la Guilliega, & cappitaine dicelle ung chevalier nomme Beauluoys autrement dit le Loup de la langue Dauvergne, homme bien entendu & expert en lart de marine, lequel fiſt ſi bonne diligence que dedans ung moys ou environ il feiſt ſon voyage, & apporta bonne quantite de formens de Naples, de Romanie qui fut grand conſolation a ceulx de la ville, cela fait fut auſſi queſtion de faire venir des vins pour la proviſion de la ville, car deſia les Candiots noſoyent plus naviger pour porter vins en Rhodes, comme ils avoyent acouſtume, pour peur de larmée du Turcq. Et daultre part ceulx de la ville ne vouloyent envoyer navires en Candye craignans eſtre ſurpris & interclus par les chemins de ladicte armee. Toutesfois aulcuns marchans de la ville deliberent ſe mettre a ladventure vollant nolliger une barche de la Religion nommee la Mariette, pour mander en Candye charger des vins. Mais ils ne peurent eſtre dacord avec les trois Seigneurs manyans les affaires, & leur differend fut de bien peu de choſe, mais de tout fut occaſion ledit Merail faignant vouloir le prouffit de la Religion, mais il entendoit a autre fin, & rompit ceſte bonne & prouffitable œuvre & entreprinſe deſdicts marchans, voyant quelle eſtoit nuyſable au Turcq, duquel le faulx trayſtre tenoit le party dedans ſon cueur nonobſtant cela, le tres-prudent Seigneur Grand-Maiſtre qui en toutes choſe depuis le commencement juſques a la fin, a touſiours monſtre ſon bon vouloir, & avec telle diligence & dexterite que devroit ou pourroit faire & eſtre requiſe a ung Souverain Seigneur capitaine & chef de guerre trouva aultre expedient, & manda ung brigantin en Candye ſus lequel allaſt ung frere ſervant nomme frere Anthoyne de Boſys, homme de bon eſprit & ſcavoir, lequel par ſa prudence & diligence en peu de temps beſongna ſi bien quil amena en Rhodes quinze navires appellees vulgairement grips charges de vins & avec cela accorda des gens pour le faict de la guerre, leſquels venoyent ſoubs umbre des vins pource que la Seigneurie de Candye noſoit laiſſer ſortir gens dudit lieu pour le ſecours de Rhodes pour crainte du Turcq, leſquels gens furent tous ſouldoyes, Et oultre leſdits quinze navires vint une barche, de laquelle eſtoit capitaine ung gentilhomme Venicien nomme Meſſire Jehan Anthonio Bonaldi homme jeune & riche, lequel de ſon bon gre vint avec ſa navire portant ſept cens botes de vin pour ſecourir la ville de ſa perſonne: & du ſurplus, la bonne & louable voulente duquel je laiſſe a penſer & conſiderer aux lecteur de ce preſent livre. Car luy delibere porter ſes vins a Conſtantinoble: avant quil ſceuſt laffaire qui devoit venir. Sorty qui fuſt du Port de Caſtel en Candye, ne vouluſt porter ſa charge de vins aux ennemys de la foy, mais detourna ſon chemin vers Rhodes, oubliant tout particulier prouffit, & avantage. Et arrive qui fut, il vendit ſes vins, leſquels feirent ung gros accroiſſement a la Ville, puis preſenta ſa perſonne & ſes gens au tres-illuſtre Seigneur Grand-Maiſtre, lequel Seigneur le retint voulentiers, & le feiſt mettre au ſoulde. Et durant le ſiege, ledit capitaine ceſt tres-honeſtement porte de ſa perſonne, & ſe trouvoit aux lieux que les gens de bien ſe doyvent trouver, & na eſpargne ſes biens, Mais comme eſt la verite en a deſpendu largement ſans en demander payement ne recompence à la Religion.

DURANT ces choſes le tres-illuſtre Seigneur ſollicitif davoir les choſes plus neceſſaires: ceſtaſſavoir gens, manda brigantins pour faire retirer les courſaires en Rhodes pour grande & tuicion de la Ville: deſquels partie vindrent au premier mandement, & preſénterent leurs perſonnes & navires au ſervice dudit Seigneur, & de la Religion; apres cela ledit Seigneur feiſt tailler les orges de ſon iſle pour ſubvenir a la Ville qui fut environ la fin du moy d'Apuril.

SUS ſes termes que ledit Seigneur donnoit proviſion a toutes choſes ſelon loccurrence du temps, & les nouvelles quil avoit, une carraque Genevoyſe, chargee deſpicerie qui venoit d'Alexandrie fut deſcouverte, de laquelle eſtoit capitaine Meſſire Dominico fornari, & paſſant pardevant le Port de Rhodes de vingt-cinquieſme d'Avril a allaſurgir a la foſſe a huyt mille de la Ville, pour ſcavoir & entendre des nouvelles de larmee Turqueſque. Alors le tres-prudent Seigneur voulant ſe fournir de gens, comme de choſe plus neceſſaire, manda ung Chevalier de la langue de Prouvence nomme frere Naſtazi de Sancta Camella Commandeur de la Tronquiere, devers ledit capitaine, pour le prier vouloir entrer dedans le Port avec ſa navire pour deffence de la Ville, en luy preſentant party quil voudroit. Quoy entendu ledit capitaine ſexcuſa diſant que la marchandiſe neſtoit pas ſienne, mais de pluſieurs marchans, auſquels il en devoit rendre compte, & quil ne povoit laiſſer ſon voyage ſans grande perte & intereſts, toutes-foys au dernier aprez aſſez de parolles quon luy dit & promeſſes quon luy feiſt, il entra dedans le Port, il eſt vray que les Galleres de Rhodes, & la groſſe nef ſaillirent hors du Port pour le faire venir. Ledit capitaine ceſt honneſtement porte de ſa perſonne, & les gens de ſa navire durant ſiege.

Passe que fuſt le moys d'Avril, ledit Seigneur Grand-Maiſtre voyant que le temps ſapprochoit que larmee Turcq eſtoit pour venir, apres avoir retire la pluſpart des courſaires delibera de faire les monſtres generalles en armes, & commenca a ſes Chevaliers, leſquels le jour de la Sainte Croix de May feirent leurs monſtres devant les Commiſſaires ordonnez & commis par ledit Seigneur au lieu depute a ung chaſcun, qu'on dit Auberge, leſquels Commiſſaires apres avoir veu leſdictes monſtres en feirent le raport audit Seigneur. Et dirent quil avoient veu & trouve tous les Chevaliers bien armez: ayant les choſes requiſes pour la guerre avec leurs acouſtremens beaulx & honeſtes avec la Croix blanche devant & derriere. Leſquelles monſtres des Chevaliers faictes le tres-illuſtre Seigneur voulant faire celles des gens de la Ville & Eſtrangers enſemble, par ſa prudence regarda que ce ſeroit choſe dequoy il pourroit plus venir de mal· que de bien, doubtant que le nombre & quantite des gens ne ſeroit pas ſi grand quil voudroit, ou qui ſeroit de beſoing, dequoy le Grand Turcq pourroit eſtre adverty, par allans & venans en Rhodes, & pource ordonna que ceulx de la Ville feroient leur monſtre a part par bendes, & le eſtrangiers auſſi apres parbendes, affin que bonnement on ne peuſt ſcavoir le nombre, nonobſtant quil y en avoit aſſez bonne quantite, & bien deſliberez de ſe deffendre, & pour leur donner touſiours meilleur couraige & vouloir aucuns de nos Chevaliers feirent des monſtres avec couleurs & deviſes & appelloient avec eulx des gens de la Ville, & auſſi des eſtrangiers. Et avec force de trompettes: & tabourins de Suiſſe feirent pluſieurs monſtres a lenvy lung de lautre, & qui ſeroit mieulx acouſtre, & qui auroit meilleur bende, & eſtoit ung plaiſir de veoir tout le monde ainſi alegre & deſlibere. ¶ Entre les aultres le capitaine de la groſſe nef de la religion frere Françoys de Freſnay Commandeur de la Romaine feiſt ſa monſtre & de ſes gens le dix-huitieſme de May au matin qui fut fort belle, car il y avoit deux cens hommes & plus, armez & de bonne diſpoſition. ¶ Ledit jour apres veſpres le Commandeur frere Ynigo de Aialle, & frere Hugues de Capons Eſpaignols feirent une belle monſtre avec cent Chevaliers ou plus de leur nation, & dautre auſſi, leſquels portoient leur acouſtrement avec Croix blanche. ¶ Apres Meſſeigneurs les cappitaines de la barche Mariete frere Loupeſardan, & de la Galliga, frere Jehan le Loup deſſus nomme, & du Barchot frere Perogurandego feirent leurs monſtres le vingtieſme dudit moys & avoient deux cens cinquante hommes bien en ordre de ce qui luy faiſoit beſoing. ¶ Le vingt-deuxieſme frere Loys de Dinteville allye du Grand-Maiſtre, feiſt une monſtre avec pluſieurs Chevaliers de toutes nations, & pluſieurs gens de la Ville, & eſtrangiers, leſquels il faiſoit bon veoir, ledit jour partit la barche Galliega, & le lendemain le barchot pour aller lever le peuple des chaſteaulx plus loingtains de la Ville, ceſtaſſavoir de Cantanie & Caſtelnovo pour les apporter en Rhodes, le cappitaine de la carraque Genevoyſe feiſt ſa monſtre le vingt-cinquieſme dudit moys avec ſes gens, leſquels il faiſoit fort bon veoir, car luy portoit ung chamarre, moytie de toille dor rouge, & velours violet, & quinze des principaulx marchans de ſon navire portoient des pourpoints meſpartis dudit velours & toille dor avec les coiffes de meſmes. ¶ Pareillement les quinze Patrons de Grips, deſquels a eſte parle cy-devant qui vindrent de avec les vins, feirent leur monſtre le vingt-neufvieſme dudit moys, & eſtoient quatre cens gentils compaignons portans les ungs eſpees a deux mains, les autres haquebutes, les autres leurs arcs, leſquels ont fait bonne preuve tout le long du ſiege. ¶ Le cappitaine Venitien ſus nomme feiſte apres ſa monſtre le premier jour de Juing, & eſtoit luy & ſes gens veſtus de ſatin vert & violet, & ſon enſeigne de meſme couleur, & avoit cinquante hommes bien armez, & de bonne diſpoſition.

Durant que ſes monſtres & bonnes cheres ſe faiſoient le tres-prudent Seigneur Grand-Maiſtre en enſuyvant les bonnes & honneſtes couſtumes de ſes Predeceſſeurs feiſt & ordonna ceulx quil vouloit de ſa retenue, tant Chevaliers que autres pour eſtre en ſa compaignie & aupres de ſa perſonne pour donner ſecours & ayde, venus les affaires ou beſoing ſeroit. Apres cela pour ce que ſa perſonne ne povoit eſtre par tous les lieux neceſſaires, feiſt quatre cappitaines de ſecours qui furent quatre Seigneurs de la grande Croix, ceſtaſſavoir frere Andre de Merail Chancelier pour le ſecours de la poſte d'Auvergne & Allemaigne, frere Jehan Boucq Tricoplier de la langue dAngleterre, pour la poſte dEſpaigne & Angleterre. Frere Pierre de Cluys Grand Prieur de France, pour la poſte de France, Caſtile & Portugal. Frere Gregorie de Morguto Prieur de Navarre, pour la poſte de Provence & Ytalie. Et oultre les ſuſdits Seigneurs eſtoit frere Gabriel Pommerols Lieutenant du Grand-Maiſtre, lequel avoit ſa bande & alloit par tout. Puys apres ledit tres-reverend Seigneur donna la charge de lArtillerie a Monſieur le Baillif de Monoaſque frere Deſdier de Tholon dit de ſaincte Jalie, en laquelle charge il a fait tres-bien ſon devoir, & avec grant travail de ſa perſonne feiſt mettre lArtillerie tant groſſe que menue en tous les lieux neceſſaires, tant ſus la muraille de la Ville que aux bollourds, & aux barbacanes & mynes deſdicts bollourds, & eſtoit ung plaiſir de veoir la Ville ainſi garnye de ladicte Artillerie. Car il ny avoit coing ne pertuys hault ou bas, qu'il ny euſt piece groſſe ou menue, auſſi grace a noſtre Seigneur la Ville en eſtoit bien fournye.

Apres leſdicts cappitaines de ſecours faicts par ledit tres-illuſtre Seigneur, non ignorant que au lieu ou regne juſtice Dieu y eſt, & tous biens y habundent, voulant que juſtice & rayſon fuſt faicte a ung chaſcun principallement en temps de guerre, ordonna quatre Chevaliers Commandeurs anciens en la Religion & gens de bien pour le fait & adminiſtration de juſtice, ceſtaſſavoir deux de la nation Françoyſe nomme frere Claude de ſainct Prye, & frere Jehan Boniface, & deux de lEſpaignolle, ceſtaſſavoir frere Ynigolope de Ayalle, & frere Hugues de Capons qui en vulgaire ſont appellez Argouſins, leſquels comme a eſte dit, ont de veoir ſur la juſtice tant civile que criminelle, & ont puiſſance de faire pendre & eſtrangler les malfaicteurs, reſervant le grace & pardon au Grand Maſtre. Pareillement ont la charge de Guet de la Ville tant le jour que la nuyt, & chaſcun de ces quatre Seigneurs avoit cent cinquante hommes ſoubs luy: Et pource auſſi que la tour ſaint Nicolas eſt lie dimportance, & la clef de Rhodes, fut de neceſſite dy mettre quelque homme de bien. Et a donc par le tres-reverend Seigneur fuſt mys pour cappitaine de ſecours a ladicte tour, frere Guyot de Caſtellac dit Raguce de la langue de Provence, lequel ceſt tres-honneſtement porte en ladicte charge, comme ſera dit apres aux bateries de ladicte tour.

Voulant auſſi le tres-prudent Seigneur Grand-Maiſtre pourveoir a tous inconveniens & obvier aux choſes ſubites, pour ce que ſa perſonne ne povoit eſtre en tous lieux, ordonna quatre Commandeurs de ceulx de ſon ſecours, ceſtaſſavoir deux Eſpaignols nommez frere Marino Farfon, & frere Raymond Marquet, & deux Francoys, ceſtaſſavoir le ſuſdit frere Naſtazi de ſancta Camela, & frere Guyot Dazas, chaſcun des ſuſdits Seigneurs avoit cent cinquante hommes ſoubs luy, pour aller & venir la ou il ſeroit de neceſſite, & combien que ledit Seigneur feiſt pluſieurs cappitaines pour aller ca & la, la ou ſeroit de beſoing, ſi neſtoit il point oyſif de ſa perſonne, car luy meſmes alloit en perſonne viſiter les Guets des murailles avant la minuyt & apres, & a lheure quil devoit repoſer il eſtoit debout, & eſtoit la vigilance dudit Seigneur ſi grande que les jeunes gens eſtoient bien empeſchez de le ſuyure, & pour parler a la reale verite de la peine dudit Seigneur je ne ſache jeune homme de vingt-cinq ans qui ait plus endure de travail jour & nuyt en ce ſiege depuys le commencement juſques a la fin ſans ſe trouver mal que a fait ledit Seigneur, graces a noſtre Seigneur qui luy a donne ceſte bonne diſpoſition quant il a eſte de beſoing & neceſſite, de la familiarite quil avoit avec treſtous, & de bonnes parolles quil donnoit pour mettre le cueur aux gens, jamais Seigneur ne feiſt mieulx ſon devoir. Et ſil avoit bonnes parolles, le faict, ceſt adire la liberalite y eſtoit quant & quant, car il neſtimoit ne or ne argent non plus que pierres ou feves, comme choſe decente a ung Prince, principalement eſtant aux affaires & tribulation de la guerre.

En apres par commandement dudit Seigneur furent faicts le cappitaines des poſtes de la muraille, affin que ung chaſcun fuſt en ſon endroit & quartier comme eſt de couſtume. Et premierement a la poſte de Provence premiere des autres Provinces fut fait cappitaine frere Raymond Ricart le plus ancien de ladicte Province, a la poſte dAuvergne frere Raymond Rogier, a la poſte de France frere Joachin de ſainct Symon, a la poſte dItalie frere George Emarc, en Angleterre frere Guillaume Onaſcon, a la poſte dArragon & Cathaloigne frere Jehan de Barbaran, a la poſte dAlemaigne, frere Chriſtofle Valdener, a la poſte de Caſtille & Portugal frere Ferrando Deſollier. Et oultre les ſuſdictes cappitaines, eſtoit le Palais du tres-reverend Seigneur Grand-Maiſtre, auquel il y avoit de bonne artillerie, & auſſi y avoit le maſſif de la porte qui va a ſainct Anthoine la ou eſtoit frere Thomas Chifel Seneſchal dudit Seigneure. Apres y avoit ung autre maſſif dans le jardin dudit Seigneur Grand-Maiſtre lequel batoit vers la tour ſainct Nicolas & dudit Palais, & des deux ſuſdits maſſifs eſtoit cappitaine & chief ledit Seneſchal, & pour ſon Lieutenant il avoit frere Anthoine de Breſſoles dit Morterols de la langue dAuvergne, ſemblablement aux bollouards aſſis dan les foſſez hors de la muraille furent mys cappitaines, ceſtaſſavoir au bollouard dAuvergne frere Jehan du Meſnyl dit Maulpas. Au bollouard dEſpaigne frere Francoys de Eſcarrieres. Au bollouard d'Angleterre frere Nicolle Huſy. Au bollouard de Provence frere Bringuier de Lioncel, & au bollouard dItalie frere Andelot Gentil.

APRES leſdictes charges donnees aux deſſuſdicts, le tres-illuſtre Seigneur donna lenſeigne de la Religion queſt la Croix blanche a ung Chevalieur de la langue dAuvergne nomme frere Anthoine de Grolee dit Paſſin, lequel fut preſente audit Seigneur par le Mareſchal de la ſacree Religion frere Anthoine de Clavoyſin ſelon la couſtume pour la prerogative dudit Mareſchal; Lenſeigne apres la ou eſt depaincte la ſaincte figure du Crucifix fut donnee a porter a frere Loys de Tinteville, laquelle enſeigne eſt continuellement pres la perſonne du Grand-Maiſtre, laquelle fut envoyee de Comme a lautre du ſiege de Rhodes par le Pape Innocent, avec grans pardons & indulgences au tres-prudent & victorieux Seigneur Monſieur le Cardinal Grand-Maiſtre pour lors frere Pierre Daubuſſon, l'an mil quatre cens quatre-vingt. Puis donna ledit Seigneur lenſeigne ou eſtoient depainctes ſes armes eſcartelees avec la Crox blanche a ung Chevalier de ſa Maiſon nomme frere Henry Manſelle. Apres ledit Seigneur avoit pour ſa garde cent compaignons bien diſpoſez & deliberez, & chaſcun deulx avoit ſon ſayon de la livree dudit Seigneur, deſquels eſtoit cappitaine le Chevalier de Bonneval, de la langue dAuvergne.

ET pource que le divin ſubſide eſt celluy qui nous preſerve & garde de toulx maulx & inconveniens par linterceſſion des glorieux corps ſaincts colloquez en la permanente & eternelle gloire de Paradis, & ſus tous les autres les prieres de la tres-ſacree glorieuſe vierge Marie mere de Dieu, de laquelle la precieuſe remembrance & figure eſtoit veneree en liſle de Rhodes a une montaigne nommee Filerme a dix mille de la Ville pour obtenir ſa grace & ayde, le tres-illuſtre Seigneur Grand-Maiſtre ayant une ſinguliere devotion a ladicte ſaincte ymage, & de paour quelle ne vint en povoir es mains des ennemys de la foy laiſſant en ladicte montaigne, la feiſt apporter dedans la ville de Rhodes, & mettre dedans une petite eſgliſe nommee ſainct Marc, auquel lieu lon avoit acouſtume de la mettre, quant il eſtoit bruyt de larmee du Turcq, & durant les grandes bateries des mortiers, de quoy ſera parle cy-apres, ung jour une pierre deſdits mortiers deſuyna ladicte eſgliſe, & vint cheoir la pierre devant lautel ou repoſoit ladicte precieuſe ymage, & ne luy feiſt nul mal. Vray eſt quelle tua & bleſſa aucunes perſonnes qui faiſoient leur devotion en legliſe. Aſdonc de paour de plus grant inconvenient ledit Seigneur la feiſt lever de la, & la feiſt porter en legliſe de ſaincte Katherine, lieu plus aleſcart.

EN apres le tres-prudent Seigneur Grand-Maiſtre ayant pourveu aux choſes neceſſaires en terre, voulut auſſi pourveoir a celles de mer, pour la tuition & deffence de ſon Port, affin que les ennemys neuſſent entree par ledit Port, & feiſt mettre deux groſſes chaynes & bien materielles, lune a lentrée du Port, lautre par dehors, & eſtoit attache ung des bouts a la tour ſaint Nicolas, & lautre venoit reſpondre en biays a la tour des Mollins. Et quant & quant feiſt mettre a fons certains vieulx navires derriere ladicte tour des Mollins: Ceſtaſſavoir au Madraqui, de paour que les ennemys ne ſe aſſayaſſent dentrer avec quelque nombre de galleres par ledit Madraqui, pour gaigner le molle des Mollins, & depuis venir a une des portes de la Ville que on dit la porte de ſaincte Katherine. Leſquelles inventions & ordonnances, tant de chaynes que de navires mys a fons furent moult grandement utiles & proufitables pour nous. Et leverent grande eſperance d'entrer auſdits ennemys ſelon qui nous fut rapporte, & comme ils avoient delibere de donner ung aſſault par ce Madraqui. Ledit Seigneur Grand-Maiſtre feiſt auſſi rompre les pons de toutes les portes de la Ville pour pluſieurs raiſons.

ENTRE que fuſt le moys de Juing, lon attendoit de jour en jour larmee, toutesfois pour en apporter la certanite, ledit Seigneur Grand-Maiſtre avoit envoye

voye deux & trois brigantins vers Cyou & Methelin pour deſcouvrir ladicte armee puis luy en venir porter nouvelles. Cependant les bonnes gens de Liſle habitans au plain pays & voyſins de la Ville taillerent les bleds demy meurs, & en porterent bonne quantite dedans la Ville pour leur proviſion de vivre durant le ſiege. Toutesfois la plus grant partie des bleds demeura au champs taillez & a tailler, & ſe retirerent dedans la Ville, car le tres-illuſtre Seigneur Grand-Maiſtre deſia preſumoit que larmee eſtoit ſortie de leſtroit, comme ce trouva la verite depuis, & doubtant que aucun nombre de galleres ne vinſent devant pour bruſler les bleds comme ils avoient fait a lautre ſiege, & pour ſurprendre le poure peuple en leurs villaiges, ledit Seigneur voulut prevenir a tel inconvenient & les feiſt venir dedans la Ville, en attendant la certainete ou eſtoit larmee.

Le huytieſme dudit moys, les Turcqs feirent de nuyt ung feu pour feignal au lieu acouſtume quon dit le Fiſco en terre ferme, vis a vis de Rhodes. Et quelques jours paravant en avoient faict ung aultre. Ceſtaſſavoir quant la fuſte dung Chevalier nomme Meneton y alla, & porta ung eſcripvain de galleres nomme Jaquecy qui parloit bon Turcq, lequel ſoubs umbre de bonne foy: & pour parlamenter fut retenu par le commandement du Grand Turcq, qui vouloit avoir ledit eſcripvain ou aultre homme de Rhodes, pour ſcavoir entierement & au vray en quel eſtat eſtoit la Ville de toutes choſes: toutesfois quant ledit Jaquecy deſcendit en terre, les Turcqs manderent ung Turcq dedans la fuſte pour hoſtaige, nonobſtant cela, ledit eſcripvain demeura: & le Turcq qui eſtoit pour hoſtaige dedans ladicte fuſte fut porte en Rhodes. Et penſant que le ſecond ſeignal de feu ce feiſt pour rendre ledit eſcripvain, le tres-reverend Seigneur Grand-Maiſtre envoya une de ſes galeres; de laquelle eſtoit patron frere Boniface Dalluez, de la langue de Provence, & arrivee que fuſt ladicte gallere au lieu du ſeignal, le Patron demanda aux Turcqs des nouvelles, & pourquoy ils avoient fait feu, leſquels dirent que ceſtoit pource que le Grand Seigneur mandoit des lettres au Grand-Maiſtre: leſquelles neſtoient encores venues, & dirent au Patron quil atendiſt quelle fuſſent apportees.

Ledit Patron de la gallere ſage & prudent & entendu au faict de la mer, penſa en ſoy meſmes ce propos de bailler des lettres, neſtoit ſinon pour mauvaiſe fin, & pour ſurprendre la gallere qui eſtoit ſeule. Parquoy leur dit franchement quils baillaſſent ladicte lettre ſils vouloient, aultrement quil ſen yroit, & nattendroit plus ny lettres ne autre choſe; & leur miſt en avant le maulvais & deſhonneſte tour que les jours paſſez ils avoient fait, ceſtaſſavoir de retenir ledit eſcripvain & rompre le ſauf conduit quils avoient donne. Toutesfois il leur demanda ſils le vouloient rendre, a quoy ils ne feirent reſponce, pource que ledit Jaquecy avoit eſte deſia mene au Grant Turcq en Conſtantinoble. Et ſur cela la gallere ſe leva pour ſen retourner. Quoy voyant les Turcqs donnerent au Patron la lettre du Grant Turcq, laquelle il print: & arrive quil fuſt la preſenta au tres-illuſtre Seigneur Grant-Maiſtre, lequel feiſt aſſemble les Seigneurs de ſon Conſeil, & la feiſt lire, dont la ſubſtance eſtoit telle.

Sultan Solyman par la grace de Dieu tres-grant Empereur de Conſtantinoble, de lune & lautre Perſe, Arabye, Syrie, Lameeque, Iheruſalem, Daſie, Europe, & de toute Legypte, & de la mer Seigneur & poſſeſſeur: A tres-reverend Pere & Seigneur frere Philippes Grant-Maiſtre de Rhodes; ſes conſeillers & cytoiens grans & petits condigne ſalutation. Vous aves mande devers noſtre Imperiale Majeſte, George Servant voſtre meſſagier avec vos lettres, deſquelles avons bien entendu la teneur. Et pource mandons le preſent commandement noſtre, vous ſignificant que par noſtre Sentence voulons avoir ceſte Iſle: pour les grans dommaiges & œuvres mauvaiſes quen avons tous les jours. Laquelle rendue de bon gre enſemble le Chaſteau dicelle a noſtre Imperialle Majeſte, jurons le Dieu qui a fait le ciel & la terre; les vingt-ſix mille Prophetes noſtres, & les quatre Muſaphy, qui ſont tombez du ciel; & par noſtre premier Prophete Mahommet: Que tous ceulx trouvez en ladicte Iſle grans & petis naurez paour, peril ne dommage de noſtre Imperialle Majeſte. Et qui ſen vouldra aller en aultre lieu le pourra faire avec ſon avoir & famille. Et ſi quelcun y aura des principaulx qui vouldra prendre ſolde, la luy donnerons, & ferons meilleur party quils navoient. Et qui vouldra en icelles Iſle demourer le pourra faire, ſelon lancienne couſtume quavez eu, & beaucoup meilleure. Et pourtant ſi vouldrez accepter nos pacts & juremens, mandez voſtre homme avec vos lettres devers noſtre

Imperialle Majeſte tout incontinent, autrement ſoyez aſſeurez, quelle eſt ja venue ſus vous avec toutes proviſions, & en ſortira ce que playra a Dieu, dequoy vous avons bien voulu advertir, affin que ne puiſſiez dire que ne vous ayons ſommez; Et ſi ne vous voulez rendre (comme dit eſt) ferons renverſer les fondemens de voſtre Chaſteau ſans deſſus deſſoubs, & vous ferons eſclaux & mourir de male mort moyennant la voulente divine, comme avons fait a beaucoup dautres, & de cela vous tenez tout aſſeurez. Donne en la court de noſtre Imperialle puiſſance a Conſtantinoble, de Juing le premier jour.

Le tres-illuſtre Seigneur Grant-Maiſtre apres avoir ouy le contenu de ladicte lettre ne penſa de faire autre reſponce au Grand Turcq, ſinon le bien recevoir a bons coups dartillerie, auſſi a folle demande il ny fault point de reſponce, il eſtoit auſſi bien a preſumer que ledit Grand Turcq n'en vouloit point, pource que ſix jours apres receue ladite lettre qui fut le quatorzieſme dudit moys de Juing: les brigantins qui eſtoient allez comme a eſte dit vers Cyou pour ſcavoir nouvelles de ladicte armee revindrent & dirent pour vray que larmee venoit ſus Rhodes, dont partie eſtoit a Cyou & aupres du Lango a cent mil de Rhodes, ils avoient veu & compte trente voilles qui eſtoient galleres la pluſpart & fuſtes, leſquelles galleres & fuſtes miſrent gens en terre a ladicte iſle du Lango ſubjecte a la Religion. Alors le Prieur de ſainct Gilles frere Prejan de Bidoux commandeur dudit lieu ne tarda gueres de monter a cheval avec ſes Chevaliers & gens de liſle, & ſe vint affronter avec ceulx qui eſtoient deſcendus en terre, leſquels il repulſa ſi bien quil ne tarderent gueres a prendre le chemin des navires: Toutesfois il en demoura a la retraicte cinq ou ſix, & trois qui furent prins en vie. Du coſte dudit Seigneur Prejan il y eut quelcun bleſſe & ſon cheval tue avec autres de ſa compaignie. Et ſur cela les ennemys entrerent dedans les galleres, & ſen allerent pres de la en ung lieu nomme Caſtel Judeo en terre ferme entre ladicte iſle du Lango & le Chaſteau ſainct Pierre.

Le XVII. dudit moys ces trente voilles partant de la, tirerent vers le cap de Creou, & entrerent au Gouffre des eſſimes pres de Rhodes quinze milles; leſquelles furent deſcouvertes par les gardes aſſiſes ſus une haulte montaigne, nommee la montaigne de Sallaco.

Le lendemain les deſuſdicts voilles ſaillirent de plain jour dudit gouffre & velligant terre a terre, entrerent dedans ung aultre port en terre ferme nomme Malfata, la ou ils demeurerent trois jours, puis ſe leverent de la, & retournerent audit gouffre des eſſimes ou ils demourerent deux jours.

¶ Et le XXIV. dudit moys jour & ſollennite de monſieur ſainct Jehan Baptiſte, ces trente navires ſaillirent des eſſimes, & traverſant le canal vindrent ſurgir en liſle de Rhodes en une plage au devant dung chaſteau nommez Favez, la ou les ennemys deſcendirent en terre, & bruſlerent grant pays de bleds.

Ledict jour ung homme de la garde dung chaſteau nomme Obſito en liſle de Rhodes deſcouvrit la groſſe armee & en diligence apporta les nouvelles au Grand-Maiſtre. Et pource que ladicte armee eſtoit en ſi grant nombre de voilles, diſt quil ne les avoit peu compter, & dit quil la veit entrer au Gouffre des eſſimes, les trente voilles qui eſtoient ſurgiez en liſle ſe leverent la nuyt & vindrent trouver la groſſe armee au Gouffre.

Le XXVI. dudit moys de Juing toute larmee ſe leva & ſortit des eſſimes une heure apres ſoleil levant & traverſa le canal, & vint ſurgir a une plage deſſuſdicte nommee la foſſe. Les trente voilles premieres tournerent en arriere & allerent vers le cap ſainct Martin pource quils eſtoient ordonnez eſtre a la garde pour ſurprendre les navires des Chreſtiens ſi aucuns vouloient paſſer & venir en Rhodes, ladite armee demeura ſurgie a la foſſe juſques a une heure apres midy, & apres partie dicelle environ quatre-vingts ou cent navires entre galleres & galleaces & fuſtes ſe leverent & paſſerent lune apres lautre par devant la ville & le port de Rhodes a trois mille loing, & allerent ſurgir a la bande de levant en une plage dont la terre circonvoyſine eſt appellee Parabolin loing de la Ville par mer ſix mille ou environ. Quelques jours apres les navires qui eſtoient demeurez a la foſſe ſuyuirent quaſi tous les autres: & demeura toute larmee audit lieu de parabolin depuis quelle fut ſurgie juſques a la fin nouſtre malheureuſe.

La facon des navires de larmee du Turcq, & le nombre diceux ſelon quil ma eſte dit par gens meſme du cap, eſtoyt de la maniere qui ſenſuyt. Il y avoit cent & trois galleres tant ſutilles que baſtardes, non compris vingt-cinq ou trente galleres, que vindrent premierement faire legaſt, & qui tindrent les paſſages durant le ſiege. Il y avoyt apres trente-cinq galleaces belles & groſſes, quinze mahonnes, & vingt tafforees: ces navires icy ſont quelque peu differens de galleaces; il y avoyt ſoixante fuſtes ou plus, & pluſieurs brigantins, & entre barchots, gallions, & eſquiraſſes povoient eſtre dix ou douze navires, ſus les quelles eſtoient les munitions & la groſſe artillerie pour battre la ville, toutesfois depuis la venue deſſuſdites navires qui eſtoient au nombre de deux cens cinquante ou environ, quelques galleres & fuſtes & aultres navires vindrent de Surye, & ſe jongnirent avec larmee, & depuys en vindrent dallieurs durant le ſiege, & furent la plus part du temps au nombre de quatre cens voilles ou environ.

Le nombre des ennemys qui eſtoient au camp du Turcq tant de guerre que de travail ſelon le commun dit, eſtoint deux cens mil hommes dont il y en avoit ſoixante mille duyts & expers a faire ſeullement les mynes. Et pource quon pourroit dire quen ſi grande multitude de gens il ny peult avoir obeyſſance, la verite eſt telle quen nulle Seigneurie du monde il ny a telle obeiſſance ne ſi bien gardee que celle des Turcqs envers leur Seigneur, la raiſon eſt, pource quil eſt ſeul Seigneur en tous ces pays, & ny a perſonne qui oſe contredire a ce quil commande.

Cedit jour que larmee vint ſurgir a Parabolin, le tres-illuſtre Seigneur Grand-Maiſtre deſpeſcha ung brigantin pour envoyer en Ponent pour advertir le ſainct Pere premiement & les Princes chreſtiens de la venue de larmee devant Rhodes. Sur ledit brigantin furent envoyez par ledit Seigneur deux Chevaliers; lung eſtoit Francoys nomme frere Claude Danſoyville dit Villiers, & frere Loys Dandogue Eſpaignol, lequel avoit commiſſion daller vers le Pape, & de la a lEmpereur. Et ledit frere Claude vers le Roy de France, & le Roy dAngleterre. Ledit brigantin partit a dix heures au ſoir, & graces a noſtre Seigneur, il eut aſſez bon temps, & fut en dix-huyt jours a Outrante. Ces deux Chevaliers allerent enſemble a Romme: Et de la chaſcun deux feiſt ſa commiſſion au moins mal quils peurent. Par ledit brigantin furent auſſi envoyees commiſſions a aucuns gens de bien de la Religion pour donner ordre davoir gens, vivres & munitions de guerre, & navires pour les porter, avec charge de venir a la plus grande diligence quils pourroient pour ſecourir la Ville comme choſe tres-neceſſaire, car la derniere eſperance que nous avions eſtoyt ceſtela.

Lesdictes commiſſions furent adreſſees pour les bandes de Naples & Cecille a reverends Seigneurs le Prieur de Barlette, frere Fabrice Pignatello, & le Bally de ſainct Eſteve, frere Charles Gezualdo, & frere Jehan Baptiſte de Caraffa bally de Naples: & avec les ſuſdits Seigneurs eſtoit comprins frere Jehan Hyſeran de la langue Dauvergne pour eſtre homme entendu, & ayant bonne praticque & congnoiſſance de la mer; & auſſi pour eſtre congneu aux bandes de Gennes & Provence. Car les commiſſions diſoient que ſi leſdits Seigneurs daventure ne trouvoient à Naples ou a Cecille navires propices pour donner le ſecours en Rhodes ſans doubte de ladicte armee du Turcq que ledit Hyſerant ſe tranſportaſt en Gennes pour avoir quelques carraques, ou en Provence pour avoir navires pondereux: & duyſans pour ledit affaire par le conſentement du Roy, ce que feit ledit Hyſerant, mais pour la diverſité du temps, & pour loccaſion des guerres les choſes ne peurent ſortir tel effect que les perſonnages ayant telle charge euſſent bien voulu, & ſelon quil eſtoit neceſſaire. Toutesfoys il eſt choſe veritable apres que le ſuſdit Villers eut denonce au Roy les nouvelles du ſiege, & quil eut requis en toute humilite de vouloir ſecourir la Religion, comme le Prince en qui elle avoit ſa principalle eſperance, ledit Seigneur aſſez deſplaiſant pour les troubles quil avoit de la guerre quil ne povoit donner tel ſecours quil euſt bien voulu, nonobſtant il octroya franchement & de bonne voulente quon print tous ces navires qui eſtoient aux mers de Provence & quon ſen ſerviſt, toutesfois lon ne peut avoir la delivrance ſi toſt quil eſtoit de beſoing pour aucuns inconveniens qui pouvoyent venir a la conte de Provence qui furent remonſtrez au Roy: Parquoy fuſt de neceſſite de retourner vers luy. Et ce pendant quon eſtoit ſus ces propos davoir leſdits navires lyver entra, & ne fut poſſible, apres que les choſes euſſent bon effect, ne que le ſecours vint a temps. Et pource quon dit voulentiers, que ung mal ne vient jamais ſeul, le ſuſdit Chevalier Hyſerant avoit fait accord a Gennes du noligement dune carraque pour aller avec les aultres navires du ſecours, laquelle donna a travers en Bonnaſſe aupres de Monegue. Touteſfoys ſi ce fuſt par mauvaiſe voulente des Genevois qui la gouvernoient, affin quelle ne feiſt le voyage pour crainte du Turcq. Je men remets a la verite, & a celluy qui ſcait la voulente des hommes bonne ou maulvaiſe.

MAIS pour tourner au premier propos: La nuyt que ledit brigantin partit, ung homme ſenſuyt de larmee Turqueſque, lequel eſtoit natif de Boniface, & marie a Nice, lequel la pluſpart du temps vint a Nau pour aborder, & ſoy rendre a la tour ſainct Nicolas, qui fut ung gros effort faict a luy pour la diſtance du lieu ou eſtoient ſurgis les navires juſques a ladicte tour, car il y peult avoir de ſix a ſept mille, ledit fugitif le jour venu fut amene devant le tres-reverend Seigneur Grand-Maiſtre, & interrogue des nouvelles du camp, diſt, quil y avoit en larmee deux cens cinquante voylles ou environ, nonobſtant quils eſtoient mal armez, & la pluſpart des navires vieulx & mal conditionnez, & quil y avoit beaucoup de Chreſtiens tenus par force dedans les galleres.

DIT apres que la pluſpart des gens de ladicte armee, & les Geniſſaires principallement eſtoient mal contens de lentrepriſe, & quils ne penſoient point que larmee vint a Rhodes, mais quelle deuſt aller vers Ponent.

DIT apres que la principalle eſperance des ennemys eſtoit de prendre Rhodes par mynes; & quils avoient amene plus de ſoixante mille pyonniers de Vlaquia & Boſſina, qui ſont pays circonvoyſins de Ungrie, gens expers & efforcez pour faire mynes, comme ceſt veu par experience pour la grande quantite quils en ont fait, comme ſera dit cy-apres.

DIT auſſi que Monſtaffa Baſca eſtoit capitaine general de larmee de mer & de terre, & que Courtogle Pirate eſtoit pillot & conducteur de ladicte armee de mer, & pluſieurs aultres choſes ils recita qui ſeroient longues a racompter.

LEDIT jour apres diſner vint du camp des ennemys ung Villain de liſle de Rhodes dung village nomme Coſquino, lequel avoit eſte pris des Turcqs il y avoit quatorze ans, & ſur le ſoir vint ung aultre Chreſtien lequel eſtoit de Cariſto. Ces deux dirent des nouvelles du camp, ainſi quavoit fait le premier venu.

LE lendemain qui fut le vingt-huytieſme jour de Juing, vint ung aultre Chreſtien qui eſtoit de Naples de la Romaine. Et depuis en vindrent dautres aſſez qui ſe rendirent dedans la Ville, leſquels auſſi diſoient nouvelles des ennemys, ſelon loccurrance du temps, touteſfoys on ne leur donnoit pas foy ne creance en tout ce quils rapportoient, ne les laiſſaſt lon aller par tout, mais furent tous mys en lieu ſur, & a part, avec gens qui les gardoient pour certains bons reſpects.

SUS ſes termes, le tres-prudent Seigneur Grand-Maiſtre voulant ſe pourveoir de gens de bien plus qui neſtoient, & principallement de gens experts en la guerre feiſt partir ung brigantin le ſeptieſme de Juillet pour aller a Lango pour apporter monſieur de ſainct Gilles, frere Prejan de Bidoulx, lequel ne ſe feiſt gueres prier de venir en Rhodes, car tout le deſir quil avoit en ce monde eſtoit de ſe trouver en ſi bon affaire: & les jours paravant il avoit eſcript audit Seigneur Grand-Maiſtre pluſieurs letrres pour le laiſſer venir.

LAUTRE brigantin, ledit Seigneur lenvoya en Candye pour eſſayer davoir & apporter ung gentil-homme nomme Meſſire Gabriel Tadino Martinengo homme expert a la guerre & entendu a diviſer fortereſſes de place & faire repaires, lequel eſtoit a Caſtel bien appoincte de la Seigneurie de Venize, pour ce que les jours paravant ledit Gabriel avoit dit a frere Anthoyne de Boyſis, lequel alla pour les vins, quil avoit bonne voulente de venir a Rhodes pour ſe trouver en ſi bon affaire, & pour povoir donner quelque ayde, & faire ſervice a la Religion aux affaires, auquelz eſtoit, & que le Grand-Maiſtre demandaſt conge au Duc de Candie, ce quil feit & renvoya pour ceſt affaire ledit frere Anthoyne, avec lettres adreſſantes au Duc & a la Seigneurie de Candye.

DEPUIS le jour que larmee Turqueſque fut Surgie au lieu deſſuſdit elle demoura treize ou quatorze jours ſans faire grand mouvement ni mectre artillerie en terre ne groſſe ne menue, ny deſcendre quantite de gens, de quoy chaſcun ſeſmerveilloyt, & nous dyrent ceulx qui eſtoient fuys & entrez dedans la ville, & auſſi les eſpies que les treſprudent Seigneur envoyoit au camp habillez en habit Turqueſt quils attendoyent que larmee de terre fuſt paſſee au camp, touteſfoys il venoit quelque nombre des ennemys pourveoir la ville, mais ceſtoit bien couvertement, car lartillerie de la ville tyroit inceſſamment contre eulx. Cependant pluſieurs galleres & galleaces alloyent & venoyent de terre ferme, & appartoyent vivres & gens, auſquels navires paſſans pres de la ville lon tiroit grand quantite dartillerie, & quant la pluſpart des gens furent paſſez ils commencerent a mettre lartillerie en terre a grand diligence. Alors le treſilluſtre Seigneur Grand-Maiſtre partit de ſon palais & ſen alla loger pres legliſe noſtre Dame de la Victoire pour eſtre lieu aſſez doubteux & foible, Et pour ce que a lautre ſiege laſſaut fut donne audit lieu.

DURANT ces choſes le brigantin lequel eſtoit alle a Lango arriva le ſeizieſme de Juillet, & apporta ledit Seigneur Preian, duquel la venue fut fort agreeable a tout le peuple & a tous les Chevaliers, qui eſtoit bien raiſon, car tel perſonnaige comme luy eſtoit bien duyſant & neceſſaire en tel affaire en quoy eſtoit la ville. Et incontinent que ledit Seigneur fut arrive, le treſilluſtre Seigneur Grand-Maiſtre luy recommanda lartillerie avec le Baillif de Monoaſque, lequel ſeul ne povoit fournir ne eſtre par tous les lieux neceſſaires pour faire leur devoir aux canoniers, & ſoy donner garde de leur tyrer, car les jours paravant leſdits canoniers avoyent rompu deux ou troys groſſes pieces des meilleures que nous euſſions par trop les charger ou par quelque aultre maulvaiſe fin. A quoy ledit Seigneur de ſainct Gilles print garde comme choſe bien neceſſaire & dimportance, & fut la vigilance dudit Seigneur ſi bonne & ſi grande que de la en avant les choſes allerent mieulx quils navoyent accouſtume. Pareillement ledit Seigneur de ſainct Gilles avoit la charge de viſiter les gardes pour eſtre homme de ſa nature des plus vigillans quon face.

LE vingthuytieſme de Juillet pour commencement de jeu, les ennemys dreſſerent ung mantellet, ſoubs lequel ils miſrent trois ou quatre pieces moyennes, Ceſt aſſavoir ſacres & paſſevolans deſquels ils tirerent contre la poſte Dangleterre & de Provence, mais ledit mantellet & les pieces furent incontinent rompues de lartillerie de la muraille, & ceulx qui la tiroyent furent tous tuez, ou bleſſez, ſelon quil nous fut raporte par gens qui ſen fouyrent depuys du camp.

ROMPU qui fuſt ce premier mantellet pour la grandeur & innumerable quantite de gens quils avoyent, eurent bien toſt miſe toute lartillerie en terre, & portee aux lieux ou elle devoit tyrer, & dreſſerent deux aultres mantellets le dixneufieſme dudit moys, lung eſtoit a coſte dugne egliſe nommee ſainct Coſme & ſainct Damien. Lautre un peu plus hault envers Ponent, & de ſes mantellets tirerent de groſſes pieces, comme collouvrines, doubles canons, & bombardes contre la muraille Dangleterre & Eſpaigne, auſquels mantellets lartillerie de la ville tiroit de bons coups, & ſouvent les rompoit le jour, mais la nuit les ennemys les refaiſoient, Et pour plus endommaiger la ville, & pour nous eſtonner les ennemys dreſſerent pluſieurs aultres mantellets en divers lieux & quaſi tout a lentour de la ville, & y en avoit ſoyxante ou quatre vingts au commencement, & deſquels le nombre fut bien appetiſſe de lartillerie qu'on leur tiroit de toutes pars, toutesfoys il demoura touſiours trente quatre, & a chaſcun mantellet il y avoit troys pieces dartillerie.

LARTILLERIE du camp ſelon que jay eſte informe eſtoit telle que ſenſuit.

PREMIEREMENT il y avoit ſix canons perriers de bronze tirant la pierre de troys palmes & demy de tour ou environ: & quinze aultres pieces de fer & de bronze qui tiroyent la pierre de cinq à ſix palmes. Aprѐs il y avoit douze bombardes plus groſſes tirant la pierre de neuf à dix palmes, & deux autres bombardes plus groſſes tirant la pierre de unze palmes de groſſeur. Plus y avoyt douze baſiliques, mais ils n'en tyrererent que de huyt, dont les quatre tyroyent contre la poſte Dangleterre & Deſpaigne, & deux contre la poſte Dytalye, les autres tyrerent ung temps contre la tour ſainct Nicolas. Pups y avoit quinze doubles canons tyrans boullets de fer comme Baſilicques: La mayonne artillerie comme ſacres, paſſevolans eſtoiént en grand nombre, leſpingarderie innumerable & increable. Apres y avoit douze mortiers de bronze qui tyroyent contremont en lair, dont les huyt eſtoyent aſſis derriere ladicte egliſe ſainct Coſme & ſainct Damien. Et deux aupres de ſainct Jehan de la fontayne vers la poſte Dytalye dont l'ung ſe rompit, & les aultres au front de la poſte Dauvergne, & tyroyent deſdictes pieces nuyct & jour dedans la ville pour faire meurtre de gens. Et la pierre qu'ils tyroyent eſtoit de trois ſortes, dont les plus groſſes eſtoyent de ſept a huyt palmes, & eſtoit une choſe fort inhumaine & eſpoventable. Toutesfoys graces a notre Seigneur, & par euident miracle leſdictes pieces ne feirent pas grand mal, & ne tuerent que vingt-quatre ou vingt-cinq perſonnes, & entre les aultres fut tue dung coup leſdictes pieces frere Bringuier de lyoncel deſſus nomme, luy eſtant au bollouard de Coſquino dont il eſtoit Cappitaine. Et en ſon lieu fut mys frere Loys de Prian dit Condillac de la langue de Provence, & commencerent a tirer de ces pieces le vingt-neufieſme dudit moys de Juillet juſques environ la fin Daouſt, Et par compte fait tirerent mille ſept cens treize coups de pierre de marbre, & huyt coups avec boullets de cuivre pleins dartifice de feu. Et furent en tous les coups des mortiers mille ſept cens vingt & un. Aulcuns diſent quil en fut tire deux mille ou plus.

Mais quand les ennemys furent advertys par le ſuſdits medecin juif qui leur eſcripvoit ce quon faiſoit ou diſoit dedans la ville, que leſdits mortiers ne faiſoyent point ou peu de mal, furent fort mal contens, car ils penſoyent avoir tue la tierce partie des gens, & furent conſeilles par ledit juif de nen tirer plus, pource que ceſtoit pouldre perdue.

Lautre brigantin qui eſtoit alle en Candie retourna le vingt deuxieſme dudit moys ſur lequel eſtoit le ſuſdit Gabriel Martinengo, les vertus duquel ou la maniere comme il partit de Candye je ne veulx quil ſoit ignore par les lecteurs de ce preſent livre.

Et pource eſt de ſcavoir que le ſuſdit frere Anthoyne de Boiſis arrive qui fut a Caſtel preſenta les lettres au Duc de Candye du treſilluſtre Seigneur Grand-Maiſtre, par leſquelles il le prioit vouloir preſter pour aulcun temps ledit Martinengo pour ſubvenir aux affaires en quoy eſtoyt la ville de Rhodes pour ceſte heure la, lui promectant le renvoyer apres le ſiege leve.

Le Duc & le ſurplus de la Seigneurie dirent quils ne povoyent octroyer ceſte demande audit Seigneur Grand-Maiſtre: pource quils avoyent paix avec le grand Turcq, & nouvellement confermee par luy meſme qui eſtoit tourne dembaſſade avant quil fuſt fait Duc. Ledit Martinengo (entendue ceſte reponce, & le refus de ſon conge) delibera de ſen venir ſecretement & deſclaira ſon intention audit frere Anthoyne & appoincterent enſemble du lieu la ou le brigantin le devoit attendre pour le lever, deux jours ou troys apres que le brigantin fuſt party du Caſtel, Martinengo ſe deſroba de nuyct de la ville, & vint trouver le brigantin & monta deſſus. Ung jour ou deux apres le Duc de Candye adverty de ſon partement feiſt prendre tout ce quil avoit en ſa maiſon, & tout fuſt confiſque, apres feiſt faire une cryee par tout, que ſi aulcun ſcavoit nouvelles de luy quil le diſt, & quil auroit une bonne ſomme dargent. Et qui le recelleroit ſeroit pendu & eſtrangle. Oultre cela ledit Seigneur manda deux galleres pour chercher & rataindre ledit brigantin, toutesfoys ils ne feirent riens. Arrive que fuſt ledit Gabriel Martinengo en Rhodes le treſilluſtre Seigneur Grand-Maiſtre luy feiſt bon & gracieux recueil & tous les Seigneurs de la religion auſſi, conſiderant le perſonnaige quil eſtoit & le ſcavoir diceluy & le beſoing quon en avoit. Ayant auſſi regard quil avoit laiſſe tout ſon bien & abandonne lappointement quil avoit de la Seigneurie de Veniſe pour venir ſervir la religion, par quoy ledict Seigneur delibera de le traicter bien. Et deux ou trois jours apres quil fut venu ledit Martinengo requiſt audit Seigneur Grand-Maiſtre lui vouloir donner la croix & habit de la religion pour le zele quil avoit de la ſervir, & affin quon ſe peuſt mieulx fier en lui, laquelle & choſe ledit Seigneur luy octroya. Et pour luy faire plus dhonneur & luy croiſtre ſon bon vouloir, il luy fiſt donner la grande croix, & fut receu en la langue Dytalye. Et le premier jour Daouſt fut faict Chevalier de la main du Grand-Maiſtre, & dedans legliſe de noſtre dame de la Victoire il prit lhabit. Et ledit Seigneur Grand-Maiſtre affiſta a la meſſe & tout du long de la ceremonie quon fait a la proceſſion des Chevaliers. Apres que ledit Martinengo eut la croix, le treſilluſtre Seigneur Grand-Maiſtre ordonna avec meſſieurs de ſon conſeil quil auroyt tel & ſemblable eſtat & appoinctement tous les ans quil avoyt en Candye de la Seigneurie de Veniſe, juſques a ce quil fuſt prouveu en la religion de quelque bailliage ou priore, avec cela ledit Seigneur luy donna la charge & conduycte de la plus grande partye des gens de guerre, tant de ceulx de la ville de Rhodes que des eſtrangiers, qui eſtoient au ſolde & fut fait cecy par accord & conſentement du mareſchal de lordre & religion, auquel touche & appartient danciennete la charge des Chevaliers & aultres gens tant en la mer quen terre au temps de la guerre, & eut oultre cela ledit Martinengo la charge des fortifications de la ville, & dy faire comme bon luy ſembleroit, comme homme bien experimente en tieulx affaires, & homme de grand travail, & fort vigilant, & de ſa perſonne des plus hardis quon face, comme il a bien monſtre en ceſyege, car a tous les aſſaulx il eſtoyt touſiours des premiers.

APRES eſt a noter que le XXVIII. dudit moys de Juillet, la perſonne du grand Turcq paſſa avec une gallere & une fuſte ſeullement du port de Fiſco en terre ferme, & arriva environ midy la ou eſtoit ſurgie ſon armee, laquelle journee ſe peult dire mal fortunee pour Rhodes, car ſa venue & continue demouree au camp a eſte occaſion de noſtre defection. Et incontinent que la gallere ſus laquelle ledit Seigneur eſtoit, approcha de larmee, tous les navyres meiſrent baniere en hault de la gatte, ceſt a dire les navires ronds & les galleres au bout de leurs arbres, & tirerent lartillerie pour le ſaluer, Et bientoſt apres il deſcendit en terre & monta a cheval, & ſen alla a ſon pavillon lequel eſtoit en ung lieu hault nomme Magalandra, a quatre ou cinq mille de la ville hors du dangier de lartillerie.

DEPUYS ſa venue les ennemys commencerent a tirer artillerie dautre ſorte quils ne faiſoyent paravant, en eſpecial des hacquebuttes, Et auſſi travaillerent a faire leurs tranchees & approches a pluſgrande diligence que paravant, ſemblablement feirent pluſgrand effort que paravant a conduyre la terre avec la palle & picquon droit aux foſſez, & la conduyſoient dung geƈt darc ou environ loing de la ville. Et nonobſtant quon tiraſt coups infinits dartillerie de la ville, contre ladiƈte terre mouvatiſſe, dont innumerable quantite de gens qui eſtoient chachez derriere icelle furent tuez & mors, ce nonobſtant jamais ne laiſſerent de conduyre ladiƈte terre juſques a ce quelle fut au bord des foſſez. Et depuys quelle fut la de jour en jour leſleverent plus hault, & de plus hault en plus hault en la renforſant par derriere. Et en concluſion ladiƈte terre eſtoit plus haulte que la muraille de la ville de dix ou douze pieds, & en concluſions ils feirent une montaigne de ceſte terre entre la poſte Deſpaigne & Auvergne, & par la batoyent nos gens qui eſtoyent aux poſtes de la muraille & bollouards, enſorte que perſonne ne ſe povoit monſtrer, mais on feiſt des repaires de tables pour garder nos gens de leur baterie.

ET a la poſte Dytalye feirent une ſemblable montaigne, & non ailleurs. Faiƈtes auſſi que furent les trenchees juſques aux foſſez, les ennemys feirent des pertuys au mur du foſſe de dehors, par leſquels ils tirerent infinis coups de hacquebutes & eſcoupettes a nos gens & en tuerent grand quantite.

LES baſcas & cappitaines entrerent dedans leſdiƈtes trenchees & choiſirent chaſcun la leur, ſelon leur degre & auƈtorite, ceſt aſſavoir Monſtaffa baſcha comme principal cappitaine choiſiſt la trenchee direƈte au bollouard Dangleterre avec ſes gens & pluſieurs cappitaines ſoubs lui.

PERY baſcha le plus vieil des quatre baſchas print la trenchee tirant a la poſte Dytalye avecques ſa bande de gens & pluſieurs cappitaines ſoubs luy.

ACMECT baſcha eſtoit aux tranchees Deſpaigne & Dauvergne & legat des geniſſaires avec luy & autres cappitaines ſoubs luy.

LE Begliherbey de la Natholie eſtoit aux tranches de Provence, & le Begliherbey de Romanie eſtoit avec ſa bande vers les jardins de ſainƈt Anthoyne, de la bande tremontane & pluſieurs gens ſoubs luy.

ET feiſt faire ſa premiere baterie au commencement Daouſt contre la muraille de la poſte Dallemaigne, & dreſſerent ſept mantelets aupres des mollins aſſis vers ponent, & par leſpace de huiƈt ou dix jours batirent ladiƈte muraille qui nous donna grant doubte, pource quelle eſtoit ſimple & ny avoit point de terreplain par dedans comme au ſurplus.

TOUTESFOYS le treſilluſtre Seigneur Grand-Maiſtre fiſt incontinent faire les repaires par dedans avec terre & tables pour la fortiffier, & n'en bougeoit depuys le matin juſques a la nuyƈt affin que lœuvre ſavancaſt plus fort. Lartillerie de la poſte Dallemaigne & du maſſif de la porte du camp ou eſtoit le Seneſchal dudiƈt Seigneur, & les pieces auſſi qui eſtoient au palais pource quil eſtoit hault lieu battirent ſi bien & rompirent ſi ſouvent les ſuſdiƈts mantellets qua la fin les ennemys ſennuyerent de les refaire, & furent contrainƈts de les fever de la. Auſſi ils ne pouvoient bonnement ne a leur plaiſir batre ladiƈte muraille Dallemaigne, pource que le bort du foſſe par de hors eſtoit quaſi auſſi hault que la muraille quils batoyent, en ſorte que la pluſgrant partye des coups paſſoient oultre & alloient donner contre les maiſons du chaſteau, toutesfois avant que emporter lartillerie dudict lieu ils tirerent tant de coups contre le clochier de legliſe de ſainct Jehan que la pluſpart fut briſee & miſe a bas. Cela faict ſes mantellets & artillerie furent portez pour batre la tour ſainct Nicolas. Et par leſpace de dix ou douze jours feirent grande & feurieuſe baterie de XXII. pieces attitrees contre elle, toutesfoys ladicte tour leur feiſt ſi bonne & vigoureuſe & aſſidue reſponce, quil ny avoit mantellet des ennemys qui de mouraſt une heure entier. Et apres pluſieurs bateries dune part & dautre, le capitaine de ſecours de ladicte tour & ſes gens feirent en ſorte avec leur bonne diligence & dextreſſe que les ennemys noſerent plus dreſſer mantellet ne tirer coup de jour, mais la nuict tant ſeullement tant que la lune luyſoit. Et tant que le jour duroit les pieces eſtoient couvertes de terre, & quant il eſtoit nuyt ils recommencoyent a tirer, qui eſt une choſe digne de memoire & de louenge de les avoir rangez juſques la. A la fin les ennemys voyans quils navancoyent riens en ceſte baterie, mais quelle tueoit beaucoup de gens & canoniers principalement leverent leur artillerie de la, & laporterent ou bon leur ſembla.

ET non obſtant les ſuſdictes bateries que on faiſoit contre ladicte tour & la poſte Dallemaigne les aultres capitaines neſtoyent pas oyſifs ne endormys de leur coſte, mais inceſſamment jour & nuyt batoient la muraille chaſcun a ſon quartier, & principallement la muraille Dangleterre & Deſpaigne, contre laquelle ils avoyent attitrez quatorze mantellets, avec ce que pluſieurs ſacres tiroient inceſſamment pour faire meurtre de gens, & tiroyent de groſſes bombardes, dont les pierres eſtoyent les unes de ſix a ſept palmes de tour, les autres de neuf a dix, & feirent telles baterie que dedans un moys ou moins ilz rompirent la muraille neufve de terreplain de la poſte Dangleterre, nonobſtant cela la muraille vieille qui eſtoit au deſſoubs de la neufve demoura entiere ou peu endommagee. Les ennemys avoyent auſſi mys par leurs tranchees dedans la foſſe troys groſſes bombardes, dont lune tiroyt la pierre de unze palmes de groſſeur, & deſdictes pieces batirent le bollouard & muraille Deſpaigne, en ſorte quils feirent breſche & leverent les deffenſes dudict Bollouard, & par la terre & pierres tumbees dedans la foſſe ils pouvoyent monter ſur le terreplain de la muraille de la ville.

A la poſte de Provence feirent le ſemblable mettant au bort du foſſe troys groſſes pieces, donc lune tyroit la pierre comme lautre ſuſdicte, & en peu de temps pareillement feirent breſche, nonobſtant cela lon renforcoit touſiours les repaires & deffences audit Bollouard le mieulx quon povoit, mais laſſidue baterie rompoit tout ce que lon pouvoit reparer. Alors le treſprudent Seigneur Grand-Maiſtre adverty de la grande baterie contre la poſte Dangleterre partit de la victoire ou il eſtoit loge & ſen vint a la porte nommee ſainct Anaſtace, & loger ſoubs ladicte muraille Dangleterre ou ſe faſoit la baterie. Ledit Seigneur arrive la, feiſt quatre cappitaines des plus anciens de ſon ſecours. Ceſtaſſavoir frere Diego de Laigle, frere Jehan de Bonneval, frere Baptiſte de Villargut: & frere François de Teilles, & a chaſcun de eulx donna dix Chevaliers, leſquels Cappitaines & Chevaliers eſtoyent jour & nuyt par gardes audit Bollouard Dangleterre pour renfort & ſecours dudit lieu oultre les gens ordinaires, & eſt à noter que ſi lartillerie des ennemys tyroit ſouvent contre nous, lartillerie de la ville ne dormoit pas, mais inceſſamment tyroit par tout contre les mantellets des ennemys & en romboit beaucoup. Toutesfois comme il a eſte dit la nuyt ils en dreſſoyent dautres, car ils avoyent tout ce que leur faiſoit beſoing. Ung jour entre les aultres nos canoniers tyrerent dune coulouvrine contre ung des mantellets qui batoit la muraille Dangleterre & rompirent ledit mantellet, puys donna ſur une des pieces & tua cinq ou ſix hommes, & emporta les deux jambes du maiſtre de lartillerie, lequel incontinent apres mourut, dequoy le grand Turcq fut fort mal content. Et dit que il euſt mieulx ayme avoir perdu un de ſes Baſchas que ledit Maiſtre. Les jours paravant auſſi de noſtre coſte avoit eſte tue dung coup de bombarde Roſtam maiſtre bombardier de la religion luy eſtant a la poſte Deſpaigne faiſant ſon office. Semblablement fut tue le Cappitaine de la poſte Deſpaigne deſſus nomme, frere Jehan de Barbaran, & en ſon lieu fut mys cappitaine frere Jehan de Homedes Arragonnoys, lequel fiſt fort bien ſon debvoir en ladicte charge, mais bien toſt apres il perdit ung œil dung coup deſcouppette, & layſſa ladicte cappitainerie pour ce quil eſtoit bleſſe.

APRES eſt de ſcavoir auſſi quil y avoit dixſept mantellets attitres contre le terreplain Dytalie, & audit lieu par laſſidue baterie les ennemys feyrent breſche. Et par la terre & pierres tumbees dedans le foſſe pouvoyent monter ſur ledit terreplain.

DURANT ces bateries le quatorzieſme jour Daouſt ung coup dartillerie des tranchees Dytalie fut tyre: & donna par la poupe de la carraque Genevoyſe qui eſtoit dedans le port Surgie, & pour eſtre aulcunement chargee & mal ſecourue ledit navire alla a fons, & depuis na ſervi.

LE dix-neufieſme dudit moys le cappitaine frere Gabriel ordonna faire une saillye ſur les ennemys qui beſongnoyent aux tranchees contre la poſte Dytalye pour deſtourber touſiours lœuvre, & ſaillyrent cent compaignons de guerre ou plus: leſquels conduyſoit frere Bartholome Cecilien, & ung meſſire Benedicto quavoit amene avec luy ledit cappitaine frere Gabriel, & paſſans par la foſſe de ladicte poſte allerent droit aux tranchees, & donnerent ſur les ennemys, leſquels ſe miſrent en fuyte, & nos gens prindrent ung Turcq en vie, & apporterent la teſte dung aultre, & ſur cela ſe retirerent, car en ung moment grand quantite de Turcqs a grand preſſe vindrent au ſecours des aultres, & prindrent ung jeune homme des noſtres lequel ils tuerent incontinent, toutesfoys en venant a travers les jardins, & ſen retournant lartillerie de la ville les trouva aux deſcouvert, & en tua bonne quantite.

ITEM eſt a noter que le vingtroiſieſme dudit moys lalarme ſonna a la poſte Dauvergne, & les gens allans veoir que ceſtoit trouverent par les chemins pluſieurs Turcqs eſclaux de la ville qui venoient de beſogner de ladicte poſte & dailleurs. Et a donc quelscuns des noſtres commenca a frapper ſur leſdits eſclaux par fantaiſie & ſans ſcavoir pourquoy, & en deſpecherent cent au ſix vingts, leſquels eſtoient de pluſieurs Seigneurs Commandeurs & Chevaliers & marchans de la ville: laquelle folye tourna en noſtre dommaige, car leſdits eſclaux ſervoyent bien, & furent bien trouvez a dire aux derrieres grans affaires comme ſera touche apres.

LE vingtquatrieſme arriva de nuyt avec une barque frere Mery Deſreaux qui eſtoit alle en France par commandement du treſilluſtre Seigneur les jours paravant, & vindrent avec luy troys ou quatre jeuſnes compaignons pour ſe trouver en ſi bonne affaire.

LE treſilluſtre Seigneur Grand-Maiſtre voyant ſa ville ainſi battue & les breſches faictes en troys lieux feiſt compte que les ennemys ne tarderoyent gueres de donner aſſault. Et pource depeſcha ung brigantin pour faire avancer le ſecours de Naples & de Provence, & manda ſur ledit brigantin frere Anthoyne de Boyſis pour aller a Naples & a Rome. Et Nicolas Huſſonſon ſecretaire pour aller en Provence & de la en court, & partyrent les ſuſdicts le vingthuytieſme Daouſt. Et pource que deſſus a eſte dit que ledit Seigneur Grand-Maiſtre mandoyt eſpies au camp des ennemys pour ſcavoir & entendre ce quils faiſoyent & diſoyent lung de ceulx a qui ledit Seigneur ſe fioit, eſtoyt alle dehors ſelon qui avoit accouſtume, toutesfoys il ne retourna plus, & fut dit que ledit eſpion avoit eſte cogneu & prins aultres diſoient quil ſen eſtoit fouy en liſle pour ſe retirer a quelque une de nos places, comme Ferraclo ou Lindo. Quoy quil en fuſt ledit Seigneur tousjours travaillant de ſcavoir les affaires des ennemis feiſt armer ung brigantin ſus lequel il manda ung grec nomme Vaſſilly Carpatio, qui ſcavoyt bien parler la langue Turqueſque, & ſen alla ſurgir a huyt mille loing de la ville, a un lieu dit la Foſſe, ouvint ſurgir larmee au commencement du ſiege pour eſſayer de prendre quelque Turcq a la marine. Et arrive quil fut pres de terre, les Turcqs repoſant pres du bord de la mer pour la freſcheur, car ceſtoit au moys Daouſt apperceurent le brigantin, ledit Carpathio voyant quil eſtoit decouvert & apperceu, & quil ny avoit remede de mettre ſon embuſche en terre pour faire ſon entreprinſe, comme ruſe & expert au meſtier & non voulant retourner ſans rien faire, ſadviſa dung expedient & commenca a crier à haulte voix aux Turcqs qui eſtoient en terre. Et leur diſt que le cappitaine de larmee les demandoit. Adonc douze dentre-eulx ſans dire ne reſpondre aultre choſe, & ne penſant plus avant en aultre malice, entrerent dedans ledit brigantin, & furent amenez dedans le port qui fut un grand ſigne dobeiſſance. Lung des douze voyant la tromperie & quil eſtoit entre les mains de ſes ennemys tyra ung couſteau quil avoit, & en donna à la cuiſſe dudit Carpathio, lequel incontinent print ſon eſpee & coupa la teſte de celluy qui lavoit bleſſe & la porta au treſilluſtre Seigneur Grand-Maiſtre, & quant & quant luy preſenta les unze qui eſtoient en vie, ledit Seigneur luy donna ſon breuvage, car il lavoit bien gaigne ayant bien joue ſon perſonnaige.

MAIS pour revenir au faict des bateries: ledit cappitaine Gabriel diligent & expert de donner les remedes la ou eſtoit de beſoing incontinent feiſt faire les traverſes & repaires ſur la muraille aux lieux ou il y avoit breſche, & auſdictes traverſes feiſt mectre groſſe artillerie & menue, laquelle non ſeullement tyroit a la breſche, mais auſſi vers les tranchees, & deſdictes traverſes lon faiſoit journellement grand meurtre de gens, & oultre ces traverſes ledit cappitaine feiſt mettre de menue artillerie, comme hacquebutes, eſcoupettes ſus certaines maiſons de la ville qui eſtoient au fronc de la breſche Deſpaigne & auſſi de Provence avec quelques repaires, & deſdictes maiſons nos gens feirent grand meurtre des ennemys aux aſſaulx.

APRES eſt aſſavoir que oultre les ſuſdicts mantellets qui tyroient contre la muraille Deſpaigne & Dangleterre il y avoit deux mantellets en ung hault vers le chemin du jardin de Maulpas, ſoubs leſquels mantellets il y avoit certains doubles canons leſquels tyroient contre nos repaires & traverſes de la muraille, & auſſi tyroient dedans la ville a coups perdus pour faire meurtre de gens, touteſfoys graces a dieu, ils ne feirent pas grand mal ſinon aux maiſons.

APRES ces grandes & horribles bateries faictes & quil y avoit chemin de povoir monter ſur la muraille & venir aux mains avec nous, les ennemys pour traverſer plus ſeurement & a couvert de leurs tranchees a la terre tombee de la breſche ſans eſtre batus par les flans, getterent grand quantite de terre dedans nos foſſez par les pertuys quils avoient faicts au mur du foſſe en dehors affin que de ladicte terre ils fuſſent couvers de lartillerie du Bollouard Dauvergne, & auſſi continuerent de battre le Bollouard Deſpaigne pour luy lever ſes deffences & repaires que journellement lon reſtauroit le mieulx quon povoit. A la fin ils rompirent tout & demeurerent ſeullement quelques canoniers dabas à la myne dudit Bollouard, leſquels peu ou riens leur porterent dommage, & delibererent de donner ung aſſault par ladicte breſche Deſpaigne. Et vela quant aux faits des batteries deſquelles je ne dis pas la tierce partie pource que ceſt choſe increable qui ne lauroit veu, car tel jour eſtoit que les ennemys tyroient tant de groſſes bombardes aſſiſes au bord du foſſe que des aultres pieces, eſtans ſoubs les mantellets contre ladicte muraille Dangleterre & Deſpaigne deux cens ſoyxante coups & plus, & croy fermement que depuys que le monde eſt cree, telle artillerie ne ſi furieuſe ny en ſi grande quantite ne fut tyree contre ville comme a eſte contre Rhodes en ce ſiege, parquoy neſt de merveilles ſi les murailles ont eſte miſes a bas & ſi les ennemys ont fait breſche en tant de lieu. Et pource que deſſus a eſte dit que la pluſgrande eſperance que les ennemys euſſent davoir la ville de Rhodes, eſtoit par mynes, avant que entrer aux aſſaulx. Apres avoir parle des bateries je parleray des mynes qui ont eſte faictes, leſquelles eſtoient en ſi grande quantite & en tant de lieux que des ſix parts de la ville les cinq comme lon preſume eſtoient mynees. Et ſelon le compte que ont fait aulcunes perſonnes, il y en avoit cinqante quatre, les aultres diſent quarante-cinq, aulcuns trente-huyt ou quarante. Toutesfoys graces a Dieu la plûpart neſt venue en effect a loccaſion des entremynes que ordonna ledit cappitaine Gabriel, car il feiſt faire une tranchee ſoubs terre commencant au Bollouard Dauvergne allant a lentour dudit Bollouard, & de la alloit vers la muraille Dallemaigne. Et de lautre coſte juſques au Bollouard Dangleterre & du Bollouard de Coquino juſques au Bollouard que fiſt monſieur de Careto a la poſte Dytalye, enſorte que la pluſgrand partye des mynes des ennemys venoient ſaffronter a ces tranchees & touſiours on leur alloit au devant quant on les ſentoit, & furent rencontrees beaucoup & rompues par nos gens.

LA premiere myne que feirent nos ennemys qui fut rencontree fut une qui eſtoit commencee aupres dune Egliſe nommee ſainct Jehan de la Fontaine, & venoit reſpondre au foſſe de Provence, laquelle eſtoit deſia a demy le foſſe, & fut ſentue par nos gens qui eſtoient aux eſcoutes le vingt-ſixieſme jour Daouſt. A donc ledit cappitaine Gabriel alla en perſonne dedans la tranchee, & quant il ſentit les ennemis eſtre pres, il feiſt ouverture & avec trompes de feu & barrils de pouldre quil miſt luy meſmes au pertuys, la pluſpart des ennemys furent bruſlez ou eſtouffez, les aultres ſe ſaulverent: & fut venue de la ville la fumee ſortir du coſte quils avoient commencee ladicte myne, nos gens prindrent les pal-les & picquons des ennemys. Et ſi ces tranchees couvertes euſſent eſte faictes des le commencement, beaucoup de leurs mynes neuſſent pas eu leffect quils ont eu, mais lon ſe fioit aux premieres tranchees qui eſtoient faictes dedans le foſſe parfonds juſques a leaue, & auſſi a certains puys quon feiſt au commencement que larmee vint, mais la terre que les ennemys gettoient jour & nuyt par leurs tranchees dedans le foſſe combloit leſdictes tranchees & puys. Adonc le cappitaine Gabriel ordonna les tranchees ſoubs terre, leſquelles prouffiterent aſſez.

ET pour parler des mynes que ont eu effect, & ont endommage la ville, avant que leſdictes tranchees fuſſent parachevees. Eſt de ſcavoir que le quatrieſme jour de Septembre environ quatre heures apres midy les ennemys meiſrent le feu a une myne ſoubs le Bollouard Dangleterre, qui fut ſi furieux que la pluſpart de la ville en trembla, & abbatit environ ſix toiſes de muraille a la bande du midy, & par la terre & pierres qui tumberent au foſſe, les ennemys vindrent ſur le Bollouard, & porterent ſept enſeignes, & neuſt eſte ung repaire & traverſe que feiſt faire le cappitaine Gabriel audit Bollouard, la nuyt devant que les ennemys meiſſent le feu a ceſte myne a lendroit ou elle eſtoit faicte. Abatue que fuſt la muraille, ils entroient dedans le Bollouard ſans trouver riens au devant, ſinon nos gens a deſcouvert, mais ledit repaire fut ſi bien & a propos ordonne, quil ny avoit quenviron quatre pieds a dire dudit repaire a la rompure que feiſt la myne au Bollouard. Et ſe peult dire que ſans ce repaire, ledit Bollouard eſtoit perdu, & par conſequent la ville, pour ce que les eſcoupetiers qui eſtoient au bord du foſſe dedans les tranchees euſſent tuez nos gens qui ſe fuſſent trouvez ſur le Bollouard pour eſtre tous deſcouverts. Parquoy moyennant layde de Dieu, & ledit repaire le Bollouard fut ſaulve, nonobſtant cela les ennemys combatirent fort & ferme avec nos gens main a main avec picques & lances de feu, coups de traict & deſcoupetes dung coſte & daultre eſtoyent ſi eſpoix comme pluye. Et en cette meſlee & combat eſtoit ledit cappitaine Gabriel, & le Seigneur de ſainct Gilles fayſans tous deux bien leur debvoir.

ADONCQUES le tres-illuſtre Seigneur Grand-Maiſtre qui eſtoit venu comme a eſte dit au ſecours dudit Bollouard marcha avec lenſeigne du crucifix: & le Bailly de la Moree, & aultres Chevaliers, & gens de ſon ſecours avec luy, & ſecourut ledit Bollouard, & apres avoir combatu leſpace de deux bonnes heures les ennemys repulſez & batus dartillerie de pluſieurs parts, ſe retirerent aux tranchees avec perte honte, & dommaige. Et fut la premiere victoire que noſtre Seigneur nous donna, & y demeurerent des ennemys environ deux mille, ſelon quil nous fut rapporte du camp. De noſtre coſte cedit jour moururent douze ou quinze perſonnes tant Chevaliers que gens de la ville, & quinze ou vingt aultres furent bleſſez. Et entre les aultres fut feru en lœil dung coup de fleſche le capitayne des galleres frere Michel Dargillemont, lequel eſtoit avec les gens de ſa gallere cappitaine de ſecours audit Bollouard. Pareillement audit combat fut bleſſe dung coup de hacquebute frere Henry Manſelle, qui portoit lenſeigne dudit Grand-Maiſtre, lequel ainſi bleſſe tumba comme mort, & adonc frere Joachin de Cluys dit Briande, de la langue de France print ladicte enſeigne, & de la en avant la porta. Ledit frere Henry apres avoir eſte malade ung moys ou plus mourut a loccaſion de ſa playe. Ledit jour de ce combat paſſa de ce monde en lautre frere Gabriel de Pommerols Lieutenant dudit Seigneur Grand-Maiſtre, lequel les jours paravant eſtoit tumbe de ſon hault en allant veoir les tranchees des foſſez, & ſe bleſſa en ſa perſonne: & pour non eſtre bien penſe fut ſurprins dune fiebvre de quoy il mourut.

LE ſixieſme dudit moys, le cappitaine Gabriel rencontra une myne des ennemys, a laquelle il meiſt le feu par la contremyne, & ſe retirerent les ennemys, toutesfoys il fut trouve ung Turcq etouffe dedans la myne, & quelque jour paravant ledict capitaine avoit rencontre deux aultres mynes, & les avoit rompues.

APRES eſt de ſcavoir, que le neufieſme jour dudit moys a ſept heures au matin, les ennemys donnerent feu a deux mynes, lune a la poſte de Provence qui neuſt point deffaict, nonobſtant ils vindrent a la breſche, & combatirent avec nos gens. Laultre myne fut au Bollouard Dangleterre, laquelle abbatit une toyſe ou plus de muraille dudit Bollouard, aupres de la ou la premiere myne avoit rompu laultre muraille. La myne fut ſi furieuſe: quil ſembla que le Bollouard allaſt en bas, & ſenfouyrent quaſi tous les gens qui eſtoient dedans. Et quant celluy qui portoit lenſeigne de la religion entra dedans le Bollouard, les ennemys eſtoient a la breſche pres des repaires, mais incontinent quils apperceurent ladicte enſeigne, qui eſt la Croix blanche, comme gens perdus & demy morts ſe meirent en fuyte. Et adonc lartillerie du Bollouard du Coquiſno, & daultres lieux les recontra, & en tua grande quantite, toutesfoys les capitaines les feirent retourner avecques grands coups deſpees & de cimiterres. Et remonterent en hault le long de la terre tumbee, & planterent neuf enſeignes joignant des repaires.

Alors fut combatu viſvement avec picques & lances de feu, & eſcouppeterie dune part & daultre leſpace de trois heures, mais a la fin les ennemys eſtans battus de toutes parts de groſſes artillerie & menue retournerent en leurs tranchees, & deſdictes enſeignes, lune fut gaignee par nos gens, & ne fut poſſible den avoir dautres. Car incontinent qung homme montoit ſur les repaires, il eſtoyt depeſche de leſcouppeterie des tranchees, qui tyroyt par les pertuys faits au mur du foſſe, comme a eſte dit.

En ceſt aſſault mourut des ennemys deux ou trois mille, & trois perſonnes dapparence: leſquels eſtoient eſtendus morts dedans le foſſe avec belles jubes & riches, & nous fut rapporte du camp que ceſtoient trois Seniacsbeys, qui vault a dire Seneſchaux de provinces, & de noſtre coſte demeurerent en ce combat environ trente hommes. Auſſi furent bleſſez aulcuns Chevaliers, entre les aultres le Commandeur de lartillerie frere Guyot de Marſilhac, & le Chevalier Briande deſſus nomme qui portoit lenſeigne dudict Seigneur Grand-Maiſtre perdit lœil dung coup deſcouppette. Ladicte enſeigne fut donnee a porter a frere Mery des royaulx de la langue Dauvergne. Pareillement fut bleſſe frere Marino Farſan capitaine de ſecours a la poſte de Provence, & aultres Chevaliers non ayant charge, & gens de la ville auſſi.

Le dix-ſeptieſme dudit moys environ midy retournerent les ennemys donner ung aultre aſſault au Bollouard Dangleterre par le lieu accouſtume: ſans mettre feu a mine, & de rechief porterent cinq enſeignes aupres des repaires, & alors fut combatu roydement dune part & daultre, & furent gaignees deux enſeignes: dont lune gaigna frere Chriſtofle Valdener, Caſtellain de Rhodes pour lors. Et apres avoir longuement combattu dung coſte & daultre, les ennemis voyant qu'ils ne gaignoient que les coups ſen fouyrent en leurs tranchees, non pas ſans grand meurte des noſtres: auſſi aulcuns y en eut de tuez & bleſſez, entre les aultres monſieur de ſainct Gilles, freire Preian eut ung coup deſcouppette au col: & paſſa doultre en oultre, & fut en dangier de ſa perſonne, mais graces a dieu il en guerit. Ce meſme jour auſſi fut tue dung coup deſcouppette des tranchees le Seigneur Tricoplier, frere Jehan Boug, deſſus nomme Capitaine de ſecours de la poſte Dangleterre & Deſpaigne. Ledit jour & a la meſme heure dudit combat, les ennemys miſrent le feu a deux mynes, ceſtaſſavoir a la poſte Deſpaigne lune, & lautre en Auvergne, & rompirent deux toiſes de muraille de la Barbacane. Et monterent a la poſte Deſpaigne & vindrent juſques aux repaires aux mains avec nos gens, & combatirent longuement. Mais la grande & aſſidue artillerie tirant des traverſes dune part & daultre, & lartillerie menue des maiſons qui eſtoient vis a vis de la breſche: les eſcamoucha ſi bien quil en demoura audit combat & a lautre Dangleterre plus de trois mille, & ſur cela ſe retirerent avec leur grant honte & confuſion, & fut la troiſieſme fois quils furent dechaſſez & vaincus, graces a notre Seigneur quil nous donnoit la force & puiſſance de ce faire, car ils eſtoient mille contre ung. A ce combat moururent aucuns Chevaliers. Entre les autres ung nomme Dom Philippe Darreliano Eſpaignol, lequel combabit vaillamment, mes apres dung coup deſcouppette il fut tue, & aultres perſonnes de la ville furent tuez & bleſſez.

Un jour ou deux apres ceſte journee gaignee la trahyſon du medecin Juif (duquel a eſte par cy-devant parle) fut apperceue, car il fut trouve tirant une fleche au camp avec une lettre dequoi il fut accuſe, & mis a la geheine, confeſſa comme il eſtoit eſpye, & quil avoit eſcript cinq lettres. Et par lune avoit parles des mortiers, adviſant les ennemys quils nen tiraſſent plus, diſt auſſi quil avoit eſcript a Peribaſcha que larmee ne ſen allat point: car la ville commencoit a venir a moins de beaucoup de choſe, & que a la fin ils en viendroient a bout, & pluſieurs autres choſes confeſſa dequoy je men deporte pour briefvete. La juſtice le condampna a eſtre mis en quatre quartiers, ledit Juif ſe confeſſa, & comme bon creſtien voulut finir ſes jours.

Item le xxii. dudit mois de Septembre les ennemis meirent le feu a une myne au Bollouard Dangleterre, laquelle ne feiſt point de mal, pour ce quelle print eſpirail par les contremynes quavoit fait le Capitaine Gabriel. Et le jour enſuivant meirent le feu à deux mynes, lune a la poſte Deſpaigne aupres de la batterie, laquelle neuſt point deffait a loccaſion quelle euſt auſſi eſpirail: lautre fut aupres du Bollouard dAuvergne, & venoy ceſte myne reſpondre ſoubs la Barbacanne bien avant, laquelle fut ſi terrible quelle feiſt trembler toute la ville, & feiſt ouvrir du dault en bas la muraille en dedans joignant du terreplain, & par dehors demoura ſayne & entiere, & neut autre mal Dieu mercy, car ladicte myne print eſpirail par les contremynes, & auſſi pource quung roch qui eſtoit ſoubs la Barbacanne ſe fendit, & par louverture du roch ſa fureur paſſa. Et ſi ladicte myne neuſt eu eſpirail la muraille eſtoit en danger daller du hault en bas. Et pour vray ſelon qui nous fut rapporte du camps les ennemys avoient plus grande eſperance eu ladicte myne quen aucune des autres au paravant faictes, car ils eſtoient venus en gros nombre le jour devant aux tranchees prochaines du foſſe: penſant que pour ladicte myne la muraille deuſt aller a bas, & puis quils entroient a leur plaiſir dedans la ville. Et de fait mys que fut le feu a la myne grant partie deulx entrerent dedans le foſſe pour paſſer oultre dedans la ville: leſquels furent bien trouvez de lartillerie tirant par les flancs, mais quant ils veirent que la muraille demoura entiere furent fort esbahys & mal contens. Les Capitaines alors delibererent de donner laſſault en quatre lieux pour nous donner plus daffaire, en eſperance auſſi dentrer dedans la ville par lung des quatre. Par quoy ce jour la & toute la nuyt ils ne ceſſerent de tirer artillerie contre la ville en toutes pars.

Le xxiv. jour dudit mois de Septembre ung peu avant jour les ennemys tirerent une quantite de coups de bombardes a la breſche dEſpaigne: affin que la fumee deſdictes bombardes les gardaſt deſtre veus en paſſant par le foſſe, & ainſi avec merveilleux nombre de gens ils donnerent laſſault audit lieu. Pareillement au Bollouard Dangleterre en feirent autant & a la breſche de Provence & au terteplain Dytalie tout a une meſme heure & temps. Et le premier qui monta a la breſche Deſpaigne ce fut Legat, ceſt a dire le Capitaine des geniſſaires avec ſa bande, & porterent trente ou quarente enſeignes & les planterent a la terre de la breſche, puis combatirent avec nos gens & monterent ſur nos repaires & vindrent juſques aux traverſes: & y eut aultre combat & plus royde que les aultres paſſez, car ſe combat dura environ ſix heures. Et quant & quant ceſt aſſault donne a la breſche ung nombre de Turcqs entra dedans le Bollouard Deſpaigne & meiſrent deſſus cinq ou ſix enſeignes & enchaſſerent nos gens & en furent Seigneurs trois heures ou plus. Toutesfois il y avoit de nos gens a bas a la myne dudit Bollouard, & le voyant a demy perdu, cela nous donna aulcune mauvaiſe eſperance. Incontinent les tres-illuſtre Seigneur Grand-Maiſtre qui eſtoit au combat du Bollouard Dangleterre adverty des affaires qui eſtoient a la poſte Deſpaigne, & quil y avoit gros combat & reſiſtance dune part & dautre, marcha avecques lenſeigne du crucifix, & laiſſa la charge du Bollouard Dangleterre entre les mains du Baillif de la Moree frere Mery Gombault, & monta ledit Seigneur ſur la muraille Deſpaigne. Alors le combat ſe renforca & chaſcun meiſt la main a la paſte tant pour repoulſer les ennemys que pour recouvrer le Bollouard Deſpaigne, & par commandument du treſprudent Seigneur, je allis par le dedans du foſſe avecques une bende de gens pour le recouvrer, leſquels entrerent & moy avecques eulx par la porte de la myne dudit Bollouard & monterent en hault, mais il ny avoit que trois ou quatre Turcqs, car lartillerie des traverſes de la poſte Dauvergne regardant droit audit Bollouard: & daultres lieux auſſi les avoient ſi bien eſcartez que quaſi tous furent tuez. Par ainſi le Bollouard fut regaigne, & avecques toute diligence lon y feiſt nouveaulx repaires. Pareillement furent repoulſez de la breſche Deſpaigne, & toutes leurs enſeignes y demourerent. Et ce peult dire quapres la grace divine les traverſes dune part & daultre & la menue artillerie qui tiroit de deſſus les maiſons vis a vis de la breſche comme a eſte dit, auſſi avenue & preſence dudit tres-illuſtre Seigneur Grand-Maiſtre nous donnerent la bataille gaignee. Au regard du meurtre des ennemis que feiſt lartillerie du Bollouard Dauvergne la quantite des mors dedans les foſſez eſtoit ſi grande que lon nappercevoit ne veoit lon a terre, & la puanteur fut ſi grande & ſi horrible de ſes maſtins mors que lon ne povoit durer dedans la ville de ſept ou huyt jours apres. A la fin ceulx qui ſe peurent ſauver ſe ſauverent & ſe retirerent aux tranchees. Et demoura le Seigneur Grand-Maiſtre victorieux, non ſeullement audit lieu, mais aux autres trois combats leſquels ne furent gueres moindres que celluy Deſpaigne. Il en mourut ce jour la en ces quatre combats douze ou quinze mille, & le meurtre de ces faulx villains fut ſi grant au terreplain Dytalie que de leur ſang la mer en eſtoit rouge. De noſtre coſte moururent deux cens hommes ou environ, & en furent bleſſez cent cinquante-ungs & aultres, de gens dapparence & ayans charge, frere François de Frenay Commandeur de la Romaine, Capitaine de la nef de Rhodes eſtant du ſecours au terreplain Dytalie fut tue de deux coups de hacquebute, qui fut ung gros dommaige de ſa mort, car il eſtoit homme tres vertueux & perſonnage qui valloit aſſez. A ce combat fut auſſi bleſſe dung coup deſcouppette a la poſte de Provence, frere Naſtazi de ſancta Camella, homme de bon ſcavoir, ayant cent cinquante hommes ſoubs lui du ſecours du tres-illuſtre Seigneur Grand-Maiſtre comme a eſte dit, lequel bien toſt apres mourut dudit coup. Pluſieurs autres gens de bien non ayans charge moururent en ces quatre aſſaulx, leſquels je laiſſe de nommer pour briefvete. Au regard des bleſſez il y en euſt largement & de pluſieurs ſortes. Car aulcuns perdirent yeulx, mains, jambes, bras. Entre les autres freres Jehan de Letoux dit autrement Pardinez Commandeur de Challon, patron dune des galleres de la Religion, eſtant pour renfort au Bollouard Dangleterre avec les gens eut le bras droit emporte dung coup dartillerie, lequel premierement que le frapper avoit emporte neuf perſonnes, & fut ledit Chevalier en grant dangier de ſa perſonne, toutesfois a layde de noſtre Seigneur il ſauva ſa vie, & perdit ledit membre ſeullement. Cedit jour ſemblablement perdit ung doy de ſa main dung coup deſcouppette frere Guillaume Ouaſton deſſus nomme Cappitaine de la poſte Dangleterre. Je diray auſſi ſans blaſme ny reprehenſion des lecteurs de ce livre, que je fus bleſſe dung coup deſcouppette en allant au terreplain Deſpaigne, & ne le dis point pour gloire ny pour me venter, mais pource que la fortune voulut que je euſſe quelque coup comme les aultres. Aſſez dautres Commandeurs & Chevaliers furent griefvement navrez, deſquels pour abreger je laiſſe les noms. Du coſte des ennemys des gens de ſorte & ayans charge furent tuez deux des principaulx Cappitaines des Geniſaires ſoubs Lagat qui eſt chief & qui commande les Geniſaires du Turcq. Pareillement fut tue ung Cappitaine des Momellus qui eſtoit venu les jours paſſez de Surye avecques trois ou quatre mille Mores, & ſix cens Momellus. Daultres auſſi ayans plus petite charge furent tuez & bleſſez, leſquels je laiſſe compter a ceulx a qui le cas touche.

Aux deſſuſdits aſſaults non ſeullement les hommes ſelon leur naturel faiſoient les armes, & reſiſtoient aux ennemis, mais auſſi les femmes, leſquelles en bonne quantite en tous les lieux ou il y avoit combat ou aſſault ſe trouvoient par-tout, & portoient pierres, terre & eaue pour nuire aux ennemis, portoient auſſi pain & vin, & aultres vivres pour ſubvenir & raſſazier ceulx qui combattoient dune grande & fervente amour, & avec grand travail de leurs perſonnes. Et y en eut aulcunes qui gettoient des pierres aux ennemis dedans les foſſez : deſdictes femmes en fut tue & bleſſe bon nombre.

Entre les aultres choſes auſſi dignes de memoire : du faict des ennemis notera ung chaſcun, que les ennemis avant les ſuſdits aſſaults : & depuis juſques a la fin ont fait choſe increable, ſinon a ceulx qui lont veu, ceſt que, des le premier jour & heure qui commencerent a tirer artillerie contre la ville, depuis nont ceſſe de tirer, ou bombardes groſſes, ou pieces moyennes : ou mortiers, aultrement dits trebucs, ou eſcouppetterie jour & nuyt, ou de ſaper la terre, de faire mynes, tranchees, de conduire montaignes de terre juſques au bord du foſſe ſans laiſſer jamais heure, ny demie, ny quart, ny intervalle, matin ou ſoir, ou a heure de manger, nonobſtant quon leur ait tire infinis coups dartillerie pour les deſtourber de lœuvre. Et le pluſgrand meurtre de gens qui ait eſte fait, a eſte dedans les tranchees en conduiſant ceſte terre : toutesfois la palle ne fut jamais apperceue avoir ceſſe ny repos, car il y avoit chief qui ne bougeoient daupres de ceulx qui beſognoient continuellement, & avec grans coups deſpees les faiſoient travailler juſques a crever. Et allors que lartillerie leur faiſoit pluſgrand meurtre de gens, a ceſte heure la ils gettoient grans cris de joye, & en ung moment les gens eſtoient changez : ſans quon peuſt appercevoir quils ſe repoſaſſent ou ceſſaſſent de lœuvre. Les deux montaignes quils feirent comme a eſte ja touche, eſtoient plus haultes beaucoup que noſtre muraille, ny que nos deffenſes: en ſorte qui ny avoit homme qui ſe monſtraſt qui ne fuſt incontinent deſpeche de leſcouppetterie. Et a toute heure il failloit trouver remede & faire proviſions & reparations contre leurs inventions & progrets, & neſtoit poſſible de fournir a tout & par tout, tant pour laſſidue batterie, laquelle tuoit & bleſſoit tous nos gens, que pour la neceſſite & penurie que nous avions des choſes neceſſaires, comme de tables & boys pour repaires: leſquels dheure en heure eſtoient rompus & fracaſſez, & de jour en jour venoient a moins, ſans eſperance den povoir recouvrer.

Le grand Turcq durant ce combat eſtoit en ſon pavillon a ung lieu hault quil avoit fait faire, regardant le combat: adverty qui fut que ſes gens avoient eſte ainſi vivement repouſſez: & que la journee eſtoit perdue pour lui, fut fort mal content & demy deſeſpere. Et feiſt appeller Monſtaffa Baſcha Capitaine general, auquel il ſe courrouca amerement. Et lui diſt que ceſtoit luy qui lavoit fait venir a Rhodes, donnant a entendre quil prendroit la ville en quinze jours ou ung mois au plus tard. Et deſia il y avoit trois mois que ſon armee eſtoit la, & navoit encore rien fait.

Apres ces parolles ledit Seigneur delibera faire mourir au camp ledit Monſtaffa. Toutesfoys les aultres Baſchas lui remonſtrerent quil ne debvoit point faire la juſtice de luy en terre de ſes ennemys, car ce ſeroit leur donner allegrie & couraige. Le grand Turcq oyant ces parolles modera ſa collere, & depuys lenvoya au Caire, pource quil vint nouvelles que le Capitaine dudit lieu eſtoit mort. Toutesfoys il ne partit pas ſi ſoubdain. Et avant ſon partement ledit Monſtaffa voulut eſſayer de faire quelque choſe pour contentement du grand Turcq, tant pour honneur, que pour ſaulver ſa perſonne. Et feiſt une merveilleuſe diligence de faire faire des mynes contre le Bollouard Dangleterre pour le mettre a bas, & en concluſion il y avoit tant de mynes & contremynes, que le Bollouard eſtoit tout creux par deſſoubs: toutesfois la pluſpart des mynes ne feirent rien, combien que les ennemis meiſſent le feu pource quelles prenoient eſpirail par nos contremynes: par la bonne diligence & ſolicitude de frere Gabriel du chief, maiſtre dhoſtel du Seigneur Grand-Maiſtre, lequel avoit la charge dudit affaire au Bollouard Dangletterre, auquel il ſe eſt fort bien porte, avec grand travail de ſa perſonne. Et ſi na point eſpargne ſes peines. Auſſi na il fait largent de ſa bource pour mieulx faire beſongner & travailler les gens. Semblablement aux mynes que les ennemys faiſoient au foſſe de la poſte Dauvergne, & contre le Bollouard de ladicte poſte, le Chevalier de la Bargeide la langue Dauvergne avoit la charge ſur les contremynes: la ou il feiſt fort bien ſon debvoir.

Les ennemys voyant que par mynes ils navancoient rien, & ne povoient venir a leur intention, ayans bien peu de munitions furent en deliberation de lever leur camp & ſen aller. Et de fait aulcuns y en eut qui emporterent leur cariage vers les navires. Et auſſi quelque nombre de gens avecques leurs enſeignes ſortirent de leurs tranchees, & allerent droit aux navires. Alors il fut eſcript du camp comme les Geniſſaires ne vouloient plus combattre, & que tous eſtoient deliberez de partir, reſerve aulcuns Capitaines. Ung jour ou deux apres ledit aſſault ung Albanity de nos gens ſenfuit aux ennemys, & leur diſt quils ne ſen allaſſent point, les adviſant que la pluſpart des gens de guerre avoient eſte tuez ou blecez a ce dernier aſſault, & leur diſt que ſils euſſent continue le combat ou que le lendemain ils en euſſent donne ung aultre, quils emportoient la ville. Pareillement les faulx traiſtres qui eſtoient dedans la ville eſcriprent lettre au camp donnant advis aux ennemys de ce qui avoit eſte faict, & ce qui ſe diſoit entre nous & plus que de la verite, les exhortant quils ne ſen debvoient aller. Car en donnant ung ou deux aultres aſſaulx ils prendroient la ville. Et alors ſelon que on trouva depuis le deſſuſdict frere Andre de Merail eſcript une lettre aux Baſchas les exhortant de demourer, & leur diſant que au long aller la ville ſeroit a eulx. Entendus que furent ces advis par les Baſchas & Capitaines du camp & ſur tous les autres celluy dudict Merail, delibererent de non partir, notifians a tous ceulx du camp les nouvelles quils avoient eues de la ville pour leur donner bon couraige & vouloir de demourer. Et commencerent de nouvea a tirer artillerie plus fort que jamais. Car munirions nouvelles leur furent apportees. A doncques Monſtaffa Baſcha deſeſpere quil ne povoit rien faire par mynes ne par batteries, ne encor par aſſaulx luy eſtant preſt de partir pour aller en Surye par commandement du grand Turcq, avant ſon partement voulant encore eſſayer ſon adventure, donna trois aſſaulx au Bollouard Dangleterre trois jours de ranc: & la pluſpart des combatans eſtoient momellus. Le premier aſſault fut ung ſamedy une heure avant quil fut nuyt. Lautre Dimanche au matin. Et le tiers le lundy apres diſner. Et ne fut combatu ces trois jours ſinon avecques pierres & ſachets pleins de artifices de feu. Et en ces trois combats furent blecez beaucoup de nos gens deſdicts artifices de feu, & auſſi des coups de pierres qui eſtoient eſpes comme pluye ou greſle. Mais a la parfin les ennemis ne gaignerent que les coups: & ſen retournerent a leurs tranchees & juroient leur Mahommet, que ledit Monſtaffa na les feroit plus retourner au Bollouard, & que ceſtoit grand follie a eulx de ſoy faire tuer & blecer pour la fantaiſie & oppiniaſtrete dung homme.

Item eſt a noter que le quatrieſme jour Doctobre environ la minuict, les ennemys donnerent feu a une myne au terreplain Dytalie. Laquelle print eſpirail du coſte meſme des ennemys, & ne feit point de mal a la muraille, mais tout le mal tumba ſur eulx, & en tua & bleſca bonne quantite.

Le ſixieſme jour apres du meſme mois la fuſte deſſuſdict frere Jehan de Breſols qui avoit porte les deux Chevaliers pour denoncer aux Princes la venue de larmee devant Rhodes arriva de nuict au port, & dit comme lon preparoit fort les navires pour le ſecours, & que preſtement ils viendroient, qui donna grand allegerie & joye a tous ceulx de la ville. Car le ſecours eſtoit noſtre derniere eſperance, & a loppoſite les ennemis ne craignoient ſinon que nous fuſſions ſecourus. Toutesfoys notre eſperance fut vaine comme lon a veu depuis, & la joye fut bien toſt convertie en douleur. Car peu de jours apres les ennemis prindrent la Barbacane de la muraille Deſpaigne, laquelle lon avoit nectoyee qui fut le commencement de noſtre ruyne, & fut prinſe de la ſorte que ſera dict cy-apres.

Ledit Monſtaffa Baſcha failly quil euſt a ces trois derniers aſſaulx voyant ſon malheureux ſort ſen partit du camp & ſen alla avec quinze ou vingt voilles la volte de Surye. Party que fut Achmet Baſcha fut Capitaine & Chief de larmee. Et ſi aulcuns ſe eſmerveillent, comme le grand Turcq bailla ceſte charge de Surye audit Monſtaffa, veu comme a eſte dit quil eſtoit tant mal content de luy & quil lavoit voulu faire mourir, je ne penſe autre raiſon ſinon pource que ſa femme eſtoit ſeur de pere & de mere du grand Turcq. Et pour cela il luy portoit amour, & ſe fioit en luy plus que aux aultres Baſchas. Et pour doubte que le pays de Surye ne ſe rebellaſ', il le voulut mander la, plus toſt que ung des aultres. Achmet Baſcha pour eſtre homme diligent & entendu au faict de la guerre plus que nuls des aultres Capitaines continua touſiours les batteries contre le Bollouard Deſpaigne avecques groſſes bombardes qui eſtoint de pieca au bort du foſſe, affin que apres avoir leve du tout les deffences du Bollouard ſes gens puiſſent paſſer ſeurement par le foſſe & gaigner le pied de la muraille, car tout ſon penſement & eſperance eſtoit en ce point, voyant que ſans aultre ouverture il ne povoit rien faire. A la fin par laſſidue batterie quil feiſt faire toutes les deffences du Bollouard furent rompues & briſees, & ſeullement demourerent deux ou trois canoniers au bas contre leſquelles leur artillerie ne povoit tirer. Et pource que les ennemis aux aſſaulx paſſez montoient par la terre, & pierres tombees de la breſche Deſpaigne, aulcuns de nos gens furent davis de nettoyer la Barbacane & lever laditte terre & pierres du foſſe, affin quils ne puiſſent plus monter ſus la muraille. Et fut regarde auſſi que ladicte terre pourroit ſervir a faire les repaires dedans la ville. Pour concluſion penſant que cela ne povoit nuyre, mais prouffiter, a toute diligence nuit & jour par mynes ladicte Barbacane fut nettoyee. Et encores partie de la terre qui eſtoit tombee de la breſche dedans le foſſe fut levee, leſquelles choſes furent occaſion de la perte de ladicte Bàrbacane, nonobſtant cela a la fin ainſi quainſi ils prenoient. Car ſelon que jay dit les deffences du Bollouard Deſpaigne eſtoient rompues, & les ennemis ne povoient eſtre battus ſinon dune ou de deux cannonieres du Bollouard Dauvergne. Toutesfoys incontinent quils veirent la Barbacane necte ils voulurent par leurs tranchees entrer dedans. Mais ils furent aulcuns jours par nos eſcouppetteries empêchez, pource que leurs tranchees eſtoient deſcouvertes. Et adoncques ils les couvrirent de tables, & feirent une myne davantage pour aller couvers dedans la Barbacane, & pour ſe garantir & couvrir de la batterie du Bollouard Dauvergne ils haulſerent la terre quils avoient gettee dedans le foſſe tant quils peurent du coſte du Bollouard, & feiſt un mur aſſez eſpes pour renfort de ladicte terre, & pour eſtre aſſurez de tous les coſtez ils envoyerent une flote de gens qui eſtoupperent les cannonnieres de bas dudit Bollouard Deſpaigne qui eſtoient demourees entieres comme jay dit. Et par ainſi facillement & ſans paour de riens ils vindrent audeſſus de leur intention. Et de ceſte maniere furent Seigneurs de la Barbacane: & quant & quant du pied de la muraille, qui fut une journee mal fortunee pour nous & commencement de noſtre perdition. Gaigne quils eurent ce, point ils ne dormirent pas: mais incontinent & en extreme diligence picquerent ladicte muraille, & nous aultres penſaſmes aux remedes. Toutesfoys le meilleur & plus expedient remede ne povoit avoir effect, pource que nous navions comme point de gens de guerre. Et qui les euſt envoyez pour getter les ennemys hors de la Barbacane cela ne povoit eſtre ſans quil en demouraſt grand partie, avec ce le hazard de ne faire rien, mais eſtre repouſſez. Parquoy lon voulut garder ſi peu de bonnes gens quon avoit pour les derniers affaires, ayant eſperance aux ſecours. Car aux aſſaults paſſez on en avoit perdu bonne quantite ou tuez ou bleſſez & des meilleurs. Et fut adviſe ſe on pourroit chaſſer les ennemis dudit lieu avec barils pleins de pouldre & avec engins & artifices de feu, ce qui fut fait, & de fait lon en tua beaucoup & ſe trouverent bien eſtonnez. Toutesfois ce neſtoit rien, car la multitude & quantite de gens de travail & aultres eſtoit ſi grande quil ne challoit aux cappitaines de en prendre cinq cens ny mille. Car continuellement ils les changeoient & renouvelloient. Et pour ſe garder du feu quon leur gettoit de la muraille ils dreſſerent de nuyt ung tablat bien renforce le long de la muraille, & le couvrirent de cuyr de beuf, par ainſi lon ne leur peuſt plus faire de mal deſdictes artifices. Au dernier le cappitaine frere Gabriel adviſa quil ny avoit aultre remede ſinon de tailler la muraille par le dedans pour les veoir au deſcouvert, & puis les batre dartillerie. Adoncques nos gens commencerent a tailler la muraille, & feirent des pertuis pour tirer de leurs eſcouppettes aux ennemys, leſquels auſſi en feirent de leur coſte. Et par leſdits pertuys nous tuerent & bleſſerent beaucoup de nos gens, & nous a eulx. Semblablement ledit frere Gabriel ordonna de faire un repaire par dedans, au fronc de la ou les ennemis tailloient, & les traverſes du ne part & daultre a trois eſtages pour mettre nos eſcouppettes. Et a ces traverſes il y avoit groſſe artillerie & moyenne. Et furent ces traverſes une choſe bien faicte & qui feit grant meurtre des ennemis. Et a lune de ces traverſes eſtoit le deſſuſdict capitaine Venitien avec ſes gens & autres gens de la ville, & ſe porterent tous fort bien aux affaires qui advindrent. Ledit repaire eſtoit de la grandeur que les ennemys tailloient la muraille & davantage. Et commencoit a ung maſſif que avoit fait faire le bon Seigneur & Grand-Maiſtre frere Mery Damboyſe, & alloit finir a une egliſe nommee ſainct Saulveur laquelle les Grecs appelloient Ayos Sotiros. Les Turcqs donnerent nom a ce repaire la mendre: pource quil retiroit ung peu a la mendre de beſtial, & de ce lieu eſtoit cappitaine frere Didier de Tollon deſſus nomme Bailly de Monoaſque. Toutesfois le tres-illuſtre Seigneur Grand-Maiſtre eſtoit la continuellement: & le Grand Prieur de France frere Pierre de Cluys avecques luy, pource quant a ſa poſte il ny avoit nuls affaires. Et le Bailly de Moree frere Mery Gombault deſſus nomme & pluſieurs autres Commandeurs & Chevaliers gens de bien deliberez de vivre & mourir tous a ladicte breſche.

ALORS le treſprudent Seigneur voyant les ennemys tailler la muraille ne feiſt aultre compte, ſinon que en peu de temps ils ſeroient aux mains, & quils viendroient a plein pied combatre avec nous. Et pource manda ſur ung brigantin ledit frere Jehan de Breſols pour faire avancer le ſecours quon attendoit de Naples. Et partit le brigantin le dixieſme Doctobre. Le lendemain unzieſme dudit moys le cappitaine frere Gabriel allant & venant inceſſamment en tous les lieux endommagez pour pourveoir a tout, ſe trouva au Bollouard Deſpaigne pour regarder ſi une traverſe que il avoit fait faire eſtoit bien faicte. Et mettant lœil par un pertuys pour regarder ce que povoient faire les ennemys vint un coup deſcouppette des trenchees qui lui creva lœil & ſaillit la Ballote par derriere loreille & fut en grand dangier de ſa perſonne, mais toutesfois la grace a Dieu il retourna en convaleſcence apres avoir eſte malade ung moys & demy ou environ. Sa maladie vint mal a propos pour les grands affaires ou nous eſtions, & pour la neceſſite quon avoit dung tel perſonnaige comme luy. Toutesfois le Seigneur de ſainct Gille non ignorant du faict de la guerre avec autres gens expers auſſi, deſquels ledit frere Gabriel en avoit amene aucune partie feirent parachever les repaires

& traverſes commencees au droit de la breſche & en tous autres lieux neceſſaires. Nonobſtant dheure en heure la pluſpart eſtoient rompus & caſſez par la grande & aſſidue batterie quils faiſoient, & leſcouppetterie eſtoit celle qui faiſoit plus de mal que le ſurplus. Car il neſtoit jour quils ne tuaſſent ou bleſſaſſent de nos gens de travail quinze ou vingt perſonnes eſclaves ou aultres gens.

Le douzieſme jour dudit mois Doctobres les ennemis vindrent deux ou trois heures devant le jour pour prendre demblee le Bollouard Dangleterre. Toutesfois pour nos gens qui faiſoient bon guet furent incontinent repouſſez & ſen retournerent confus. Ce même jour ils meirent le feu a une mine ſoubs ledit Bollouard, laquelle prenant eſpirail par les contremynes ne feiſt nul mal. Ledit jour le capitaine de la carraque Genevoyſe eſtant a la poſte Deſpaigne eut un coup deſcouppette a la machoere, & la Ballote demoura dedans ſa machoere plus dung moys & demy. Puis apres ſaillet dehors de ſoimeſmes. Le jour enſuivant les ennemys de rechief donnerent le combat au Bollouard Dangleterre, & dura la meſlee deux heures, mais a layde de notre Seigneur, autant gaignerent ils audit combat comme aux autres paſſez. Et y demourerent de leur coſte plus de ſix cens perſonnes ſelon quil nous fut rapporte. Des noſtres auſſi y en eut de tuez & bleſſez.

Le xiiii. dudit moys Doctobre arriva ung petit brigantin qui venoit de Candie, & eſtoit deſſus frere Dondimas de Raqueſins Chevalier Eſpaignol & ung autre Valentien avec lui. Et meſſire Jehan de Geſualdo nep veu du bailly de ſainct Eſtienne (duquel avons ja parle) vint avec les autres, & eſtoit homme de laage de vingt-cinq ans & gaillard de ſa perſonne, lequel bientoſt apres ſa venue requiſt au tres-illuſtre Seigneur Grand-Maiſtre lui faire donner la croix, ce que ledit Seigneur octroya: mais ſon adventure ne le voulut pas. Car ce même jour lalarme ſonna a la poſte Deſpaigne. Et lui dung bon vouloir & ardent couraige: voulant ſe trouver des premiers au combat. Non adverty de la façon de tirer des ennemys de leſcouppetterie ſavanca & ſe mouſtra ſoy confiant a ces armes. Car il eſtoit fort bien arme, & en ung mouvement fut attaint par la teſte & tumba mort, qui fut ung grand dommaige de perdre ce jeune homme de ſi bon vouloir, & ſi-toſt, car ceſtoit la premiere ou ſeconde foys quil avoit porte armes en bataille.

La nuyt enſuivant a la ſeconde garde une barque dung chaſteau dit le Lindo en liſle de Rhodes arriva au port: laquelle apporta vingt hommes dudit lieu & quatre canoniers qui venoient de Candie, & deſcendirent en une place de lautre coſte nommee Monolito, & par terre traverſerent audit Lindo leſquels furent les biens venus. Car lon avoit bien affaire de tels perſonnaiges pour la perte quon avoit fait de pluſieurs aultres aux aſſaults paſſez.

Le xvi dudit moys Doctobre, arriva au port le brigantin du chaſteau ſainct Pierre, & frere Robert de Roque Martine Lieutenant du Capitaine dudit chaſteau eſtoit dedans, & vint pour ſcavoir des nouvelles & en quels termes nous eſtions, le tres-illuſtre Seigneur Grand-Maiſtre voyant la neceſſite quil avoit de gens: en eſpecial de tels perſonnaiges que ledit lieutenant de bonne diſpoſition, & de bon ſcavoir le retint, nonobſtant dix ou douze jours apres, ledit Seigneur le renvoya avec deux brigantins pour apporter des Chevaliers & compaignons de la garniſon dudit chaſteau pour renfort de la ville, & auſſi pour apporter monitions, car il ny en avoit quaſi plus.

Le dix-ſeptieſme dudit mois, ung homme de la fuſte frere Baptiſte du Broc tua dung coup deſcouppette ung Turcq perſonne dapparence, lequel eſtoit dedans la Barbacane Deſpaigne. Et faiſoit beſongner les gens de travail, & mort qui fut lemporterent aux tranchees avec grand rumeur & complainte. Et nous fut rapporte du camp quil eſtoit parent du capitaine Acmet Baſcha, cy-devant nomme. Adonc incontinent une bonne quantite de Turcqs vint dedans le foſſe pour veoir comme lautre avoit eſte tue, cuydans que nos gens euſſent fait quelque ſaillie ſur ceulx qui tailloient la muraille, deſquels en fut tue bonne quantite de noſtre artillerie, & puis ſe retirerent en leur tranchees.

Par le grand nombre des gens de travail que leſdits ennemys avoient dheure en heure rafreſchis, & renouvellez, en peu de temps ils eurent taille la muraille & apponteIlee. Et le vingtieſme jour Doctobre: ils meiſrent le feu aux pontals, cuydant la mettre a bas: toutesfois ils ny feirent rien.

Apres cela, voulurent tirer la dicte muraille a bas par groſſes cordes avec organes. Mais ung coup dartillerie qui fut tire dune tour de la poſte Dauvergne: de laquelle eſtoit capitaine frere Jehan de Fournon. Lequel feiſt fort bien ſon debvoir durant le ſiege, rompit leurs cordes & ne feirent riens. A la fin ils feirent une myne qui alloit ſoubs ladicte muraille rompue. Et le xxiii jour dudit mois donnerent feu a ceſte myne, penſant quelle emmenaſt la muraille a terre, mes ladicte mine ne fit aultre choſe, ſinon que faire aſſoer la muraille en pendant du coſte des ennemys qui fut plus a leur deſavantaige que a noſtre dommaige. Adonc tirerent artillerie contre ladicte muraille, quelle en peu de jours fut abbatue. Et eurent chemin & ouverture dentrer dedans la ville. Neantmoins ils ne eſſayerent de y entrer pour lors. Car lartillerie de nos repaires les battoit par fronc, & auſſi lartillerie aſſiſe aux deux moullins de la porte du Coſquino. Ceſtaſſavoir ung baſilique, un double canon, & une couleuvrine. Leſquelles pieces regardoient droit a la breſche. Les ennemys voyant cela chercherent aultre moyen. Et ſe meiſrent a lever la terre qui eſtoit entre les deux murailles en tirant vers Angleterre dung coſte, & vers Auvergne de lautre, & vouloient tailler la muraille de dedans plus avant que neſtoient les repaires pour avoir aultre entree dedans la ville: & evader nos repaires. Adonc lon feit croiſtre & agrandir noſdicts repaires, avec ce quon tailla la muraille du hault a bas dix ou douze pieds en large, Affin que les ennemis ne puiſſent courir le long de noſtre muraille. Adonc les ennemis feirent des pertuis a la muraille de dedans par ou ils tuerent & bleſſerent beaucoup de nos gens. Et ſe meiſrent a tirerent de groſſe artillerie contre nos repaires, alors frere Bonniface Dallues patron de gallee. Et frere Baptiſte du Broc qui eſtoient aux repaires pour faire beſongner les gens, furent atteincts dung coup de bombarde, ledit Boniface eut la cuiſſe rompue, & lautre la jambe qui fut le vingtieſme Doctobre. La nuit dapres arriva une barque du Lindo laquelle apporta douze compaignons, & amenerent avec eulx deux bons maiſtres de faire mynes qui venoient du camp, & ſeſtoient retirez audit Lindo. Pareillement les ennemis feirent des trenchees pour entrer & venir couvers juſques a nos repaires. Ces choſes faictes de jour en jour, & dheure en heure attendions laſſault audit lieu. Le tres-illuſtre Seigneur Grand-Maiſtre comme a eſte dict, eſtoit derriere les repaires avec ſes Chevaliers & gens de ſecours preſt & appareille de bien recepvoir ſes ennemis. Et demoura ledit Seigneur trente-quatre jours a ladicte breſche comptant depuis le jour quelle fut commencee juſques a la fin & combatant tous les jours avec les ennemis en grand dangier de ſa perſonne. Car bien ſouvent le bon Seigneur ſe mettoit plus avant que beſoing neſtoit pour limportance de ſa perſonne. Mais il le faiſoit pour donner cueur & bon vouloir a tous ſes gens de ſe deffendre. Et mourir pour la foy catholique.

Les ennemis nonobſtant quils euſſent ſi grand advantaige contre nous eſtoient touſiours par le voulloir divin en peur & en doubte, & noſoient donner aſſault, mais continuellement tiroient artillerie contre noſdits repaires, & par trenchees couvertes entroient avant dedans, leſcouppetterie navoit jamais ceſſe ny repos: enſorte quils tuoient tous nos gens, principallement ceulx qui faiſoient les repaires. Et nous miſrent en telle extremite que nous navions plus ny eſclaux ny aultres gens de traveil pour radreſſer ce quil rumpoient jour & nuict, qui a eſte une des principalles occaſions de noſtre perdition. Et ſi nous avions des affaires audit lieu, il nen y avoit pas moyns a la poſte de Provence & au terreplain Dytalie. Car journellement ils donnoient aſſaulx ou eſcarmouches, & principalement audit terreplain. Toutesfoys a layde de noſtre Seigneur, & par la bonne conduicte du capitaine de ſecours dudit lieu, le prieur de Navarre qui eſtoit prompt & diligent & ſcavoit bien donner couraige à ſes gens, les ennemys avoient touſiours du pire. Et furent repouſſez dudit terreplain & de la breſche de Provence.

Sur ces termes la trahiſon de frere Andre Demerail fut apperceue le xxx. jour Doctobre par la confeſſion dung de ſes ſerviteurs nomme Blaſdiez, lequel aulcuns jours paravant lon avoit veu aller ſeul a heure incompetente: & par pluſieurs fois au Bollouard Dauvergne portant ung arc, ou quelquefois arbaleſte, aulcuns de ceulx de la garde voyans tant dallees & devenues eurent ſuſpition ſur luy de quelque mauvais vouloir. Toutesfois a loccaſion de ſon maiſtre quil aimoit bien, pource quil ſcavoit ſon affaire & ſon mauldit vouloir perſonne nen parla pour quelque temps. Touteſfois voyant quil perſeveroit quelquun de ceux dudit Bollouard en vint advertir le tres-illuſtre Seigneur Grand-Maiſtre, lequel incontinent commanda que on le menaſt a la Caſtellanie: la ou il fut examine par les juges, mais de prime face ne voulut rien dire. Alors pour leſdits indices quon avoit de lui & de ſes facons de faire fut mis a la gehenne, allors il confeſſa la trahiſon de ſon maiſtre, diſant quil avoit eſcript & tire pluſieurs lettres au camp des ennemys par ſon commandement, & comme ſon maiſtre avoit grande intelligence avec les Baſchas du Turcq. Et quil leur avoit eſcript une lettre depuis le grand aſſault de Septembre, les enhortant de non partir, mais de donner aultres aſſaults. Car a la fin ils gaigneroient la ville, veu que les gens de guerre & munitions venoient a faillir. Pluſieurs aultres choſes diſt ce ſerviteur de ſon maiſtre deſquelles au commencement du livre avons parle. Leſquelles choſes par luy confeſſees ledit Seigneur Grand-Maiſtre feiſt prendre ledit Demerail & mener a la tour ſainct Nicolas. Et ſelon la bonne couſtume ordonna deux Seigneurs de la grande Croix pour lexaminer avec les juges de la Caſtellanie. Mais ledit traiſtre pour quelque tourment que on luy feiſt ne voulut rien confeſſer. Adonc on luy miſt en barbe ſon ſerviteur, lequel il ne refuſa point & eſcouta bien ſa depoſition, & de ce quil le chargeoit, luy faiſant ſouvenir des choſes quil avoit fait par ſon commandement. Touteſfois il renia tout & diſt ſeullement quil eſtoit ung velliaco. Ceſt a dire villain en Eſpaignol. Pour concluſion ouye la depoſition dudit ſerviteur avec pluſieurs indices maulvais quon avoit eu de luy pour pluſieurs & deſhoneſtes parolles quil avoit dictes aſſez de fois avant & durant le ſiege deſquelles avons parle par cy-devant, entre les aultres celles quil avoit dictes a ung Commandeur Eſpaignol dedans legliſe de ſaint Jehan: le jour de lelection du Grand-Maiſtre qui eſt a preſent, ſelon que au commencement de ce livre a eſte parle. Lequel Commandeur fut examine par la juſtice pour ſcavoir ſil eſtoit vray ou non. Lequel Commandeur reſpondit que ouy. Et apres ſurvint la depoſition du Chappellain Grec, homme de bonne vie. Lequel ung jour entre les aultres ſen alloit a ſa fantaiſie comme font les gents en tels affaires pour veoir ce qui ce fait & qui ſe dit par tout, & entra au Bollouard Dauvergne, & paſſa par la Barbacane, & trouva ledit Merail & ſon ſerviteur tous deux ſeullets, & veit que le ſerviteur avoit ſon arbaleſte bendee & le traict deſſus avec ung petit papier lie au meillieu du traict. Et le maiſtre regardoit par les canonieres de la Barbacane dedans le foſſe, incontinent que le Chappellain fut entre, ledit Merail lapperceut & ſapprocha de ſon ſerviteur & demanda au preſtre quil vouloit. Le bon homme voyant ledit Seigneur eſtre mal content ne reſpondit rien, & ſen alla. Et de ceſt affaire nen parla point pour lors, car ceſtoit quelque temps avant que on apperceuſt ceſte faulſete. Au dernier que la choſe vint a eſtre deſcouverte luy entendant la confeſſion dudit ſerviteur declaira a quelque ung ce quil avoit veu & trouve a la Barbacane. Adonc ledit Chappellain fut appelle par la juſtice & preſente audit ſerviteur, linterrogant ſi ce que ledit Chappellain diſoit eſtoit vray. Et ſil avoit veu & trouve ſon maiſtre & luy dedans la Barbacane a ung tel jour, il reſpondit quil eſtoit ainſi. Et diſt ledit ſerviteur que a ceſte heure il tira une lettre au camp. La juſtice fiſt le proces de lung & de lautre, & furent tous deux condamnez davoir les teſtes trenchees comme trayſtres. Et puis apres eſtre mis en quatre quartiers. Et fut execute le ſerviteur le premier le ſixieſme jour de Novembre, lequel mourut bon chreſtien ce que lon ne penſoit pas, pource quil eſtoit Juif baptiſe. Puis apres on leva la croix audit Merail avec les cerimonies acouſtumees deſtre faictes aux malfaicteurs qui perdent lhabit, & puis apres fut mene par la Juſtice au lieu ou eſtoit ſon eſchauffault pres de la croix de la padelle, & audit lieu fut execute le huitieſme jour dudit mois. Lequel ne demanda pardon a Dieu ny a homme vivant ne ne voulut regarder limage de la glorieuſe Vierge Marie, laquelle on luy preſentoit. Et en ce mauldit & diabolicque vouloir ſans repentance fina ſes jours le malheureux traiſtre, duquel la trahiſon je croy avoir eſte plus grande que celle de Judas: pour les maulx qui en ſont venus & viendront. Car la trahiſon de Judas a la fin redonda a bien & a la ſalvation du genre humain, mais ceſte cy a eſte loccaſion principalle de la perte de Rhodes. Et ſi Dieu ny met remede ſera la perdition de toutes les iſles de levant pource que infinies ames de chreſtiens ſeront prinſes & miſes hors de la foy chreſtienne, & reduictes a la loy du faulx Mahommet.

MAIS pour retourner au terreplain Dytalie apres pluſieurs combats & aſſaulx donnez audit lieu par continue batterie quils feirent de dix-ſept pieces groſſes qui battoient le terreplain, les repaires & traverſes furent toutes rompues & briſees, & par tranchee les ennemis eſtoient venus joingnant de la breſche & inceſſamment grattoient la terre pour faire tumber les repaires & traverſes. Et a la fin la plus grand part vint abas. Et furent nos gents contrainćts dabandonner ledit terreplain reſerve un canton qui eſtoit vers la marine, qui povoit eſtre la tierce part, quelques jours auſſi paravant, les ennemis eſtoient venus par tranchees au pied dudit terreplain environ le millieu, & taillerent la muraille de la ville. Et pour quelque reſiſtence que on leur peuſt faire commencerent incontinent a piquer & tailler comme en Eſpaigne. Quoy voyant le tres-illuſtre Seigneur Grand-Maiſtre feiſt incontinent abattre une partie de legliſe de noſtre Dame de la Victoire & dune aultre egliſe de grecs dićte ſainćt Panthaleon, & par dedens commencerent a faire les repaires & traverſes comme au ſuſdit lieu Deſpaigne, a quoy on faſoit extreme diligence, mais non pas telle que ledit Seigneur euſt voulu & quil eſtoit beſoing, pource quon ne avoit point de gens de travail ainſi que a eſte dit. Et ne trouvoiton plus bois ne tables qui vailliſſent pour ledit affaire.

PAREILLEMENT les ennemis au Bollouard Dangleterre avoient gratte la terre par deſſoubs les repaires pour les faire tumber, & apres gaigner le Bollouard. Et de fait la pluſgrande part des repaires tumba: & gaignerent quaſi la moitie du Bollouard. Et furent aulcuns davis de labandonner, & de mettre ſoubs terre audit Bollouard certains artifices de feu & de pouldre bien cachee & couverte, pour bruſler les ennemis quant ils entreroient dedans, laquelle choſe avoit eſte faićte les jours paravant. Toutesfois a la fin fut regarde encore que leſdits artifices tueroient bonne quantite des ennemis. Mais pour cela ils ne ſeroient point vaincus, & ſeroit ſeullement ung nombre de gents perdus: de quoy les capitaines ne ſe ſoucient guere pour la multitude quils en avoient. Et eſtoit choſe claire que perdant le Bollouard les ennemis facillement & a leur plaiſir venoient non ſeullement au pied du mur, mais juſques a la porte de la ville. Parquoy la concluſion fut que on tiendroit ledit Bollouard juſques au bout. Un peu de jours paravant y avoit eſte mis pour chief & capitaine par le tres-reverend Seigneur Grand-Maiſtre frere Jehan du Bin dit Malicorne, pource que le bailly de la Moree qui lavoit en garde depuis le jour du grand aſſault voulut ſuivre ledit Seigneur & aller a la breſche Deſpaigne, lequel Malicorne la tint juſques a ce que la ville fut rendue.

LE neufieſme jour de Novembre le deſſuſdit Roque Martin Lieutenant du chaſteau ſainćt Pierre retourna avec deux brigantins, & mena avec luy douze Chevaliers & environ cent compaignons de guerre: & apporta des munitions auſſi.

LE quatorzieſme dudit mois, les Turcqs apres ce quils eurent taille la muraille vieille par dehors, & apres avoir leve la terre qui eſtoit au millieu de ladićte muraille neufve & la vieille, ſe meiſrent a tailler ladićte muraille neufve, & a tirer groſſes bombardes pour la rompre a lendroit de nos repaires & traverſes. Et de fait en peu de temps la meiſrent abas. Alors les ennemis, navoient plus rien au devant, & povoient facillement & a leur plaiſir entrer dedans la ville. Toutesfois ils differrent & comme gens de guerre faiſoient leurs choſes avec le poys de la raiſon. Et attitrerent premierement ſix pieces dartillerie pour battre nos repaires par fronc, & les traverſes par coſte qui nous feićt grand dommaige & nous affoiblit fort, car lon ne povoit bonnement redreſſer ny refaire les repaires pour laſſidue batterie quils faiſoient, & auſſi pour leſcoupetterie qui jamais navoit ceſſe ny repos & affolloit tous nos gens. Puis apres feirent des trenchees couvertes de tables enſorte que on ne les povoit veoir a deſcouvert ou bien peu & en ceſte facon vindrent joignant de nos repaires, & grattant la terre par deſſoubs les faiſoient tomber. Et nous en dedans en faiſions dautres en recullant. Et pareillement feiſmes des trenchees par fronc & par les coſtez pour leur aller au devant. Et eſtions en tels termes quil ny avoit que les tables entre nous & eulx, & avoient deſia dreſſe deux ou trois pavillons dedans la ville au pres de nos repaires. Ledit jour quant il fut nuit ung brigantin partit par ordonnance dudit Seigneur pour aller en Candye pour voir ſi lon pourroit avoir quelques gens ſecrettement pour ſecourir la villa: & auſſi pour faire venir une barche & ung gallion chargez de vićtuailles leſquels eſtoient pieca en Candye pour venir en Rhodes. Et fut envoye pour ceſt affaire frere Nicole Farſan Anglois homme de bon eſperit & de bon ſcavoir. Avec luy partit frere Mery Deſreaulx pour aller a Naples faire avancer le ſecours, lequel pour la diverſite du temps, & pour loccaſion de lyver ne povoit venir & attendoit le bon temps. Et de la ledit Deſreaulx ſuivant ſa commiſſion ſen alla en France.

Le quinzieſme dudit mois deux barques vindrent dedans le port & apporterent douze Chevaliers & douze compaignons leſquels eſtoient allez aux fortereſſes de liſle de Rhodes paravant le ſiege pour la garde & tuition dicelles. Sur leſquelles barques furent apportees ung peu de munitions de guerre.

Le ſeizieſme dudit mois partit de Rhodes ung aultre brigantin & ung Chevalier deſſus nomme frere Caumont Provencal pour aller au Lango pour apporter gens & munitions, ce quil feiſt. Et pour abbreger pluſieurs barques & brigantins allerent & vindrent deſdits chaſteaulx ſainct Pierre & le Lango & auſſi de ceulx de Rhodes pour apporter gens & munitions. Et eſtoit force quils feiſſent pluſieurs voyages, pource que tels navires eſtoyent petits & que ceſtoit en yver. Toutefoys ils apporterent tant de toutes les places deſſuſdictes que rien ou bien peu y demoura, car ledit Seigneur vouloit garder la teſte en eſperance apres de ſaulver les membres. Mais tout faillit a la fin au beſoing. Ledit jour ung Biſcayn entra dedens la ville venant du camp des ennemys qui eſtoit homme aſſez entendu, & diſt beaucoup de nouvelles.

Le vingt-deuxieſme dudit moys, les ennemys donnerent un aſſault au terreplain Dytalye. Et dura le combat quelque deux heures, la ou mourut des ennemis quatre ou cinq cens. Et des noſtres pareillement eut de tuez & bleſſez beaucoup.

Le vingt-huitieſme, les ennemys meirent feu a une myne au terreplain Deſpaigne, laquelle abbatit ung peu de la muraille. Et ne feiſt aultre choſe: ledit jour & toute la nuyt les ennemys ne ceſſerent de tirer groſſe artillerie, tant du bord des foſſez de ces groſſes pieces tirant les pierres de neuf a unze palmes de groſſeur, que des mantellets de dehors. Et par compte fait tirerent ledit jour & la nuyt cent cinquante coups ou plus contre leſdits repaires & traverſes de la muraille.

Et venu le vingt-neufieſme jour dudit moys vigille ſaint Andre au point du jour les ennemys marcherent avec leurs enſeignes, avec plus grand nombre quils navoint acouſtume, & par la breſche entrerent dedans nos repaires & furieuſement vindrent pour les gaigner. Mais entrez quils furent lartillerie & eſcoupperie des traverſes, & auſſi celle des moullins du Coſquino les trouva ſi bien & ſi ſoubdain que ceulx qui entrerent furent incontinent depeſchez & mys par terre. Les aultres qui venoint apres voyans leurs compaignons ſi toſt deffaits & tuez comme gens eſtonnez & perdus, ſen tournerent arriere vers les tranchees. Auquel ladicte artillerie des moullins tiroit vigorieuſement, & en tua grande quantite. Daultre part eſt a noter que durant ce combat la pluye fut ſi grande & ſi furieuſe quelle abaiſſa la terre que les ennemys avoient gettee au foſſe pour ſe couvrir de la batterie Dauvergne comme a eſte dit. Adonc lartillerie dudit Bollouard les trouva un peu a deſcouvert, & en tua bonne quantite a ceſte retraicte. Et par raport qui nous fut fait du camp, il y demoura audit aſſault troys mille ou plus. Laquelle journee ſe peut dire tres-heureuſe, & tres-fortunee pour nous, grace a Dieu. Car nully ne penſoit ce jour la eſchapper, mais tous mourir & perdre la vie. Toutesfois le vouloir divin par ſa grace & miſericorde le voulut aultrement, & furent les ennemis dechaſſez & vaincus.

Ledit jour auſſi les ennemys vindrent donner laſſault au terreplain Ditalye. Leſquels furent bien receus, mais quand ils entendirent que a la breſche Deſpaigne leurs compaignons avoient eſte repouſſez ſi vivement, & quils ſeſtoient retirez avec grande perte de gens: voyans auſſi le maulvais temps ſen retournerent a leurs tranchees ſans faire aultre choſe. Ladicte journee gaignee Acmet Baſcha voyant les choſes aller de pis en pis aux combats. Et quil ne faiſoit que perdre gens ſans rien faire, ſaichant auſſi quil ny avoit plus perſonne qui en vouluſt menger, delibera de ne donner plus daſſaulx, mais ſuivre ſes tranchees. Et par icelles venir a couvert ſans perdre un homme depuys ladicte breſche juſques a lautre bout de la ville. Pareillement delibera de gaigner le terreplain daupres Deſpaigne pour venir apres a plaiſir au pied de la muraille Dangleterre, & commenca a battre ledit terreplain, & a donner pluſieurs eſcarmouches & combats a nos gens qui le gardoient, & furent tuez audit lieu des gens de bien, & a la fin pour non avoir plus de deffences ny pouvoir faire repaires ledit terreplain fut par nos gens habandonne en la ſorte que ſera dit cy apres.

Le premier de Decembre au matin les ennemis feirent une eſcarmouche au terreplain Deſpaigne dedans le foſſe la ou ſe trouva le cappitaine Venitien avec aulcuns de ſens gens, lequel tua dune picque quil portoit une geniſſaire, mais bien toſt apres ſa picque fut taillee dung coup de cymeterre. Adonc ledit cappitaine fut bleſſe au genouil dung coup de cymeterre, & a la fin ils ſen retournerent ſans faire aultre choſe.

Durant ce temps, & que nous eſtions en ſi maulvais termes, ung chreſtien qui eſtoit au camp, lequel ſelon ſon parler eſtoit Genevoys ou de Cyou vint a la poſte Dauvergne, & demanda parlement. Il fut interrogue quil vouloit, & diſt quil ſe esbahiſſoit de nous aultres, pourquoy nous ne nous rendions, voyant les piteux termes en quoy eſtoit la ville. Et luy comme chreſtien nous conſeilloit de nous rendre avec quelque party, & que ſe on vouloit entendre quil trouveroit expedient que on feroit quelque choſe. Et eſt de croire quil ne diſoit pas telles parolles ne parloit ſi avant des matieres quil ne euſt commiſſion de quelque ung des principaulx du camp ou du grand Turcq meſme. Les ennemys auſſi paravant avoient gecte dedans la ville pluſieurs lettres enhortant le peuple de rendre la ville, & leur promettoient tous plains de belles choſes, & tant de liberte que merveilles. Et daultre par ils les menaſſoient du mal traictement que on leur feroit ſe ils ne ſe rendoient. Auquel Genevoys fut reſpondu quil ſen allaſt en mal heure, & que dappoinctement il ne failloit point parler, encore que les ennemys euſſent grand avantaige, car il y avoit dedans la ville avec layde de Dieu: de quoy les recevoir & bien feſtoyer ſils donnoient aultres aſſaulx. Ces parolles ouyes il ſen alla, & deux jours apres il retourna, & demanda de povoir parler a ung marchant Genevoys de la ville nomme Mathieu de Via, & diſt quil avoit des lettres pour luy qui diſoient de bonnes nouvelles. Auquel fut reſpondu que celluy quil demandoit eſtoit malade & quil ne povoit venir, mais quil donnaſt les lettres & on les luy balleroit. Ledit Genevoys reſpondit que non, & qui les vouloit bailler luy meſme & parler a luy, diſt en apres ledit Genevoys quil avoit une lettre du grand Turcq pour le Grand-Maiſtre, ſur cela luy fut dit quil ſen allaſt: & pour lavancer daller on luy tira ung coup dartillerie.

Ung jour ou deux apres Lalbanity qui ſen eſtoit fouy au camp par la breſche Deſpaigne vint depart dudit Genevoys propoſant telles ou ſemblables parolles que luy avoit fait, diſant pareillement que le grand Turcq mandoit des lettres au Grand-Maiſtre. Auquel on ne feiſt point de reſponce, pource que le tres-illuſtre Seigneur Grand-Maiſtre, comme ſaige & prudent, conſiderant que ville qui parlemente eſt a demy perdue, avoit fait deffendre ſur peine de la vie que perſonne du monde ne fuſt ſi hardy de parler ne reſpondre a ceulx du camp, ſans ſon ſceu & commandement. Toutesfois il eſtoit adverty des parolles du Genevoys, & pareillement de celles de Lalbanity. Leſquelles parolles divulguees par la ville, meirent en penſement beaucoup de gens & en voulente de faire ce que diſoient les deſſuſdits: dequoy neſt de merveilles ou il y a populaire, car voulentiers & le plus ſouvent ils regardent plus a ſaulver leurs vies & de leurs enfans quils ne regardent a lhonneur & au ſurplus. Toutesfois perſonne noſoit encore parler en publicq de ceſt affaire, mais en ſecret, & vindrent aulcuns de la ville dire leur couraige a leur prelat qui ſappelle Metropoliti: & a daulcuns Seigneurs de la grande croix pour en parler an tres-illuſtre Seigneur Grand-Maiſtre. Leſquels luy en parlerent lenhortant quil ſeroit bon de y penſer veu que la ville ſen alloit perdue. Auſquels ledit Seigneur reſpondit & remonſtra beaucoup de choſes pour ſon honneur & de la religion. Et que telle choſe ne ſe debvoit faire ny penſer pour rien du monde, mais pluſtoſt luy & eulx mourir. Ouye ceſte reſponce ledit Metropoliti & aultres Seigneurs ſen allerent, & ung aultre jour retournerent vers ledit Seigneur ladviſant de rechief quil penſaſt bien a toutes choſes, & a la ſalvation de ſa ville & de ſa Religion, & dirent davantaige quils ſe doubtoient que le peuple vouloit plutoſt appoinctement que de mourir eulx & leurs femmes & enfans, & que le danger eſtoit quils ne feiſſent laccord ſans luy. Le tres-illuſtre Seigneur voyant que telles parolles eſtoient de maulvaiſe digeſtion, comme diſant. Se tu ne le fais nous le ferons. Comme ſaige & prudent, & voulant remedier aux affaires par conſeil, feiſt appeller les Seigneurs de ſon conſeil pour adviſer en ceſt affaire, & aſſemblez que furent les Seigneurs, le treſreverend Seigneur propoſa les parolles quon luy avoit denoncees & diſt la part daulcuns de la ville. Et ſur ces termes que ledit Seigneur eſtoit pour conſulter de ceſt affaire: deux ou trois des principaulx marchans & citadins de la ville, vindrent frapper a la porte du conſeil: & preſenterent une requeſte audit Seigneur & Seigneurs, par laquelle ils requeroient & ſupplioient humblement au treſreverend Seigneur vouloir avoir regard a eulx & a leurs poures meſnaiges, & de vouloir faire aulcun appointement avecques le grand Turcq, veu que les choſes eſtoient deſia en propos & en avant, & quil luy pleuſt conſiderer les piteux termes en quoy eſtoit la ville, & quil ny avoit remede de la ſaulver, & a tout le moins ſi ledit Seigneur ne vouloit faire appoinctement, quil leur donnaſt conge denvoyer hors de Rhodes leurs femmes & enfans pour les ſaulver. Car ils ne vouloient point quils fuſſent tuez ny prins eſclaux de ennemys. Et la concluſion de ladicte requeſte eſtoit que ſi ledict Seigneur ny pourvoyoit que eulx meſmes ſeroient contraincts dy pourveoir. Et eſtoient eſcripts dedans ladicte lettre huyt ou dix des plus apparens de la ville. Leſquelles parolles de ladicte requeſte ouye ledit Seigneur & Seigneurs du conſeil furent eſbahis & mal contens comme la raiſon vouloit veu que ceſtoit jeu force. Et penſerent a beaucoup de choſes pour faire reſponce auſdits citadins pour les contenter, & auſſi pour veoir ſe on debvoit faire appoinctement ſelon que les deſſuſdits requeroient & ſelon que le Genevoys avoit rapporte.

Et pour mieulx faire ladicte reſponce, & pour ſcavoir plus au vray en quels termes eſtoit la ville de toutes choſes. Tant de munitions que de gens de guerre, & touchant les batteries auſſi, monſieur de ſainct Gille lequel avoit la charge des munitions, & le cappitaine frere Gabriel pour eſtre expert de la guerre comme a eſte dit, & comme celluy qui ſcavoit ſi la ville pouvoit tenir ou non, & ſil y avoit expedient pour la ſaulver furent interroguez. Ledit Seigneur de ſainct Gille ſe leva & diſt ſur ſon honneur & ſur ſa conſcience, que les eſclaux & gens de travail eſtoient quaſi tous morts ou bleſſez, & que a grant peine il y avoit gens pour remuer une piece dartillerie dung lieu a aultre, & quil eſtoit impoſſible ſans gens de plus reffaire ny dreſſer les repaires: leſquels tous les jours eſtoient rompus & fracaſſez pour la grande & furieuſe batterie des ennemis. Quant aux munitions ledit Seigneur diſt que tout ce qui eſtoit dedans la ville eſtoit longtemps ja conſumez: & que celle que on avoit apporte de dehors il nen y avoit pas a grant peine pour reſpondre & fournir a un aſſault: & voyant le grand advantaige des ennemis & quils eſtoient ſi avant dedans la ville ſans les povoir chaſſer ny reculler, il eſtoit doppinion que la ville eſtoit perdue, & quil ny avoit moyen de la ſaulver. Les parolles dudit Seigneur finies ledit cappitaine frere Gabriel pour ſa deſcharge diſt & declaira au treſreverend Seigneur & Seigneurs du conſeil, que veu & conſidere les grandes batteries que avoit ſouffert la ville, apres voyant la breſche ſi grande & que deſia les ennemis eſtoient dedans la ville par leurs tranchees plus de cent pieds en long, & en travers LXX. ou plus. Voyant auſſi que en deux aultres lieux ils picquoient la muraille, & que la plus part des gens de guerre comme Chevaliers & aultres eſtoient morts ou bleſſez, & munitions faillies, & gens de travail venus au moins, quil eſtoit impoſſible de y pouvoir plus reſiſter, & que ſans nulle doubte la ville eſtoit prinſe, ſil ne venoit puiſſance pour lever le camp, leſquelles oppinions & raiſons de ces deux gens de bien & expers des affaires de guerre par le treſilluſtre Seigneur & Seigneurs du conſeil entendues, furent davys daccepter & prendre party ſe on le preſentoit pour la ſalvation du peuple & des ſainctes reliques de lEgliſe, comme la Vraye-Croix, la ſaincte Eſpine, la main de ſainct Jehan Baptiſte & partie du Chief, le corps ſaincte Euffemie & pluſieurs aultres ſacrees reliques. Toutesfois ledit Seigneur Grand-Maiſtre a qui laffaire touchoit de pres: ayant plus de regret que nul autre (comme la raiſon le vouloit) pour eſtre chief de la Religion, eſtoit toujours ferme en ſon premier propos de vouloir pluſtoſt mourir que conſentir a telles choſes, & diſt de rechief aux Seigneurs du conſeil quils adviſaſſent & penſaſſent bien a toutes choſes & aux fins dicelles en leur propoſant deux points, ceſtaſſavoir lequel valloit mieulx pour nous, ou de mourir tous, ou de ſaulver le peuple & leſdictes reliques, leſquels deux points & doubtes furent longuement debatus, & le pro & le contra, & y eut diverſes oppinions. Neanmoins a la fin tous conclurent & dirent, non obſtant que ce fuſt bien & ſainctement fait de mourir pour la foy & plus dhonneur quant a nous aultres. Toutesfois veu & conſidere quil ny avoit aulcun remede de plus reſiſter aux ennemis, ny moyen de povoir ſaulver la ville, & que le mal ne povoit tumber ſeullement ſur nous aultres de la Religion, & dautre part que le grand Turcq ne nous preſſoit point de regnier la foy, mais ſeullement demandoit la ville qui valloit mieulx & redondoit a plus grand bien, & ſeroit choſe plus agreable a Dieu de prendre party, pour ſaulver tant de menu peuple comme femmes & petits enfans deſtre mis les uns en pieces, les aultres prins pour les faire regnier la foy avec innumerables & aultres violences & enormes pechez qui ſeroient faits & commis ſi la ville eſtoit miſe a ſac, comme fut fait a Modon & freſchement a Belgrade que de mourir eulx & nous comme gens deſeſperez. Ayant auſſi eſperance de ſaulver les deſſuſdits precieulx joyaulx de lEgliſe, leſquels venans aux mains de ces faulx maſtins ſeroient maculez & perdus. Et oultre cela que la Religion ſeroit touſiours en eſtre pour faire quelque bien, & pour venger loutraige quon luy avoit fait avec le temps.

SUR ces termes & parolles la divine clemence (Que ſalvat ſperantes in ſe) & que ne vouloit que tant de maulx & cruaultez veinſent ſur la poure ville & habitans dicelle, pour garder auſſi que ledit grand Turcq ne montaſt en trop grande ſuperbe & gloire: luy meiſt en voulente de chercher davoir ladicte ville avec party. Ce quil ne debvoit faire pour ſon honneur ny pour raiſon, car la ville eſtoit ſienne ainſi que ainſi, ny debvoit nous laiſſer aller, veu que nous eſtions ſes ennemis mortels de touſiours & ſerions encore pour l'advenir. Conſiderant auſſi le grand nombre de gens quon luy avoit tue en ce ſiege. Toutesfois Dieu a voulu quil nous demandaſt party. Et ne fault point dire ne croire que aultre choſe lait fait, ſinon la divine clemence pour aulcuns fins a nous ignorez. Et pour concluſion ledit grand Turcq feiſt demander parlement le dixieſme de Decembre, & feiſt mettre ſur une egliſe hors la ville nommee les Lymonitres une enſeigne a laquelle on feiſt reſponce dune aultre enſeigne qui fut miſe aux moulins de la porte du Coſquino. Incontinent apres deux Turcqs ſaillirent des tranchees & vindrent droit a ladicte porte pour avoir parlement. Et alors furent envoyez par le treſreverend Seigneur Grand-Maiſtre monſieur de ſainct Gille & le cappitaine frere Gabriel: pour ſcavoir que vouloient ceulx qui eſtoient venus pour parler, & ſortirent dehors leſdits deux Seigneurs, & ſans tenir grand propos les deux Turcqs qui eſtoient venus donnerent une lettre aux deſſuſdits Seigneurs pour lapporter audit Seigneur Grand-Maiſtre de la part du grand Turcq. Puis ſen retournerent ſeurement en leurs tentes. Ladicte lettre receue, fut preſentee au treſreverend Seigneur lequel la feiſt lire aux Seigneurs de ſon conſeil. Par laquelle lettre le grand Turcq lui mandoit que on lui rendiſt la ville. Et en ce faiſant il eſtoit content de le laiſſer aller luy & tous ſes Chevaliers & aultres gens de quelques conditions quils fuſſent avec leurs biens & bagues ſaulvez, ſans avoir paour ny doubte davoir mal ny deſplaiſir de ſon armee. Et ainſi le juroit & promettoit ſur ſa foy, & eſtoit la ſignature en lettre dor. Et dit apres que ſi ledit Seigneur Grand-Maiſtre ne vouloit ce party que nully de quelconque ſorte quil fuſt, penſaſt eſchapper, mais que tous juſques aux chats paſſeroient par le fil de leſpee, & manda que on luy feiſt reſponce incontinent, ou ſi, ou non.

APRES avoir veu le contenu de la lettre de ſi grande importance & le temps ſi brief pour faire reſponce a ſi groſſe & amere demande le tres-illuſtre Seigneur Grand-Maiſtre fut en grand penſement, & auſſi tous les Seigneurs de ſon conſeil. Toutesfois ils delibererent de reſpondre, & voyant les choſes de la ville aller ſi mal que plus ne povoient eſtre, & le raport deſdits deux Seigneurs, & comme chaſcun povoient bien veoir, quil ny avoit dedens la ville mille cinq cens hommes pour faire reſiſtence contre les ennemys, leſquels avecques cela eſtoient rompus & laſſez de la peine enduree par leſpace de ſix mois au chault & au froit & mal nourris, veu auſſi que les principaulx de la ville vouloient appoinctement: & pareillement a lautre conſeil tous les Seigneurs avoient deſia delibere quil valloit mieulx ſaulver la ville pour les raiſons alleguees. Parquoy delibererent & conclurent de prendre ledit party. Toutesfois avant que denvoyer la reſponce au grand Turcq le treſilluſtre Seigneur Grand-Maiſtre enſuivant les bonnes couſtumes de ſa Religion feiſt aſſembler ung aultre conſeil qui ſe dit conſeil accomply, lequel ceſt accouſtume deſtre tenu pour les choſes ardues & matieres de grande importance pour le bien publicque. Et a ce conſeil accomply ſe doibvent trouver oultre les Seigneurs ordinaires de la grande Croix deux Chevaliers de chaſcune des huyt langues & provinces qui ſont ſeize en tout des plus anciens de la Religion & mieulx entendus. Le conſeil aſſemble, la lettre du grand Turcq fut releve, & de rechief furent debatues les choſes dune part & daultre, & ſur ce point ſe on debvoit prendre party pour reſpect du peuple ou mourir. La reſolution & concluſion de tous fut daccepter loffre du grand Turcq, veu & conſidere les raiſons deſſuſdictes & ſur tout veu que le mal ne povoit ſeullement tumber ſur nous aultres de la Religion. Car ſe ainſi euſt eſte jamais lappoinctement neuſt eſte accepte. Ceſte deliberation prinſe la reſponce fut faicte au Turcq preſtement pour le prendre de ſa parolle, affin quil ne ſe peuſt repentir ny changer doppinion, car dheure en heure ſes gens gaignoient ſur nous: & entroient plus avant dedens la ville, & pour aller devers le Turcq furent ordonnez le xi. dudit moys ung Chevalier nommez frere Anthoine de Grollee dit Paſſim qui portoit lenſeigne de la Religion & ung aultre de la ville nomme maiſtre Robert de Peruciis, juge ordinaire pour ſcavoir ſa voulente, & pour entendre la verite des parolles rapportees par le Genevoys audit Seigneur Grand-Maiſtre, & auſſi pour ſcavoir lintention du grand Turcq ſelon le contenu de ſa lettre, leſquels deux perſonnaiges ſaillirent par la porte du Coſquino & ſen allerent a la tente Dacmet Baſcha cappitaine general, auſſi il eſtoit deſia tard & ne pouvoient aller ce jour la vers le grand Turcq. Sortys que furent noſdits Ambaſſadeurs, deux du camp entrerent dedans la ville, perſonnaiges de ſorte pour ottage. Lung eſtoit nepveu dudit Acmet Baſcha, lautre eſtoit truchement du grand Turcq, leſquels le Seigneur Grand-Maiſtre feiſt honneſtement recepvoir, & furent logez pres de ladicte porte du Coſquino. Adonc furent faictes treſves pour trois jours. Et les ennemys ſaillyrent hors de leurs tentes, & ſe pourmenoient la a lentour, & nos gens ſe monſtroient ſur les murailles de la ville. Le lendemain au matin qui fut le xii. ledit Acmet Baſcha mena nos Ambaſſadeurs au pavillon du grand Turcq, lequel eſtoit bien accompaigne, car ledit Paſſim dit par ſa foy que a ſon oppinion, il veit huyt ou dix mille pavillons, & a lenviron dudit Seigneur y avoit grand nombre des gens richement accouſtrez: que eſt une choſe vraye. Car depuis que la ville fut rendue. Moymeſme en veis bonne quantite fort honneſtement veſtus ſelon leur mode. Apres que nos Ambaſſadeurs furent entrez au pavillon, ils feirent deue reverence audit grand Turcq, & luy dirent que le Grand-Maiſtre les avoit envoyez devant ſon imperialle Majeſte pour ſcavoir la raiſon pourquoy il avoit faict demander parlement, combien que la lettre que ledit Seigneur avoit envoyee le diſoit. Le grand Turcq feiſt reſponce quant au regard de luy il navoit point faict demander parlement, ny auſſi faict ecripre lettre, non obſtant il ſcavoit bien le contraire, mais il diſt cela pour ſon honneur, & diſt apres aux Ambaſſadeurs, puis que le Grand-Maiſtre les avoit envoyez vers luy pour ſcavoir ſa voulente. Il leur enchargea de ſa part luy dire quil euſt de rendre la ville. Et en ce faiſant il luy promettoit ſa foy de le laiſſer aller avec tous ſes Chevaliers, & aultres perſonnes qui ſen vouldroient aller, avec leur bien, ſans deſplaiſir aulcun de gens de ſon camp. Et non voulant ledit party, quil luy notifioit quil ne partiroit jamais de devant Rhodes, & que toute la Turquie y mouroit, ou il en viendroit au-deſſus, & quil neſchapperoit ny petit ny grand. Mais juſques aux chats tout ſeroit mys en pieces, & que dedans troys jours on luy feiſt reſponce. Car il ne vouloit point que ſes gens perdiſſent temps, ne auſſi que durant les treſves on feiſt repaires ou deffences dedans la ville.

APRES que le grand Turcq eut dit ces parolles, nos Ambaſſadeurs prindrent conge de luy pour ſen retourner en la ville. Toutesfoys Acmet Baſcha renvoya ſeullement a la ville le deſſuſdit Peruce, & retint ce jour la & la nuyt frere Paſſim, & le mena en ſon pavillon, & le traicta fort bien: en beuvant & mengeant. Ils eurent beaucoup de propos touchant les choſes paſſees en ce ſiege, & entre les aultres choſes Paſſim pria ledit Baſcha de luy dire au vray combien il eſtoit mort de gens du camp depuis que le ſiege eſtoit mys juſques a ceſte heure la. Le Baſcha jura ſa foy, & aſſeura quil en eſtoit mort de mort violente plus de xl. & quatre mille, & xl. ou l. mille de maladie.

MAIS pour revenir a la reſponce du grand Turcq. Quant ledit Peruce fut entre dedans la ville, il alla vers le Grand-Maiſtre, & luy diſt les parolles que luy avoit dit le grand Turcq, & ſes offres deſſuſdictes. Et quil vouloit avoir ſubite reſponce, ou ſi, ou non, laquelle reſponce comme a eſte dit avoit eſte deſia deliberee & concluë par deux ou troys conſeils. Toutesfoys leſdits Ambaſſadeurs navoient pas commiſſion de faire ladicte reſponce la premiere foys quils allerent vers le grand Turcq, ni de prendre & accepter le party quil preſentoit pour pluſieurs bonnes raiſons, Toutesfois on ne voulut plus differer de paour (comme a eſte dit) quil ſe repentiſt: ou ſe deſdiſt de ce quil avoit preſente. Et ſur ces termes que on vouloit renvoyer ledit Peruce pour porter la reſponce, aulcuns du populaire de la ville vindrent vers le Seigneur Grand-Maiſtre qui eſtoit avecques ſes Seigneurs de ſon conſeil, & dirent comme ils eſtoyent advertys de lappoinctement qui avoit eſte faict avec le Turcq. Et comme on luy vouloit rendre la ville avecques quelques pactes, laquelle choſe a leur advis ne ſe debvoit point faire, ny auſſi ne debvoit eſtre conclue, ſans les appeller, & que de leur part ils ny conſentoyent point, & quil valloit mieulx mourir. Car ainſi comme ainſi ledit grand Turcq les feroit tous mourir comme il feiſt ceulx de Belgrado, apres quils ſe furent rendus.

Le tres-illuſtre Seigneur Grand-Maiſtre apres avoir ouyes ces parolles leurs diſt gracieuſement, que touchant davoir accepte loffre du Turcq, quil eſtoit force de le faire aux termes en quoy eſtoit la ville. Et les raiſons pourquoy on lavoit fait, le conſeil les avoit veues & debatues, tant pour leur advantaige, que pour celluy de la Religion, & que leſdictes raiſons ne debvoient point eſtre dictes ne communiquees avecques eulx: affin quelles ne fuſſent rapportees aux ennemis par aulcune maulvaiſe perſonne qui ſeroit dedans la ville. Et davoir faict la reſponce preſtement audict Turcq ſans les appeller ce eſtoit pour le prendre de ſa parolle de paour quil ne ſe repentiſt, car ſe on les euſt appellez avant que de luy faire reſponce, la choſe euſt eſte trop longue, & entretant le grand Turcq euſt peu changer doppinion, toutesfoys ledit Seigneur leur diſt quil remanderoit vers le grand Turcq aultres Ambaſſadeurs, pour ſcavoir mieulx ſa voulente, & pour eſtre plus aſſeure de ſa promeſſe.

Alors le treſreverend Seigneur envoya deux Eſpaignols, lung nomme, frere Raymond Marquet, lautre frere Louppes, leſquels ſaillirent dehors la ville. Et adonc entra frere Paſſim premier Ambaſſadeur, & ſadreſſerent a Acmet Baſcha pour les preſenter au grand Turcq. Entrez que furent ces deux nouveaulx Ambaſſadeurs dedans le pavillon dudit Seigneur dirent que le Grand-Maiſtre avoit ouy ſa demande, & pource que ceſtoit choſe de grande importance, & quil failloit que ceſt affaire il parlaſt a tous ceulx de ſa Religion, qui eſtoient de pluſieurs nations, & auſſi avec ſon peuple, dont les ungs etoient Latins, les aultres Grecs, & que le temps par luy donne eſtoit ſi brief, quil navoit le temps de povoir parler a tant de gens, mais que ſe il vouloit donner le loyſir de parler avecques les ſuſdits, quil luy feroit en brief reſponce.

Ces parolles de nos Ambaſſadeurs ouyes, ledit grand Turcq ne dit aultre choſe, ſinon quil commanda a ſes cappitaines de recommencer les batteries, & fut cecy le quinzieſme ou ſeizieſme dudit moys. Alors les treſves furent rompues, & tirerent nos ennemys plus aſprement que devant. Et de noſtre coſte rien, ou bien peu, pource quil ny avoit point de munitions. Et cela qui y eſtoit, on le gardoit pour les aſſaulx, & pour le beſoing, nonobſtant ces batteries le grand Turcq commanda au Baſcha quil retint des deux Ambaſſadeurs derniers venus, & retindrent frere Marquet, & lautre fut renvoye qui eſtoit ſigne que le grand Turcq perſeveroit de vouloir avoir la ville par compoſition.

Le treſilluſtre Seigneur Grand-Maiſtre voyant la guerre commencer & les batteries plus roydes que paravant: & les ennemys dheure en heure entrer par leurs trenchees avant dedans la ville, fiſt appeller ceulx qui luy avoient dit quils ne vouloient point que la ville fuſt rendue, & qui valloit mieulx mourir. Et leur declaira quil eſtoit content de mourir avec eulx. Et quils ſe deliberaſſent de ſe bien deffendre, & de faire mieulx leur debvoir quils navoient fait le temps paſſe. Et affin que ung chaſcun fuſt adverty de ſon vouloir, car a ceſte heure la ledit Seigneur ne parloit que a troys ou quatre perſonnaiges de ſes contrediſans. Il feiſt faire une criee par toute la ville, que tous ceulx qui eſtoient tenus deſtre aux poſtes quils euſſent dy aller & de non nen bouger ny jour ny nuyt ſur peine de la vie. Et les aultres qui neſtoient des poſtes & qui eſtoient de ſon ſecours euſſent de venir a la breſche Deſpaigne la ou ledit Seigneur eſtoit continuellement. Ladicte cryee faicte chaſcun fut obeyſſant pour ung jour ou deux. Toutesfois ung jeune Rhodiot laiſſa ſa poſte & ſen alla a ſa maiſon, lequel le lendemain fut pendu pour avoir rompu le commandement dudit Seigneur. Nonobſtant cela peu a peu le peuple ſe ennuya & perdit le cueur & laiſſerent & poſte

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& breſche: enſorte que les ennemys povoient entrer ſans trouver reſiſtance, ſinon ledit Seigneur Grand-Maiſtre avecques aucuns Chevaliers & quelques gens de ſon ſecours en petit nombre. Et la nuyt ledit Seigneur faiſoit chercher gens davantaige pour faire le guet a ladicte breſche, & leur faiſoit payer ce quils vouloient.

Le ſeizieſme dudit moys une petite barque Galliegue du port de trois cens bottes ou environ venant de Candie arriva au port & eſtoit chargee de vins pour porter en Flandres. Frere Loys Dandogue Eſpaignol deſſus nomme, pour lors eſtant en Gandie pour paſſer en Rhodes, trouva facon avec le ſuſdit frere Nicolle Farfan, de mettre quelque nombre de ſouldars de guerre ſur ledit navire feignant vouloir aller en Sicille. Et party que fut le navire hors du port ledit Dangogue avecque les ſouldars ſe trouva le plus fort dedans le navire & lemena en Rhodes oultre le gre des marchans, car ils ne cherchoient pas tels paſſetemps que celluy que nous avions. Leſdits vins feirent grant accroiſſement & plaiſir a tous ceulx de la ville, car il y avoit pres de deux moys que la pluſpart ne beuvoient que eaue, mais ils vindrent tart pour donner couraige aux gens de la ville.

Le dix-ſeptieſme dudit moys de Decembre: les Turcs donnerent laſſault a la Barbacane Deſpaigne. Nos gens qui eſtoient au terreplain la aupres, voyant ſi la Barbacane eſtoit perdue, que eulx ſeroient enclos & ne pouroient plus entrer dedans la ville ny avoir ſecours furent davis de laiſſer ledit terreplain Deſpaigne & ſe joindre avec ceulx de la Barbacane, parquoy y allerent & ſe trouverent au combat avec les autres, & feirent en ſorte tous enſemble avec autres gens qui vindrent au ſecours que les ennemys furent repouſſez pour ceſte fois la & mis hors de la Barbacane. Le lendemain ils vindrent avec groſſe puiſſance donner laſſault a ladicte Barbacane, & apres avoir combatu longuement voyant quil ny avoit remede de reſiſter plus aux ennemys ny de les repouſſer, nos gens ſe retirerent au mieulx quils peurent dedans la ville. Et ainſi les ennemys furent Seigneurs de ladicte Barbacane & du pied du mur quant & quant, & commencerent a picquer la muraille de la poſte Dangleterre: & par la terre & pierres tumbees dedans la Barbacane de la batterie pieca faicte contre ladicte muraille (comme a eſte dit) monterent ſur la muraille de la ville & planterent des enſeignes, mais ils ny arreſterent gueres: car lartillerie tirant de pluſieurs pars les feiſt deſloger de la, & ſe retirerent dedans la Barbacane. Et vela le troiſieſme lieu ou les ennemys picquoient la muraille pour faire breſche a leur plaiſir. Et qui vouldroit bien conſiderer les termes en quoy eſtoit la poure ville, & le grant nombre des ennemys par quatre ou cinq fois rafraichis, il pourroit bien dire & juger que la fin ne povoit eſtre que malheureuſe.

Ledit Seigneur Grand-Maiſtre ſoy voyant en ſi piteux termes, & comme a eſte dict ainſi habandonne de la plus part de ſon peuple, de rechief leur feiſt demander pourquoy ils ne faiſoient leur devoir, & pourquoy ils ne venoient mourir comme ils diſoient paravant, leſquels feirent reſponce quils voyoient & cognoiſſoient bien que la ville eſtoit perdue pour non avoir plus de munitions. Laquelle choſe paravant ils ne ſcavoient pas. Et loccaſion pourquoy ils avoient contredit a lordonnance dudit Seigneur, ceſtoit en partie pour non eſtre informez dudit deffault. Et dautre part dirent quils avoient paour que le Turcq ne tint point ſa parolle, mais cognoiſſant quil ny avoit aultre remede ſinon de attendre leur adventure & fortune, comme nous aultres de la Religion lattendions. Ils remirent le tout audit Seigneur, & quil feiſt ce que bon luy ſembleroit & ſelon quil verroit eſtre mieulx pour eulx. Toutesfois ceulx de la ville requirent audit Seigneur leur faire une grace de les laiſſer eſlire ung ou deux de entre eulx pour aller devers le grand Turcq avec ſes Ambaſſadeurs pour avoir quelque ſeurete de luy, ce que leur fut octroye. Et ordonnerent deux Ambaſſadeurs, lung eſtoit Nicolle Vergonty, & lautre Pero ſainct Grittico, Lequel allerent avec le ſuſdit frere Paſſim premier Ambaſſadeur, pour faire la ſuſdicte reſponce au Turcq. Toutesfois avant quils partiſſent ledit Seigneur Grand-Maiſtre prolongeant tant que il povoit adviſa denvoyer une lettre au grand Turcq, laquelle ſon grant pere Bayazet avoit eſcript ou fait eſcripre. Et par ladicte lettre il donnoit ſa malediction a ſes enfans & ſucceſſeurs qui entreprendroient de aſſieger Rhodes. Ledit Robert Peruce porta ceſte lettre. Et ainſi quil avoit accouſtume de faire il ſe addreſſa a Acmet Baſcha pour luy faire avoir audiance & pour preſenter ceſte lettre au Turcq. Le Baſcha veit la lettre, car la couſtume eſt a la court du grand Turq que perſonne ne luy peult parler ne donner lettre quil ne ſoit adverty premierement de ce quon luy veult dire, ou de ce quon luy eſcript. Veue que ledit Baſcha la lettre il la rompit & getta en terre & marcha deſſus diſant tous plains dinjures audit Peruce, & luy diſt quil ſen retournaſt bien toſt vers le Grand-Maiſtre ladviſant quil penſaſt a ſon affaire, & quil feiſt reſponce au grand Seigneur ſelon ce quil luy avoit mande; autrement il ne tarderoit gueres de veoir ſa douloureuſe fin. Cedit jour furent prins deux de nos gens qui portoient la terre a la Barbacane Dangleterre, auſquels ledit Acmet Baſcha feiſt coupper le nez, les doys & les oreilles, & leur donna une lettre pour porter au Grand-Maiſtre dedans laquelle y avoyt groſſes parolles & grandes menaſſes.

Apres que Peruce fut retourne frere Paſſim fut renvoye devers ledit Acmet pour ſcavoir de luy ſi le grand Turcq ſe vouldroit contenter daucune ſomme de deniers pour les frais & deſpences quil avoit fait pout ſon armee. Lequel Baſcha reſpondit que ſemblables parolles & offres dargent neſtoient point pour eſtre dictes ny preſentees au grant Seigneur ſur peine de la vie, car il regardoit plus a lhonneur que a tous les biens du monde. Et pource diſt quil ſen retournaſt, & quil diſt au Grand-Maiſtre de faire reſponce ſe il vouloit rendre la ville ou non. Ledit Paſſim feiſt relation des parolles du Baſcha au Seigneur Grand-Maiſtre. Lequel pour le grant regret quil avoit differoit toujours ſoy voyant eſtre venu a ſi douloureux termes. Nonobſtant il ſe miſt au vouloir divin, conſiderant quil ny avoyt remede quil feiſt autrement ne quil peuſt plus reſiſter a ſes ennemys, & preſſe de tous coſtez de faire appoinctement a grant regret & a douleur ineſtimable, de ſon noble cueur donna ſa parolle de rendre la ville avecques les pacts a luy preſentez qui fut le vingtieſme jour de Decembre. Et ſi par aulcuns eſtoit objice pourquoy ledit Grand-Maiſtre a rendu la ville au grand Turcq, qui la demandoit avecques pacts qui eſtoit ſigne quil eſtoit le plus foible & qui ne vouloit point combattre. A ce je reſpons premierement qui ne povoit proceder que de la miſericorde divine pour preſervation de ce poure peuple chreſtien qui a inſtigue le Turcq de ce faire. Nonobſtant quil fut adverty par aulcuns traiſtres qui eſtoient fuys de la ville au camp, que nos munitions eſtoient quaſi faillies, & quil y avoit peu de gens de guerre dedans la ville. Toutesfois ledit Turcq ne le croyoit du lout, ny donncit foi auſſi a beaucoup de parolles quon luy rapportoit. Mais de faict penſoit que nous euſſions encore munitions pour long temps, & conſidera que ſa perſonne & tout ſon eſtat avoit deſia demeure ſix moys en pays eſtrange & ennemy, & quil failloit quil y demouraſt encore pour attendre que leſdictes munitions fuſſent faillies pour avoir la ville mieulx a ſon advantaige. Laquelle choſe ne povoit eſtre ſans grant dangier de ſa perſonne & de ſon armee, voyant auſſi quil eſtoit en cueur dyver. Penſa dautre part que il avoit perdu grand quantite des meilleurs gens quil euſt en ſon camp, & que prenant la ville daſſault il en perdroit encore beaucoup, nonobſtant que il vainquiſt. Craignant auſſi le hazard de la guerre & quil ne failliſt davoir la victoire. Sachant auſſi que la Religion avoit le chaſteau ſainct Pierre & le chaſteau de Lango & aultres places fortes. Leſquelles feroient reſiſtence avant quil les euſt prinſes & miſes en ſa main & quil y perdroit beaucoup de ſes gens ayant de lautre coſte peur que le ſecours ne vint, & finalement pource que les Baſchas & Cappitaines penſoient mieux faire leurs beſongnes prenant la ville par compoſition que par aſſault comme a eſte la verite, & par cy apres ſera dit comment. Pour ces raiſons & aultres que on pourroit alleguer ledit grand Turcq a mieulx ayme avoir la ville par compoſition: & avec party que par force. Et luy a ſouffit de chaſſer ſes ennemis mortels dentour de luy & mettre ſes pays & ſubgects en repos & ſeurete. Et a nous aultres que ſcavions notre foibleſſe & que ne pouyons plus reſiſter, nous a ſemble eſtre mieulx de ſaluer tant de menu peuple & la Religion, que nous & eulx tumber en la fureur des ennemys: car aultre choſe neuſſions faict, ſinon tempter Dieu & mourir comme deſeſperez.

Mais pour retourner au principal, apres la parolle du treſilluſtre Seigneur Grand-Maiſtre donnee, le deſſuſdit frere Paſſim alla pour la porter au grand Turcq, & allerent avecques luy les deux eſleus du peuple. Et tous trois enſemble ſadreſſerent a Acmect Baſcha. Auquel Paſſim premierement feiſt ceſte piteuſe reſponce & concluſion de rendre la ville. Nonobſtant il diſt que le peuple avoit commis deux perſonnages dentre eulx pour aller devers le grand Seigneur parler de leur affaire particulier pour avoir quelque ſeurete de leurs perſonnes, femmes, & enfans. Affin quil ne leur fuſt fait comme a ceulx de Belgrade. Ledit Acmect mena les trois Ambaſſadeurs devers le grand Turcq. Entrez que furent dedans ſon pavillon, frere Paſſim feiſt le raport de ſon ambaſſade, & diſt au Seigneur que le Grand-Maiſtre luy rendoit la ville, ſoubs la promeſſe de ſon imperialle majeſte avec les pacts par icelle promis. De laquelle promeſſe il ſe tenoit pour ſeur & certain. Et quil nen viendroit a moins: nonobſtant le peuple luy avoit requis de leur donner conge denvoyer vers ſa majeſte pour luy faire aucune requeſte, ce quil leur avoit octroye. Alors les deux citadins ſupplierent au grand Turcq de vouloir pour ſeurete leur faire eſlongner ſon camp de la ville, affin que ils neuſſent aulcuns empeſchemens de leurs perſonnes ou de leurs biens, & que en enſuyvant ſa promeſſe ils ſen peuſſent aller ſeurement. Le grand Turcq feit premierement dire a frere Paſſim premier Ambaſſadeur comme il acceptoit la ville. Et promettoit de rechief audit Seigneur ſur ſa foy & ſur ſon honneur de tenir ce quil luy avoit promits & quil neuſt doubte du contraire, & ſil navoit aſſez de navires pour porter ſes gens & ſon bien quil luy en bailleroit des ſiens. Et lartillerie qui eſtoit acouſtumee deſtre aux navires de la Religion quil la feroit delivrer. Quant au regard de la requeſte du peuple diſt quil feroit eſlongner ſon camp & que ceulx qui vouldroient demourer dentre eulx ſeroient bien traictez & ne payeroient droit neſung de cinq ans, ne ſeroit touche a leurs enfans, & quil vouldroit ſen aller dedans le terme de troys ans quil ſen allaſt a ſon plaiſir, & en la bonne heure.

LES parolles dudit Seigneur finies, nos Ambaſſadeurs prindrent conge de luy. Et ſortis que furent nos gens demeurerent avec ledit Acmet Baſcha pour avoir les lettres du contenu de la promeſſe dudit Seigneur, leſquelles furent deſpechees, tant pour le Seigneur Grand-Maiſtre & ſes Chevaliers, que pour le peuple. Les lettres deſpechees furent delivrees a frere Paſſim, lequel les preſenta au Grand-Maiſtre. Et touchant les gens du camp, ledit Baſcha promiſt de rechief quil le feroit ainſi que ledit Seigneur avoit commande. Et ſe leverent dehors des tranchees: & ſen alla partie des gens du camp ung mille ou environ loing de la ville. Et adonc ledit Baſcha demanda de la part du Turcq: que le Grand-Maiſtre envoyaſt au camp en hoſtage xxv. Chevaliers, dont il y en euſt deux de la Grand-Croix, & xxv. Citadins, & que ledit Seigneur envoyeroit ſeullement ung cappitaine avec troys ou quatre cens Geniſſaires pour garder la ville, puis que ſon camp eſtoit eſlongne, & ainſi fut fait. Et oultre leſdictes promeſſes, le Turcq donna douze jours de terme pour nous preparer & partir de Rhodes, leſquelles choſes accomplies, nos Ambaſſadeurs ſen retournerent, & feirent le raport au treſilluſtre Seigneur Grand-Maiſtre de tout ce quils avoient fait & practicque avec le grand Turcq, & avec ledit Baſcha. Et luy donnerent les lettres de ſaufconduyt pour ſen aller ſeurement. Ledit Seigneur ordonna avec ſon conſeil, les xxv. perſonaiges de la Religion, & les aultres de la ville. Et eulx ordonnez allerent au camp, la ou ils furent fort bien traictez, & gracieuſement de toutes choſes pour quatre ou cinq jours.

SUR ces termes dappoinctement, Farra Baſcha vint de terre ferme au camp avec XIIII. ou XV. mille Geniſſaires, lequel par le commandement du Turcq eſtoit alle les jours paravant aux frontieres du pays du Sofy. Mais le grand Turcq adverty que les gens de ſon camp eſtoient deſcouraigez: & quils ne vouloient plus aller aux aſſaulx, avoit mande audit Baſcha quil ſenvint en Rhodes avec ſes gens, leſquels il deliberoyt faire mettre devant aux coups comme gens frais & non eſpoventez. Si lappoinctement neuſt eſte fait qui fut œuvre divine, & miracle evident quils ne vindrent avant lappoinctement, car ſe ils fuſſent venus paravant, il eſtoit de preſumer que les choſes fuſſent paſſees aultrement, & que dappoinctement ledit Turcq nen euſt point cherche, toutesfoys Dieu la voulu ainſi, & na permis que le grand Turcq deffiſt ceſte Religion. Mais ſil plaiſt a Dieu, la perte de Rhodes ſera la deſtruction du grand Turcq & de ſa mauldicte ſecte, moyennant que les Princes Chreſtiens ſe veullent accorder & faire quelque bon appoinctement, & apres ſe aller trouver juſques en ſon pays.

DEUX ou trois jours apres la venue dudit Baſcha, ſes Geniſſaires & les aultres du camp peu a peu ſe approcherent de la ville, & a la fin entrerent tous dedans le v. jour des XII. jours a nous donnez pour nous en aller, & rompirent le terme que le Turcq nous avoit donne. Si ce fuſt par ſon commandement ou des Baſchas je nen ſcay rien. Toutesfois il eſt bien de preſumer que les cappitaines le vouloient ainſi: neanmoins il ny eut eſpee tiree contre nous, il eſt vrai que aulcuns eurent quelques coups de baſton, & porterent quelque foix par force. Et entrerent leſdits ennemys par force dedans les maiſons du chaſteau & de la ville, & prindrent ce quils peurent ou voulurent, & deſpouillerent beaucoup de nos gens en chemiſe, & leverent les eſpees & aultres armes a ceulx qui en portoient, & en concluſion feirent bien leurs beſognes par tout.

APRES avoir fourrage les maiſons, ils entrerent dedans les Egliſes, & pillerent ce quils trouverent, & ny eut crucifix ny ymage de noſtre Dame, ny daultres ſaints qui demeuraſt entiere. Puis apres avec grande inhumanite allerent dedans lhoſpital des poures malades que on dit lenfermerie, & prindrent toute la vaiſſelle dargent en quoy on les ſervoit. Et les levoient de leur lict, & chaſſoient dehors aulcuns avec coups de baſton. Et gecterent ung de nos Chevaliers des galleries a bas, lequel mourut. Ce cruel acte faict, leſdictes canailles allerent dedans legliſe de ſainct Jehan & deſenterrent les corps daulcuns Grands-Maiſtres qui avoient belles ſepultures, & chercherent ſils avoient treſor avec eulx. Apres en la ville forcerent aulcunes femmes & filles a marier, & prindrent par force tous ceulx qui avoient eſte baptiſez, qui eſtoient Turcqs, premierement, fuſſent garſons, ou hommes: ou femmes: & les enfans diceulx auſſi, & les porterent tous en Turquie, qui a eſte la perte de plus grande importance, & de plus de dommage que pas une des aultres.

UN jour ou deux apres lappoinctement fait Acmet Baſcha vint a la breſche Deſpaigne parla avecques le Grand-Maiſtre, & apres avoir parle a luy de pluſieurs choſes, ledit Baſcha luy diſt que le grand Turcq avoit voulente de le veoir, & de parler a luy. Et pource il len adviſoit & conſeilloit de y aller. Ledit Seigneur le lendemain de Noel alla au pavillon du grand Turcq pour le viſiter, pour eſtre plus aſſeure de ſa promeſſe, auquel ledit Turcq feit bon & gracieulx recueil, & lui feiſt dire par le truchement, que la fortune a luy advenue, & que de perdre villes & ſeigneuries, ceſtoit choſes commune & uſitee. Et que il ne ſen donnaſt trop de melancholie. Et quant a ſa promeſſe quil ne ſe ſouciaſt de riens & quil neuſt paour davoir deſplaiſir en ſa perſonne, mais que ſans nulle doubte il ſen yroit avec ſa compaignie. Sur ces parolles ledit Seigneur le mercya & print conge de luy.

DEUX ou trois jours apres le grand Turcq monta a cheval & vint voir les tranchees & la breſche Deſpaigne, & puis alla veoir la tour ſainct Nicolas. Et en ſen retournant entra dedans la ville, & paſſa par dedans le palais pour veoir le Seigneur Grand-Maiſtre. Et entre que fut en une ſalle ou les Grands-Maiſtres avoient accouſtume de manger, il demanda ou eſtoit le Grand-Maiſtre, & diſt que on le feiſt venir. Et ny avoit avec luy que deux perſonnes ſeullement: ceſtaſſavoir Acmet Baſcha & ung jeune homme quil aymoit: & ne voulut que aultres gens y entraſſent. Et quand ledit Seigneur Grand-Maiſtre fut venu il luy feiſt dire en grec par ledit Baſcha quil neuſt penſement de rien, & quil feiſt ſes affaires a loyſir, & ſil ne ſuffiſoit du terme quil luy avoit donne pour ſe deſpeſcher quil en donneroit davantage tant quil vouldroit. Ledit Grand-Maiſtre le mercya, & diſt ſeulement quil luy pleuſt tenir ſa promeſſe. Le grand Turcq reſpondit quil la tiendroit & quil ny auroit faulte aulcune quil ſen allaſt ſans avoir deſplaiſir de perſonne. Ce propos finy le grand Turcq ſortit du palais & alla en legliſe de ſainct Jehan, puis monta a cheval, & deſcendit du long de la grant rue due chaſteau tirant a la marine: & paſſa par la place. Et ſortant par la porte du Coſquino ſen retourna en ſon pavillon.

VOYANT un chaſcun les forces extortions faictes inceſſamment par les ennemys il ne ſe trouva celluy que ne traveillaſt a ſoy deſpeſcher & faire porter ſi peu quil avoit dedans les navires penſant quil y feuſt plus ſeur. Toutesfois la faulce canaille gens inhumains & pleins davarice venoient de rechief dedans les navires: & prenoient par force tout ce quils povoient attraper. Et neuſt eſte que on allaſt vers le cappitaine Acmet Baſcha linformer des maulx, & force que faiſoient ſes gens. Lequel manda incontinent dedans les navires perſonnages dauctorite pour garder telles violences il ne nous fuſt rien demeure. Ledit Baſcha feiſt auſſi donner a tous les navires victuailles neceſſaires par commandement du grand Turcq. Avec ce conſentit que on emportaſt lartillerie qui eſtoit accouſtume eſtre dedans les navires. Toutesfois pour la briefvete du temps qui nous ſurprint, ceſtaſſavoir pource que le grand Turcq debvoit partir de Rhodes dedans deux jours pour ſen retourner en Conſtantinople pour bon reſpect on laiſſa a charger toute lartillerie qui faiſoit beſoing & print on ſeulement quelques pieces, & ne penſa lon a aultre choſe ſinon a partir de la: avant que le grand Turcq ſen allaſt, pour paour que ſes gens ne nous feiſſent quelques mauvais tours.

Le premier jour du moys de Janvier le treſilluſtre Seigneur Grand-Maiſtre apres diſner monta a cheval & ſen alla devers le grand Turcq pour prendre conge de luy. Lequel lui diſt quil ſen allaſt en bonne heure & bon voyage. Et lui fiſt faire un autre ſaufconduyt pour porter avec luy par mer, pour paſſer plus ſurement, ſi davanture il rencontroit en ſon chemin aulcuns navires des ſiens. Cela fait ledit Seigneur Grand-Maiſtre le mercia & print conge de luy, & ſen vint embarquer en ſes gallees & ſe tyra dehors du port ung peu devant la nuyt. Puys environ neuf heures au ſoir ledit jour il ſe miſt en chemin pour faire ſon voyage. La groſſe nef auſſi incontinent ſerpaſt les ancres & ſe partit du port: & pour ſe avancer laiſſa deux de ſes ancres dedans le port. Les aultres navires auſſi de la compaignie ſortirent apres & tirerent tous le chemin de liſle de Candie. Et le cinquieſme dudit moys ladicte nef arriva en une place de ladite iſle & partie des aultres navires avec elle. Et puis entra le ſeptieſme jour dedans le port de Scitie, les galleres pour avoir eu maulvais vent, tarderent plus que les navires, mais a la fin arriverent en ung port nomme Eſpinne longue en ladicte iſle, depuis ſen allerent a Caſtel principalle ville de Candie la ou eſtoit le general de la Seigneurie de Veniſe nomme meſſire Domingo Triviſan. Lequel General avec le Duc de Candye & le ſurplus des Seigneurs de la viſle allerent a la marine pour recueillir ledit Seigneur Grand-Maiſtre, & le receurent avec gros honneur & courtoyſie, & le conduirent juſques en ſon logis. Ledit Seigneur arrive incontinent feiſt calfatter ſes galeres & aultres navires de ſa compaignie pour parachever ſon voyage. Et entretant que les navires ſe acouſtroient journellement il deſpeſchoit ſes affaires, & adviſa le ſainct Pere & tous les Princes chreſtiens de ſa desfortune & que ſa perſonne eſtoyt audit lieu de Candye remonſtrant en peu de parolles les choſes paſſees entre le Turcq & luy, en deliberation de les informer par Ambaſſadeurs plus au long arrive quil ſeroit en Sicile. Ledit General aulcuns jours apres larrivee dudit Seigneur Grand-Maiſtre a Caſtel, le alla viſiter en ſon logis: & ſemblablement le Seigneur Grand-Maiſtre alla veoir le General en ſa maiſon. Peu de jours apres le General pour quelques nouvelles quil eut de la Seignieurie delibera de partir. Et avant ſon partement diſt a dieu audit Seigneur Grand-Maiſtre, & luy preſenta les gallees qui demouroient en Candye ſoubs la charge du providadeur. Et luy diſt quil les print toutes ou partie pour laccompaigner tant que bon & neceſſaire luy ſembleroit.

Party que fut le General le treſilluſtre Seigneur Grand-Maiſtre ſembarqua dix ou douze jours apres, & alla ſurgir a la Fraſquia a huyt mille de la ville: & attendit audit lieu le bon temps. Et quant il fut venu ledit Seigneur ſe leva avec les gallees, & les nefs quant & quant & commenca a faire ſon voyage pour aller en Sicile. Les nefs prindrent la haulte mer, & les gallees allerent terre a terre: & par chemin aulcuns navires par maulvais temps ſe departirent de ladicte groſſe nef, & apres ces fortunes & maulvais temps quils eurent a la fin arriverent les ungs apres les aultres en Sicile en la ville de Meſſine, les gallees a loccaſion du maulvais temps quelles eurent de mourerent a venir apres les navires environ ung moys. A la fin les galleres arriverent audit lieu de Meſſine le dernier jour Davril.

Les treſilluſtre Seigneur Grand-Maiſtre vexe de melancholie & travaille de ſon long voyage, veſtu ſa perſonne de noir, & quaſi toute ſa compaignie entra dedans le port, & vint au pont pour deſcendre a terre. Adonc le Seigneur Hector Pignatello conte de Montelion Viceroy a lors de Sicile vint a cheval juſques audit pont avec lArcheveſque de la ville, & tous les Barons & aultres Seigneurs dudit lieu, leſquels receurent ledit Seigneur fort honnorablement & courtoyſement & le conduyrent tous juſques en ſon logis. Et ne fut pas ſans pleurs & compaſſion que eurent tous ceulx de la ville voyant le bon Seigneur ainſi deſole & avoir perdu ſon eſtat & ſeigneurie. Ledit Seigneur, apres avoir eſte aucuns jours a Meſſine eut pluſieurs briefs de noſtre ſainct Pere le Pape Adrian fort gracieux, par leſquels il le confortoit & offroit & ſe offroit de le favorir & ayder envers les Princes chreſtiens, pour luy faire avoir quelque lieu pour faire ſervice a Dieu & a la chreſtiente, comme il avoit fait le temps paſſe. Et luy manda ledit ſainct Pere quil auroit plaiſir de le veoir. Lequel comme vray fils dobedience, ſe departit de Sicile, & ſembarqua ſur la groſſe nef & partit le XXII. jour de Juing pour ſen venir a Civette viellye attendre la ce que ledit ſainct Pere & les Princes chreſtiens commanderoient de ſa religion. Party que fut ledit Seigneur de Meſſine, qui pour lors eſtoit infecte de peſte, & par le chemin moururent deux ou trois perſonnes dedans ladicte nef, qui donna grande paour & doubte a toute la compaignie. Neantmoins graces a noſtre Seigneur, & par evident miracle la choſe ne ſe eſchauffa point ny alla plus avant. Auſſi lon feiſt force de prendre port pour eviter plus grant inconvenient, & noſtre Seigneur nous donna ung petit vent a plaiſir, lequel nous porta & meiſt en ung port a huyt mille pres de Naples nomme Baye. Et incontinent apres avoir eu la licence de deſcendre en terre par Meſſeigneurs de la Sanite de Naples. Ledit Seigneur deſcendit en terre & tous ſes gens pour eſſorer ladicte nef. Et pareillement les aultres navires. Et furent ordonnees gardes par ceulx de ladicte ſanite, pour garder que nos gens pour quelque temps ne ſe meſlaſſent avec ceulx dudit lieu, ou de Naples. Et auſſi deputerent ung lieu pour le logement dudit Seigneur & de ſa compaignie, & paſſaſmes ainſi quinze ou vingt jours ſans que ledit mal augmentaſt ou renouvellaſt graces a Dieu. Ceulx de Naples voyant que le mal ne procedoit plus avant, vindrent pratiquer avec nous & nous avec eulx. Le Seigneur Viceroy de Naples manda au Seigneur Grand-Maiſtre comme il auroit plaiſir de le veoir, ladviſant comme il avoit commandement, & expreſſe commiſſion de lEmpereur, de luy faire tout lhonneur & courtoiſie quil luy ſeroit poſſible de faire. Et pource il deliberoit de le viſiter ung jour. Le Grand-Maiſtre le mercya, & luy manda dire quil eſtoit trop loing, & quil prendroit trop de peine, mais quil yroit faire ſa devotion a noſtre Dame pie de grotte qui eſt lieu pres de la ville de Naples, & que la ils ſe pourroient veoir & parler enſemble. Laquelle choſe fut faicte, & demourerent enſemble ung jour audit lieu. Et au ſoir apres ſoupper le Seigneur Grand-Maiſtre ſe miſt ſur ſes gallees, & ſen retourna a Baye. Et dudit lieu, apres y avoyr demeure vingt-quatre ou vingt-ſix jours, il partit avec ſes galleres: & les naufs apres pour venir a Civette viellye terre dEgliſe. Les deux galleres de noſtre ſainct Pere vindrent trouver les noſtres a monte Cercello, & accompaignerent le Grand-Maiſtre juſques dedans le port de Civette viellye par commandement du ſainct Pere. Le cappitaine deſdictes gallees voulut que ledit Seigneur Grand-Maiſtre entraſt le premier dedans le port avec ſa gallee. Ce quil ne voulut faire en facon du monde, mais ſuyvit la gallee du cappitaine, laquelle portoit lenſeigne de noſtre ſainct Pere.

LE Seigneur Grand-Maiſtre apres quil fut arrive au port. Apres diſner deſcendit en terre, & ceulx de la ville le vindrent recueillir, & entra dedans la ville, & ſen alla en ſon logis. Et incontinent deſpeſcha ung Chevalier nomme Chevrieres, & lenvoya devers noſtredit ſainct Pere pour le advertir de ſa venue.

TROYS ou quatre jours apres ladvertiſſement. Noſtre ſainct Pere envoya de Rome leveſque de Conque, de la nation Eſpaignolle, homme de facon, & gravite pour viſiter ledit Seigneur, & pour ſcavoir comme il ſe portoit: & ſa compaignie auſſi. Et lui offrit la ville, & quil y commandaſt comme en ſa propre terre. Et quant il ſeroit un peu repoſe quil le manderoit venir a Rome: diſant quil avoit bonne voulente de le veoir & de parler a luy. Sur ces termes noſtre ſainct Pere le Pape tumba malade le VI. jour Daouſt. Et a loccaſion de ſadicte maladie la venue a Rome dudit Seigneur Grand-Maiſtre fut retardee. Toutesfois environ la fin Daouſt noſtre ſainct Pere ſe trouva mieulx, & luy manda quil ſen vint. Et le premier jour de Septembre ledit Grand-Maiſtre entra dedans Rome. Et vint au devant de luy la garde du ſainct Pere, & tous ceulx de ſa maiſon. Le gouverneur de la ville avec tous les prelats eſtans pour lors a Rome allerent au devant dudit Seigneur hors de la ville. Pareillement tous les Cardinaulx envoyerent leurs mulles avec leurs chapeaulx comme ils ont de couſtume au devant de luy. Et apres que ledit Seigneur fut entre dedans la ville, le Duc de Seſſes Ambaſſadeur de lEmpereur le vint rencontrer a camp deflour, & le conduyſt juſques au palais, la ou ledit ſainct Pere avoit ordonne que il fut loge pour luy faire plus dhonneur & pour parler plus ſouvent a luy.

Troys ou quatre jours apres que ledit Seigneur Grand-Maiſtre fut dedans Rome noſtredit ſainct Pere non delivre totalement de ſon mal, mais ſe trouvant ung peu allege lenvoya querir: & luy quatrieſme entra dedans ſa chambre: & avec grand reverence & humilite baiſa le pied de noſtredit ſainct Pere. Lequel feit fort bon & gracieux racueil audit Seigneur Grand-Maiſtre, & lui diſt de bonnes & aymables parolles: promettant de faire pour luy & ſa religion ce quil ſeroit poſſible. Apres ces parolles dictes, ledit Seigneur Grand-Maiſtre remerciant noſtre ſainct Pere ſe retira en ſa chambre, & depuis ceſte heure la ne parla a luy, car ledit Seigneur ſe empira en ſortetelle, que a ſept ou huyt jours apres il mourut.

Le treſilluſtre Seigneur Grand-Maiſtre non oiſif ny endormy aux affaires de ſa Religion deſpeſcha les Ambaſſadeurs quil avoit paravant ordonnez pour aller devers Lempereur, ceſtaſſavoir le prieur de Caſtille Don Diego de Tolede de la maiſon Dalbe, & frere Gabriel Martinengo baillif de ſainct Eſtienne avec luy, leſquels ſe embarquerent a Civette viellye pour leur voyage en Eſpaigne. Les jours par avant auſſi ledit Seigneur Grand-Maiſtre avoit deſpeſche les Ambaſſadeurs pour le Roy de France. Ceſtaſſavoir le Prieur de ſainct Gilles, frere Preian de Bidoux & le deſſuſdit frere Paſſim avecques luy. Et pour le Roy Dangleterre le Seigneur Tricoplier, frere Guillaume Onaſton, & avecques luy ung Chevalier Angloys. Apres que furent faicts les obſeques de noſtredit ſainct Pere treſpaſſe. Les Seigneurs Cardinaulx entrerent en conclave le premier jour Doctobre. Et fut chief & cappitaine pour garder la porte du conclave, ledit Seigneur Grand-Maiſtre & pluſieurs Prelats & Eveſques qui furent ordonnez avecques luy pour aſſiſter a la garde porte dudit conclave comme eſt de bonne couſtume. Les Seigneurs Cardinaulx demourerent en conclave XLVIII. jours avant que lelection fuſt faicte. Et le cinquantieſme jour apres, qui eſtoit le dix-neufieſme jour de Novembre fut pronunce Pape reverendiſſime Monſieur, monſieur le Cardinal Julius de Medicis couſin germain du Pape Leon dixieſme. Et fut porte ledit jour en pontificat dedans legliſe ſainct Pierre ſelon la cerimonie accouſtumee. Et le vingt-ſixieſme jour du moys fut couronne au lieu uſite avec grand allegrie & joye dung chaſcun, eſperant que par ſa prudence & vertu & bonne voulente mettra tranquillite, paix & amour entre les Princes chreſtiens, & generalement a toute la chreſtiente, de quoy avons bien beſoing: voyant les ennemys de jour en jour proſperer & gaigner ſur les Chreſtiens. Le treſilluſtre Seigneur Grand-Maiſtre accompaigna noſtredit ſaint Pere en legliſe ſainct Pierre & auſſi au couronnement, puys alla baiſer le pied de ſa Sainctete, en luy recommandant ſa poure & deſolee Religion. Ledit ſainct Pere luy fiſt fort gracieuſe & aymable reſponce diſant, que en tout ce qui ſeroit en ſa puiſſance, il ayderoit, favoriſeroit & maintiendroit ladicte Religion. Et les privileges dicelles, conſidere & ſe ſouvenant bien que dicelle il avoit porte lenſeigne in minoribus. Et pour concluſion diſt quil ne permettroit point que de ſon regne ladicte Religion vint a moins ou perdition. Ledit Grand-Maiſtre en toute reverence & humilite remercia ſa Saintete. Puys luy requiſt que ſon plaiſir fuſt de luy donner audience publicque: pour narrer ſommairement a ſa Sainctete & a tous ſes reverens Meſſeigneurs du ſainct College les choſes paſſees au ſiege de Rhodes. Et en quelle maniere il a rendu ſa ville de Rhodes au Turcq pour ſa deſcharge. Non obſtant que ſa Sainctete & pluſieurs aultres Seigneurs en eſtoyent bien informez. Laquelle requeſte le ſainct Pere luy octroya, & paſſerent aulcuns jours: puys apres le dix-huytieſme jour de Decembre laudience luy fut donnee en conſiſtoire. Et ſe preſenta ledit Grand-Maiſtre en toute reverence, ceſt a dire a genoulx luy & tous ceulx de ſa compaignie, tant Prieurs, Baillifs, que Commandeurs, & Chevaliers. Et adonc pour & au nom dudit Seigneur & ſa religion frere Thomas Guichard Rhodiot Viſchancelier dudit Ordre portant la croix, homme treſeloquent & des plus ſcavans en lart de Oratoire qui ſe treuve aujourdhuy ſelon ſon aage de vingt-cinq a vingt-ſix ans, feiſt une oraiſon elegante & aornee audit conſiſtoire. Laquelle contenta tant la ſainctete de noſtre ſainct Pere & tous les Seigneurs du college que merveille. Ladicte oraiſon finie, le Grand-Maiſtre & tous nous aultres de ſa compaignie baiſaſmes le pied de noſtredit ſainct Pere.

Ladicte oraiſon eſt Imprimee en ceſte ville de Paris.

AULCUNS jours apres, ledit Seigneur Grand-Maiſtre voyant avoir deſpeſche laffaire principal pourquoy il eſtoit venu par devers le feu pape Adrian, lequel il miſt en execution avec ceſtuy cy pour laccident intervenu, penſa de ſe retirer & ſa compaignie en quelque lieu de lEgliſe pour non deſplaire aux Princes eſtans en grands diſſentions & inimitiez. Et trouva par ſon conſeil que la ville de Viterbe eſtoit la plus commode & propice ſelon le temps pour y faire ſa demeure, en attendant que les choſes ſe changeaſſent, & que les Princes veinſent en quelque bon appoinctement, pour obtenir apres ung lieu duyſant & convenable pour exercer les armes contre les ennemys de la foy chreſtienne ſelon que ſes predeceſſeurs & luy ont touſiours faict, inferant que ſi Rhodes eſtoit perdue que la Religion, c'eſtaſſavoir ſa perſonne & Chevaliers neſtoient point perdus, ny le bon vouloir venu a moins, mais plus grand que jamais de faire choſe a la louenge de Dieu, & augmentation & honneur de la Chreſtiente. Cependant ledit treſilluſtre Seigneur Grand-Maiſtre requiſt a noſtre ſainct Pere luy vouloir preſter ladicte ville de Viterbe pour y faire luy & ſon convent reſidence. Ce que la ſainctete du ſainct Pere luy octroya. Et luy donna juriſdition & auctorite de faire & commander audit lieu comme feroit ſa perſonne propre. Ledit Seigneur Grand-Maiſtre en toute reverence & humilite remercia noſtredit ſainct Pere le Pape, luy recommandant ſa poure religion, le ſuppliant la vouloir maintenir & garder. Et ſur ces parolles print congie de ſa Sainctete. Et partant de Rome le vingt-cinquieſme jour de Janvier ſe retira a Viterbe avecques toute ſa compaignie. Et fut receu des Seigneurs gentils hommes & Citadins dudit lieu avecques grand honneur & courtoyſie & avecques grande allegrye du peuple en general & particulier.

Finis coronat opus.

CY fyne Lhiſtoire & Priſe de la noble & ancienne Ville & Cite de Rhodes. Faicte & compoſee par noble & excellent Chevalier frere Jacques Baſtard de Bourbon. Et par ycelluy nagueres Corrigee, Recogneue, & Augmentee tout ſelon le vray. Imprimee par le commandement dudit Seigneur. Lan Mil cinq cens vingt & ſept, le premier jour Doctobre.

CATALOGUE DES FRERES CHEVALIERS ET SERVANS D'ARMES,

Qui en 1522 ſe trouverent aux Revues qui furent faites par le Grand Commandeur & les Chevaliers d'ell' Aguila, Veſton, Balin, d'Aubin, Ricard, Chalant, Marquet & Iſcelin, Commiſſaires à ce députés, pour ſe préparer à la défenſe de Rhodes, ſous le Grand-Maître de Villiers-Liſle-Adam.

De la Langue de Provence.

FRERE Boniface d'Aluies.
Fr. Bernard de Bedons.
Fr. Philippe Broch.
Fr. Guiot de la Valette dit Pariſot.
Fr. Jean Magnan.
Fr. Antoine de Villeneuſve dit Spinoſa.
Fr. Boniface Flotte.
Fr. Bernard Caſtagnet.
Fr. Gilles de la Roque.
Fr. Philippe Vento.
Fr. Pierre de Monlaur.
Fr. Jean de la Valette dit Pariſot, qui fut depuis Grand-Maître.
Fr. Gerault de Golart.
Fr. Antoine de Caſtellane.
Fr. Eſtienne de Lioncel.
Fr. Bernard Sehaès.
Fr. Eſtienne de Villeneuſve.
Fr. Poncet de Spondigliac.
Fr. Pierre de Villeneuſve.
Fr. Jacques de Felix.
Fr. Henry Manſlea.
Fr. Louis Piram.
Fr. Jean Berton.
Fr. Ives de Piram.
Fr. Gaſpard de la Palue.

Fr. Jean Bretin.
Fr. Gotier de Bordilles dit Mentances.
Fr. Antoine de Pelegua.
Fr. Antoine Jamey.
Fr. Pierre de Baulac dit Trébon.
Fr. Georges de Buſquet dit Brelac.
Fr. Pierre Janis.
Fr. Pierre d'Eſparbes-Luſſan.
Fr. Jean de Saint-Martin.
Fr. Bertrand de Roſet.
Fr. Guyot de Salles.
Fr. Pierre de Gozon-Melac.
Fr. Jean de Buzet.
Fr. Jean de Toges-Noillan.
Fr. Ange Baudement.
Fr. Matthieu de Vintimille.
Fr. Gaſpard de Caſtelane.
Fr. Louis de Vezch.
Fr. Paſchal Broch dit Girault.
Fr. Nicolas de Paci.
Fr. Pierre Dupuis.
Fr. Poncet de Balaguier.
Fr. Dominique d'el Pozzo, ou Dupuy.
Fr. Jean de Panas.
Fr. Baltaſar Guiette.
Fr. Antoine de Menas.

De la Langue d'Auvergne.

Fr. Antoine de Grolée dit Paſſim.
Fr. Philippe de Vilanes.
Fr. Charles Brui de Parente.
Fr. Pierre Dumont.
Fr. Philippe de Ciande.
Fr. Jacques de Boſſeregl.
Fr. Antoine le Groyn dit Ville-Bouche.
Fr. Jean Tomaſſin.
Fr. Jean de Grolée.
Fr. Claude Chalant.
Fr. Louis Barel.
Fr. Jean Loup.
Fr. François de la Choglia.

Fr. Antoine de la Ligue.
Fr. François Depuy dit Vatan.
Fr. François de Ciovens dit Bloch.
Fr. Jacques de la Barge.
Fr. Briantgrive.
Fr. Gabriel de Leſtau.
Fr. Claude de la Motte.
Fr. Theaude d'Aultung.
Fr. Jean Belum.
Fr. Georges de Vanzeles.
Fr. Jean Peret, dit Vienne.
Fr. Jean la Foreſts.
Fr. Guillaume de Ciabanolles.

De la Langue de France.

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Fr. Philippe Petit.
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Outre tous ces Chevaliers qui paſſerent en reveue, il y en avoit encore treize deſtinez pour la defenſe de la Tour de Sainct Nicolas Scavoir.

Le Commandant, Frere Louis du Erlianot.
Fr. Joachim Cortez.
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Fr. Eſtienne de Vonſeles.

FINIS.

PROOFS
OF THE
HISTORY
OF THE
Knights Hoſpitallers
OF
S. JOHN of JERUSALEM.

BOOK IX.

PROOF *p.* 86.

FRATER PHILIPPUS DE VILLIERS L'ISLE-ADAM, Sacræ Domûs Hoſpitalis Sancti Joannis Hieroſolimitani Magnus Magiſter humilis, pauperumque Jeſu-Chriſti Cuſtos, & nos Conventus Domûs ejuſdem, venerandis Religioſis, in Chriſto nobis præcariſſimis, Fratri Hugoni de Copons noſtri Conventûs Draperio, noſtrarumque triremium Capitaneo, & Joanni Boniface bajulivatus noſtri Manuaſcæ bajulivo, ac noſtri Ordinis receptori generali; Salutem in Domino, & diligentiam in commiſſis. Cum Cæſarea & Catholica Majeſtas ſuâ munificentiâ nobis Religionique noſtræ conceſſerit privilegium, cujus tenor ſequitur: talis eſt, NOS CAROLUS QUINTUS, divinâ favente clementiâ Romanorum Imperator ſemper Auguſtus, Joanna ejus Mater, & idem Carolus Dei gratiâ Reges Caſtellæ, Aragonum, utriuſque Siciliæ, Hieruſalem, Legionis, Navarræ, Granatæ, Toleti, Valentiæ, Galitiæ, Majoricarum, Hiſpalis, Sardiniæ, Cordubiæ, Corſicæ, Murſicæ, Giennis, Algargii, Algerini, Gibraltarris, Inſularum Canariæ, nec non Inſularum Indiarum & terræ firmæ, maris Oceani, Archiduces Auſtriæ, Duces Burgundiæ, & Bravantis, &c. Comites Barchionæ, Flandriæ, & Tiroli, &c. Domini Viſcaiæ, & Molinæ, &c. Duces Athenarum, & Neopatriæ, comites Roſſillionis & Ceritaniæ, Marchionis Oriſtaniæ & Gociani; Cùm pro reſtaurandis, & ſtabiliendis Conventu, Ordine, & Religione Hoſpitalis S. Joannis Hieroſolymitani, & ut admodum Reverendi Venerabiles, & religioſi nobis plurimum dilecti M. Magiſter, Priores, Bajulivi, Præceptores & milites dicti Ordinis, qui, amiſſâ Rhodo Inſulâ à Turcis longiſſimâ & acerrimâ obſidione violenter occupatâ, pluribus jam annis vagantes, firmam tandem ſedem obtinere, & ea, quæ ad ipſam Religionem pertinent, in Chriſtianæ Reipublicæ beneficium retorquere valeant, eorumque vires, & arma contra perfidos Chriſtianæ Religionis hoſtes viriliter exercere; devotione moti, ac pro eo animi affectu, quo eidem Religioni devincimur, præfatis Magno Magiſtro, & Ordini ſedem quietam, ne ulterius per orbem vagari cogantur, ultro concedere decrevimus, tenore præſentis chartæ noſtræ cunctis futuris temporibus firmiter valituræ, de certa ſcientia, Regiaque autoritate noſtra, & conſulto, ac motu proprio per Nos, & noſtros hæredes, & Regnis ſucceſſores quoſcumque prædicto admodum Rev. Magno Magiſtro, Religioni & Ordini Sancti Joannis Hieroſolymitani in feudum perpetuum, nobile, liberum & francum, civitates, caſtra, loca, & Inſulas noſtras Tripolis, Melibeti, & Gaudiſii cum omnibus ipſarum civitatum, caſtrorum, locorum, & Inſularum territoriis, juridictionibus mero & mixto imperio, jure, & proprietate utilis dominii, ac gladii poteſtate hominibus, & fœminis in eis, & earum terminis habitantibus, & habitaturis cujuſcumque legis, ſtatus & conditionis exiſtant, omnibuſque aliis juribus, & pertinentiis, exemptionibus, privilegiis, proventibus, aliiſque immunitatibus concedimus, & liberaliter elargimur; ita ut hujuſmodi feudum deinceps teneant, & cognoſcant à nobis tanquam Regibus Siciliæ ulterioris, & à ſucceſſoribus noſtris in eodem Regno pro tempore regnantibus, ſub cenſu dumtaxat unius Accipitris, ſeu Falconis quolibet anno in die feſti omnium Sanctorum præſentandi per perſonam, ſeu perſonas ad id ſufficienti mandato ſuffultas in manibus Vice Regis, ſeu Præſidentis, qui tunc temporis ipſius Regni adminiſtrationem, & regimen obtinebit in ſignum veræ recognitionis dicti feudi; & eo cenſu mediante immunes, ac exempti remaneant à quocumque alio meliori ſervitio de jure debito, & per vaſſallos præſtari ſolito. Cujus tamen feudi inveſtitura in omnem caſum novæ ſucceſſionis renovari, & expediri debeat juxtà juris communis diſpoſitionem, teneaturque ipſe Magnus Magiſter qui pro tempore fuerit, pro ſe, & univerſo Ordine prædicto in hujuſmodi recognitione, & inveſtitura juramentum præſtare, quod ex dictis civitatibus caſtris, locis, & inſulis non patientur, nec permittent fieri damnum, aut præjudicium, vel offenſam, nobis, Statuique, Regnis, Dominiis, & ſubditis noſtris, noſtrorumque, ac in dicto Regno ſucceſſorum per mare, ſeu per terram, nec auxilium, ſeu favorem præſtabunt, cuicumque his damnum inferenti, ſeu inferre volenti, ſed potius omni conatu idipſum avertere curabunt. Et ſi quiſpiam ex ſubditis Regni Siciliæ prædicti reus criminis capitalis, ſeu de delictis hujuſmodi inculpatus ſe abſentaverit, & in hujuſmodi inſulas, & loca infeudata confugerit, dum pro parte Viceregis, ſeu Præſidentis, vel Magiſtri juſticiarii dicti Regni pro tempore exiſtentis requiſiti fuerint, teneantur taliter confugientem, ſeu profugos expellere, ac inde penitus profligare, exceptis tamen illis, qui aut ſacræ Majeſtatis, aut hæreſis rei decernentur, quos non ejicere, ſed ad omnem ipſius Viceregis, aut Locum tenentis requiſitionem capere, & captivos eidem Viceregi, ſeu Præſidenti remittere teneantur. Præterea, quod jus patronatus epiſcopatus Melibetani remaneat, prout eſt, diſpoſitioni, & præſentationi noſtræ, ac ſucceſſorum noſtrorum Regni prædicti Siciliæ; ita tamen quod poſt obitum Reverend. & dilecti Conſiliarii noſtri Balthaſſaris de Vualtkirk imperialis Vicecancellarii ad ipſam Eccleſiam noviſſimè per nos præſentati, ſeu in quemcumque caſum alium vacationis deinceps ſecuturum, dictus Magnus Magiſter, & conventus dicti Ordinis habeant nominare Viceregi Siciliæ tres perſonas ejuſdem Ordinis, quarum una ſaltem ſit, & eſſe debeat ex ſubditis noſtris, noſtrorum ut in dicto Regno ſucceſſorum idoneas, & ſufficientes ad ipſam Paſtoralem Dignitatem exercendam; ex quibus tribus ſic nominandis Nos, noſtrique ſucceſſores in regno prædicto, præſentemus, & præſentent, ac præſentare debeamus, & debeant ad dictum epiſcopatum, eum quem idoneum, ſeu idoniorem judicaverimus, aut judicaverint. Cui quidem præſentato ſic ad dictum epiſcopatum promoto teneatur Magiſter prædictus magnam Crucem concedere, eumque ad concilium dicti Ordinis cum Prioribus, & Bajulivis admittere. Item cum Admiratus dictæ Religionis ex Lingua, & Natione Italica eſſe debeat, congruumque cenſeatur, ut is, qui ejus vices geret, dum abſentia, ſeu impedimenti locus occurrerit, ſi æquè idoneus reperiatur ejuſdem Linguæ, & Nationis exiſtat, habeatur deinceps ratio, ut data paritate idoneitatis is potius ad id munus eligi debeat, qui ejuſdem Nationis & Linguæ idoneus judicabitur, aut aliàs talis ſit qui officium ſuum exerceat, nullique ſuſpectus cenſeatur. Et quod de omnibus contentis in his tribus articulis præcedentibus fiant ſtatuta, & ſtabilimenta perpetua in dicto Ordine juxtà ſtylum, & morem ſolitum cum debita ſanctiſſimi Domini noſtri, ac Sedis Apoſtolicæ approbatione, & auctoritate; & quod dictus Magnus Magiſter Ordinis præfati, qui nunc eſt, & pro tempore fuerit, teneatur hujuſmodi ſtatutorum, ſeu ſtabilimentorum obſervantiam ſolemniter jurare, & eam perpetuò, & inviolabilitèr obſervare. Ulterius ſi contigerit ipſam Religionem recuperare Inſulam Rhodum, & ea ratione, aut alia ex cauſa ipſam Religionem ab hujuſmodi Inſulis, & locis infeudatis diſcedere, & alibi manſionem, & ſedem eorum ſtabilire, non liceat ipſis hujuſmodi infeudata in aliam quamvis perſonam quovis titulo ſine expreſſo mandato ipſius dicti Dominii & feudalis transferre, ſeu alienare; ſed potius ſi ſine licentia & conſenſu alienare præſumpſerit, ad nos, noſtroſque ſucceſſores pleno jure revertantur. Item quod tormenta, & machinæ, quæ in ipſis caſtro, & civitate Tripolis nunc exiſtunt, ſub debita inventarii deſcriptione ibidem jure commodati per triennium retineri poſſint ad ipſius civitatis, & arcis cuſtodiam, obligatione tamen valide accedente de hujuſmodi tormentis & machinis reſtituendis ipſo triennio lapſo, niſi id tempus ex noſtra gratia, imminente forſan neceſſitate, prorogandum videretur, quo tutius ipſius civitatis, & arcis defenſioni provideri poſſit. Et demùm verò quod munera, & gratiæ temporales, ſive perpetuæ particularibus perſonis in hujuſmodi locis infeudatis factæ, quæ ratione meritorum, aut alterius obligationis fuerint conceſſæ, cujuſcumque qualitatis exiſtant, quæ juſtè non auferri poſſent ſine debita recompenſa, tamdiu firmæ maneant, quoad dicto Magno Magiſtro, Conventuique viſum fuerit pro eis æquas, pareſve poſſeſſoribus recompenſas dare, ut in hujuſmodi recompenſæ æſtimatione omnis controverſia, quæ ſuboriri poſſet, ac litigandi faſtidium, & impenſa auferatur, ubi Magno Magiſtro, Conventuique prædictis commodum viſum fuerit cuipiam recompenſam dare, eligantur duo judices, unus noſtro nominè à Vicerege dicti Regni Siciliæ ulterioris tunc exiſtente, alter ab ipſo Magno Magiſtro, Conventuique, qui ſummatim, & præcisè perlectis conceſſionum privilegiis utriuſque partis rationibus, ſine alia forma judicii, vel proceſſus definiant, quid inter utramque partem jure fieri conveniat: ac ſi recompenſa danda eſt, ſtatuant qualis eſſe jure debeat. Quòd ſi fortè duo judices diverſæ, repugnantiſque inter ſe ſententiæ eſſent, ex utriuſque partis conſenſu aſſumatur tertius judex, ac dum judicatur, inquiritur, & recompenſa ſtatuitur, poſſeſſores prædicti in gratiarum poſſeſſione maneant, privilegiiſque tamdiu fruantur, quoad ſatis ipſis factum æque fuerit. Sub quibus quidem conditionibus ſupra contentis, & deſcriptis, & non aliter, nec aliàs, præmiſſa omnia, & ſingula præfatis Magno Magiſtro, & Conventui in pheudum prædictum, ut præmittitur, concedentes, ſicut melius, plenius, & utilius dici poteſt, & ſcribi ad illorum commodum & ſalvamentum, bonumque ſanum & favorabilem intellectum, eadem in dicti Magni Magiſtri, Conventus, & Religionis jus, dominium utile & poſſe mittimus atque transferimus. Irrevocabiliter pleno jure ad habendum, tenendum, dominandum, omnimodam juriſdictionem exercendum, perpetuoque, ac pacificè poſſidendum, & ex cauſa hujuſmodi conceſſionis, & aliàs pro ut melius, plenius, & firmius de jure valere poterit & tenere, damus, cedimus, & donamus dicto Magno Magiſtro, Conventui, & Religioni omnia jura, omneſque actiones reales & perſonales, alias quaſcumque, quæ nobis competunt, & competere poſſunt, & debent in prædictis, quæ illis in pheudum ſub dictis conditionibus concedimus, ut eſt dictum, & in aliis ratione, & occaſione eorumdem, quibus juribus & actionibus perpetuò uti poſſint, & experiri agendo, ſcilicet defendendo, & alia omnia, & ſingula faciendo, & libere exercendo in judicio, & extra quæcumque, & quemadmodum nos facere poſſemus, nunc & etiam poſtea quandocumque; & ponentes dictum Magnum Magiſtrum, Conventum & Religionem *in prædictis omnibus, & ſingulis in locum, & vices noſtras conſtituimus eos veros Dominos, utiles, & potentes actores, & procuratores in rem ſuam propriam* nullo jure, nullaque actione utili in prædictis, quæ illis concedimus, præter ſuperius reſervata, nobis aut curiæ noſtræ modo aliquo retentis, ſeu reſervatis. Mandantes ſerie cum præſenti eadem auctoritate noſtra univerſis, & ſingulis hominibus maſculis, & fœminis, cujuſcumque legis, aut conditionis fuerint in dictis inſulis, civitatibus, terris, locis & caſtris, eorumque territoriis habitantibus, & habitaturis quodam modo, dictum Magnum Magiſtrum, Conventumque, & Religionem Sancti Joannis Hieroſolimitani pro eorum Domino, utili, & pheudali, ac vero poſſeſſore omnium prædictorum habeant, & reputent, ſuiſque mandatis pareant, & obediant, pro ut boni, & fideles vaſſalli eorum Dominis obedire tenentur. Nec non eidem Magno Magiſtro, & Conventui faciant, & præſtent homagium, & fidelitatem, etiam juramentum in ſimilibus præſtari ſolitum; nos etiam nunc pro tunc poſtquam illi juramenta, & homagia ipſa præſtiterint, abſolvimus, & liberamus eos ab omni juramento, & homagio, quod nobis, noſtriſve prædeceſſoribus aut aliis perſonis nomine noſtro fecerint, & præſtiterint, obligatique fuerint. Illuſtriſſimo propterea Philippo Aſturiarum, Gerundæ, &c. filio primogenito, & nepoti noſtro chariſſimo, ac poſt felices, & longævos dies noſtros, in omnibus Regnis, & Dominiis noſtris, Deo propitio, immediato hæredi, legitimoque ſucceſſori intentum aperientes noſtrum ſub paternæ benedictionis obtentu dicimus, illuſtriſſimis quibuſque Magiſtris dilectis conſiliariis, & fidelibus noſtris, Proregi, & Capitaneo Generali noſtro in dicto ulteriori Siciliæ Regno, Magiſtro juſticiario, ejuſque in officio locum tenenti, Judicibus noſtræ magnæ Curiæ, Magiſtris rationabilibus, Magiſtro portulano, Magiſtro ſecreto, Theſaurario, & Conſervatori noſtri regii patrimonii, fiſcique noſtri patrono, Capitaneis arcium, præfectis & cuſtodibus, portulanis, portulanotis, ſecretis, cæteriſque demùm univerſis, & ſingulis officialibus, & ſubditis noſtris in dicto Regno ulterioris Siciliæ, & præſertim dictarum Inſularum, ac civitatis & caſtri Tripolis, tam præſentibus, quàm futuris eadem auctoritate præcipimus, & jubemus ad incurſum noſtræ indignationis & iræ, pœnaſque untiarum decem millium à bonis ſecus agentis exigendarum, & noſtris inferendarum ærariis, quatenus noſtram hujuſmodi conceſſionem & gratiam, omniaque, & ſingula præcontenta teneant, firmitent, & obſervent, tenerique, & obſervari faciant inviolabiliter per quoſcumque; nec non in poſſeſſionem realem, & corporalem, ſeu quaſi vacuam, & expeditam prædictorum omnium quæ eidem Magno Magiſtro, & Conventui, ut prædicitur, concedimus, illum aut procuratorem ſuum illicò immitti, & imponi faciat dictus Prorex noſter per ſe, aut Commiſſarium, ſeu Commiſſarios, quos ad id noſtro nomine duxerit eligendos; cui, ſeu quibus nos omnimodam ſerie cum præſenti quoad hæc & quoad ſtipulationem, & exactionem, eorumque pro parte dicti Magni Magiſtri, & Conventûs ſupra complenda, & agenda ſunt, conferimus poteſtatem, *viceſque noſtras plenariè committimus*, & poſtquam poſſeſſio ipſa tradita fuerit, in ea dictum Magnum Magiſtrum, & Conventum manu teneant, & defendant viriliter contra cunctos; neque fructibus, introitibus, proventibus, gabellis, & aliis redditibus, & juribus quibuſcumque prædictorum, quæ ſupra in pheudum concedimus reſponderi faciant per quoſcumque. Nos enim ad effectum præſentium, ſi & quatenus opus ſit, ſupplemus omnes defectus, nullitatem, aut vitium, ſolemnitatumque omiſſiones, ſi qui, vel quæ poſſent forſan præmiſſis apponi, aut ſuboriri, vel quomodolibet allegari; ſuper quibus ex noſtræ regiæ poteſtatis plenitudine diſpenſamus. In cujus rei teſtimonium præſens fieri juſſimus noſtro communi negotiorum Siciliæ ulterioris ſigillo impendenti munitum. Datum in Caſtello franco, die XXIII. menſis Martii tertiæ indictionis, anno à Nativitate Domini M.D.XXX. Regnorumque noſtrorum, videlicet Imperii anno decimo, Caſtellæ, Legionis, Granatæ, &c. vigeſimo ſeptimo, Navarræ decimo ſexto, Aragonum, utriuſque Siciliæ, Hieruſalem, & aliorum decimo quinto, Regnorum verò omnium decimo quinto. Nos ut privilegium prædictum, & omnia in eo contenta illibata permaneant, & perpetuò obſerventur, fecimus tria ſtabilimenta ſuper contentis in dicto privilegio, pro ut litteris ſuper inde ſub Bulla noſtra communi plumbea die XXV. Aprilis proximè præteriti emanatis latius conſtat, & apparet; quæ quidem ſtabilimenta pro eorum perpetuo & firmiori robore per Sedem Apoſtolicam approbata, & confirmata fuerunt, quemadmodum Litteris Apoſtolicis legitimè more ſolito ſuper id expeditis ſub data Romæ VII. Kal. Maii 1530. ab incarnatione, Pontificatûs ſanctiſſimi Domini noſtri Clementis anno ſexto, etiam latiſſimè apparet. Hinc eſt quod nos Magiſter, Bajulivi, Priores, Præceptores, & Fratres Conſilium completum in vim Capituli Generalis legitimè celebrantes, cupientes juxtà mentem præfatæ Cæſ. majeſtatis, & tenorem privilegii poſſeſſionem dictorum locorum in eodem privilegio contentorum, ac exequutorias ad id requiſitas, & opportunas, conſequi, & habere confidentes de fidei probitate, exactiſſima ſedulitate, cura, & ſufficientia noſtra, invicem maturo, & deliberato conſilio de noſtra certa ſcientia, omni meliori via, modo, jure, & forma, quibus melius, & validius facere poſſumus, & debemus; vos venerandos confratres noſtros Hugonem de Copons, & Joannem Boniface præſentes, & onus hujuſmodi ſuſcipientes facimus, creamus, conſtituimus, & ſolemniter ordinamus noſtros, noſtræque Religionis, & totius Conventus procuratores, actores, factores, & negotiorum noſtrorum geſtores, & nuntios generales, & ſpeciales, ita quod generalitas ſpecialitati non deroget, nec è contra videlicet ſpecialiter, & expreſſè, ad, noſtro, noſtræque Religionis, & Conventus nomine pro nobis, & ſucceſſoribus noſtris promittendum, & efficaciter obligandum cum juramento ſolemni, & requiſito juxtà continentiam dicti privilegii ad obſervandum, tenendum, & perpetuò cuſtodiendum omnia, & ſingula in dicto præinſerto privilegio contenta; & præſertim ad præſtandum ſacramentum in manibus illuſtriſſimi Domini Dom. Hectoris Pignatelli Ducis Montis Leonis, ac Regni Siciliæ digniſſimi Proregis, & armorum Capitanei Generalis in hac parte repreſentantis perſonam ſuæ præfatæ Cæſar. & Cath. Majeſtatis Regis Siciliæ, & Inſularum adjacentium; nec non ad faciendum ſtipulationem, & obligationem de reſtituendo omnia tormenta, quæ mediante inventario habebimus, & nobis conſignata fuerint in Arce, ſeu Fortalitio prædicto Tripolis in termino in dicto privilegio contento, & juxtà formam ejuſdem. Item ad petendum, & obtinendum dictas executorias, ac Commiſſarios deputandos, & deſtinandos ad realem, corporalem, civilem & naturalem, pacificam, & quietam poſſeſſionem dictorum locorum nobis tradendam & concedendam, & per nos conſequendam, & adipiſcendam juxtà formam, & tenorem dicti privilegii imperialis nobis, & Religioni noſtræ in perpetuum conceſſi. Dantes & concedentes vobis procuratoribus noſtris in præmiſſis, & circà præmiſſa pleniſſimam, & liberam poteſtatem, totaliterque vices noſtras, quarum vigore ea facere, & adimplere valeatis, quæ noſmet facere, & adimplere poſſemus ſi præſentes adeſſemus; etiamſi talia eſſent, quæ magis ſpeciale mandatum requirerent, quàm præſentibus ſit expreſſum. Promittentes, & convenientes bona fide habere ratum, gratum, & firmum omni futuro tempore quicquid per vos noſtros procuratores in præmiſſis omnibus, & eorum ſingulis actum, factum, promiſſum, obligatum, juratum, geſtumve fuerit. Sub hypotheca, & obligatione bonorum noſtrorum, noſtræque Religionis præſentium, & futurorum, ubique exiſtentium mandantes in virtute ſanctæ obedientiæ univerſis, & ſingulis dictæ domûs noſtræ, fratribus quacunque auctoritate, dignitate, officioque fungentibus præſentibus & futuris, ne contra præſentes noſtras procuratorii, & mandati litteras aliquatenus facere, vel venire præſumant, ſed ea inviolabiliter ſtudeant obſervare. In cujus rei teſtimonium Bulla noſtra communis plombea præſentibus eſt appenſa. Datum Siracuſis &c. die XXIV. menſis Maii M. D. XXX.

PROOFS OF THE HISTORY OF THE Knights Hoſpitallers OF S. JOHN of JERUSALEM.

BOOK XI.

PROOF *p.* 94, *&c.*

De Bello Melitenſi, ad Carolum Cæſarem, Nicolai Villagagnonis Commentarius.

BElli à Turcharum principe Melitenſibus Equitibus illati, quis fuerit exitus, ex multorum litteris, Carole Cæſar, cognoviſti. Sed ad quem redeat arcium deditarum infamia, qui ſcripſêre, tacuerunt: & nacti temporis occaſionem, ubi viderent tibi & Julio Pontifici cum Rege bellum eſſe, culpam amiſſæ Tripolis, Legato oratori regio & Francis Equitibus aſſignârunt: detectus tamen paulò pòſt dolus huc rem adduxit, ut falſi damnatis ſcriptoribus, Franci omnium ſententiis in Equitum concione ſint abſoluti. Sed quum mendacium in vulgus editum, per totam Europam prius increbuiſſet, & hominum animos perſuaſiſſet, quàm abſolutionis teſtimonium emitteretur; effici adhuc non potuit, ut ab errore averterentur, qui ſemel ad prægreſſam famam, de Francis improbam opinionem imbiberant. Id autem quàm ſit iniquum, & ab ipſa re alienum, hîc te docebit Commentarius.

Claſſem apud Turchas parari, & in Melitenſes deſignari, quum penè omnium ſermonibus jactaretur, Joannes Omedes Hiſpanus, Melitenſis militiæ princeps, per homines idoneos hoſtium iter explorandum eſſe putavit: Ut ubi comperiſſet, quam in partem claſſis contenderet, conſilium ſibi caperet. Exploratores, dimiſſis ad eum nuntiis, Melitam peti, remque nullam amplius habere dubitationem, confirmabant. Quibus nuntiis Equites excitati, ab Omede poſtulant, ut ſibi rebuſque ſuis maturè proſpiciat: Ne appulſu claſſis, inopinantes & imparati opprimantur. Omedes reſpondet, nulli hæc majori eſſe curæ, quàm ſibi:

Neque ſe virum exiſtimari debere tam nullius uſûs, ut quando res exigeret, eſſet defuturus. Nullam noctis partem intercedere, quum reliqui ſe quieti darent, quin ſubductis rationibus, anxiè ſecum reputaret, quemadmodum rei frumentariæ, cæteriſque neceſſariis, bene cautum & proviſum eſſet: Sed hanc ſubeſſe difficultatem, quòd quum propter annonæ anguſtiam, à Prorege Siciliæ, commeatu perexiguè levaretur, ex ulterioribus regionibus frumentum à ſe petitum, ærarium exhauſerat, ut nummorum inopia graviter laboraret: cui malo ut mederetur, in ſe poſitum non eſſe. Alioqui de ſalute communi quantum fuiſſet ſollicitus, ſuam diligentiam in arce munienda eſſe teſtimonio: qua propè haberet effectum, ut opera, & munitiones inſtitutæ, ſola ſpecie hoſtes à ſpe expugnationis deterrere poſſent: hoc, à ſe amplius requiri nihil oportere. Adjecit, ad eorum animos confirmandos, qui metu claſſis hoſtium commoverentur, rem non eo poſitam loco ut pleriſque videretur: claſſem, multò longiùs, quàm Melitam ſpectare: ea de re, ſcire ſe plus & intelligere, quàm qui diverſum ſcripſiſſent. (neque enim, qui rerum aliquem uſum habeat, in animum inducturum, ut credat ſpe Melitæ obtinendæ tantos ſumptus factos eſſe.) Certò ſe accepiſſe, Francis claſſem eſſe deſtinatam, atque Tolonis expectari: Legatum oratorem regium quinque mulos Maſſiliam adduxiſſe, quibus ſtipendium Turchis attuliſſet: duas inſuper triremes & biremem unam adornari, quibus ad eos tranſveheretur; hoc equitis Franci è Francia advecti indicio, tenere ſe: cui potius, quàm hominum imperitorum vocibus, habenda fides eſſet. Eodem tempore nuntiatur, Villagagnonem Meſſanam appulſum, Melitam contendere: in cujus adventum hujus rei fides rejicitur. Ubi advenit, magna omnium expectatione ad Omedem deducitur, ut de claſſe quid afferret certi, intelligeretur. Hic interrogatus, apertè negat claſſem uſui Francorum, ſed Solimani cupiditati apparatam eſſe: ut injuriam, induciis ad Africanum oppidum violatis, acceptam ulciſceretur. Hoc, in Francia ante ſuam profectionem, palàm factum eſſe à viro penes quem non parva eſt rerum autoritas: eamque unicam fuiſſe cauſam, cur, neglecta re familiari, miſſionem à Rege petiiſſet, ne tempore maximè difficili ſodales deſeruiſſe diceretur. Eo ſermone confecto, habere ſe ab Anna Mommorantio, privati officii mandata, commemorat, apud quem poſt Liladami principatum, Militiæ commoda præcipuo commendationis loco ſemper fuerant. Is ſe ægerrime laturum ſignificabat, ſi quam Omedes honoris, aut dignitatis jacturam faceret: Solimanum Equitibus valde ſuccenſere, propter operam Cæſari ad Africam nuper navatam: neque ulla ratione deduci potuiſſe, quominus claſſem ad perſequendas injurias inſtrueret. A qua, Melitæ & Tripoli nonnihil extimeſcendum; proinde Omedes videret, ne quid adverſi imparato & incauto ſibi contingeret. Omedes hoc reſponſo Villagagnonem nimiæ ſecreti tenacitatis inſimulat, quòd aperire nollet quæ de Regis ſui propoſito intellexiſſet, claſſem Francorum rebus comparatam ad ſe properare. De ſe autem profitetur, operam daturum, ne ſua diligentia requiratur. Prorex Siciliæ iiſdem de rebus egerat Meſſanæ cum Villagagnone, atque in eadem erat cum Omede ſententia: ſed monitionibus conceſſit: atque adhibita celeritate, quum nulla veteranorum ſibi facultas eſſet, paſtorum & montanorum delectum habere cœpit, quos Africam ſubſidio tranſmitteret. Simul, quòd certior factus erat Tripolim militum inopia conflictari, nullaſque eſſe copias, quæ Melita eò traducerentur: delectorum numerum definitum ad Omedem miſit, ut eis ad Tripolitanum præſidium uteretur. Addebat, maximi intereſſe Republicæ chriſtianæ, Militiæque Melitenſis, eum portum ſervari: ne amiſſus, ad receptum prædonibus pateret. Hoc nuntio, & Villagagnonis oratione Equites incitati, Omedem circunſiſtunt. Qui ad eum, propter dignitatem, ſermonis aditum habebant, orabant ut opinione decederet, &, priuſquam tempore excluderetur, de omnibus rebus conſtitueret, quæ ad communem ſalutem pertinebant: ne ſperneret Proregis autoritatem & mandata: hunc enim tantos ſumptus feciſſe deſcribendis & tranſmittendis militibus argumenti loco ſumi poſſe, claſſem Francos non petere. Quibus oſtenſis rebus, concilium indicitur. Ibi Omedes ab ultimo repetit, & longa narratione proſequitur, quæ antea de annonæ anguſtiis expoſuerat: re frumentaria ſe premi, militum perexiguas copias habere, æris nullam rationem. Atque hanc ipſam fuiſſe cauſam, cur è provinciis Equites non evocaſſet. Inita ratione quemadmodum è tantis difficultatibus emergeret, hanc expeditiſſimam ſibi viſam, ut ſingulis militiæ profeſſionibus pecuniæ imperarentur: quod non eſt improbatum conſilium, ſed in ſuum tempus & opportunitatem reſervatum: hoc autem reprehenſum eſt, quòd præſentis periculi remedia in loginquum produceret. Hac ergo procuratione in ſuam occaſionem rejecta, huic uni rei ſtudendum eſſe demonſtratur, ut ægritudini præſenti præſens medicina reperiatur: ne, mora interjecta, ad extremum periculum agat imparatos. Adjungitur, tribus omnino locis rem Melitenſium cladem aliquam accipere poſſe: quibus, quantum eſſet facultatis, danda erat opera ne gravius quicquam accideret. Quòd ſi ob tenuitatem, omnibus ſuccurri non liceret: ea deſeri oportere, quæ ab omni injuria tuta eſſe non poſſent: & eorum copia, his quæ defendi placuiſſet, ſubvenire. De Goſira inſula tractatur, defendi liberet, an dimitti. Una conſenſione decernitur, deſeri oportere. Repugnat tamen Omedes: docet, caſtrum editiſſima rupe, aſperrima & circunciſa ſitum eſſe ut facilè hoſtes aditu prohiberentur; eò inſulanos ſe poſſe recipere, quos reſpectus patriæ, natorum & propinquorum charitas, ad extremum vitæ periculum, ſedes tueri cogeret. Qui ſæpe cum Turchis patentibus & apertis locis congreſſi eſſent, victoreſque ſemper evaſiſſent, dubitari non debere, quin natura loci ſublevati, tectique munitionibus, illorum impetum ſuſtinerent, & muris ſuccedentes ſummoverent. Horum virtuti ſe multum confidere, ſed ſpem primam conſtituiſſe in eorum ducis equitis Hiſpani virtute & belli ſcientia: quibus rebus proclivè eſt ad omnes caſus ſubſidia comparare: ac jam ut ſuam hæc contra opinionem evenirent, & per infirmitatem hoſtibus reſiſti non poſſet, judicii tamen ſui non eſſe, protinus ad levem auditionem, inſulam relinqui: quòd abſque magno municipum detrimento, ſuoque dedecore fieri non poſſet. Quid enim, inquit, eſt levius aut turpius, quàm antè viſum periculum metu promoveri? Quid ſi (quod eſt magis probabile) hoſtes non veniant: quis relictæ patriæ damna reſarciet? Hoc ubi concio obſtinatè ſibi negari videt: ad caſtri Tripolis muniendi cogitationem ſe confert. Erant eo loco complures milites, qui ætate & vulneribus confecti, bello idonei eſſe deſierant: qui tamen priſtinæ virtutis memoria, ſtipendio fovebantur, atque definitum propugnatorum numerum explebant. Hos mitti oportere judicatur: & totidem eorum loco ſubſtitui, quibus vires labori ferendo ſuppeterent. Præterea, habito cenſu, fœminas & impuberes, omneſque quorum animus aut vires obſidionem ſuſtinere non valerent, in Siciliam transferendos: & in eorum locum, centum virtutis probatiſſimæ equites ſubmittendos, cum militibus qui à Prorege ſubſidio advenerant; eum enim locum, natura & operibus infirmum, non poſſe niſi eximia & excellenti fortitudine ſervari. His omnibus ab Omede obſiſtitur; imprimis ad eorum ſententiam non accedit, qui fœminas & liberos à parentibus ſejungendos eſſe cenſebant: quod communi vitio naturæ contingat, ſalvis rebus, quas quiſque habet chariſſimas, homines fieri ſegniores, ut minori contentione & laborem ferant, & vitæ periculum adeant, præſertim alieno ſolo. Neque potiorem eſſe cauſam, cur emeriti milites amitterentur: ii enim, etſi corpore non valent, ingenio tamen & rerum uſu excellunt, quibus bellum magis, quàm corporis viribus, adminiſtratur. Simul de Equitibus omnino ſibi videri ut ad Melitam maneant: præſtare, ſedes proprias plenis copiis conſervare, quàm his in alienas diſpertitis, utrarumque jacturam facere. Eis rationibus quæ ſunt demonſtratæ, Equites acerſitos non fuiſſe: qui aderant, vix trecentorum numerum implere, in quibus rei Melitenſis ſalus penitus conſiſteret; ſi ad ducentos redirent, periculum fore ne oneri ſuccumberent. His oblatis incommodis, nihil expeditius videri, quàm ad inſulæ cuſtodiam, retentis equitibus, milites à Prorege miſſos Tripolim tranſmittere; horum quidem ſubſidio, eum locum defendi poſſe: quòd ea eſſet ejus loci natura, ut, propter ſtationis incommodum, obſidio diuturna eſſe non poſſet. Nam litus planum, exigua altitudine, longo ſpatio in mare decurrens, in alto naves conſtitui cogit, ne, Eteſiis ea anni tempeſtate vi maxima flantibus, fluctibus naves compleantur: aut anchoris ſabulo parum hærentibus, vi tempeſtatis incitatæ, ad terram allidantur: quæ res adverſus obſidionem magno forent adjumento. Hæc vicit in concilio ſententia: ſed ad novitios milites perlata, eum incuſſit metum, ut palàm detrectare militiam non erubeſcerent: ſeque, quum tollerentur ſigna, non ſequuturos eſſe comminarentur. Commonſtrabant, ſibi tum primùm ab aratro & caulis abductis, nullo dum etiam uſu militiæ percepto, Tripolitanum negotium longè diſſimiles propugnatores expoſcere. Omedes, ſi cladis certa expectatione deterritus, ſuos equites illò trajici nollet: cur potius in aliena vita fortunam periclitaretur: Hæc Omedi Præfectus renuntiat: & quàm poteſt demiſſiſſimè obſecrat, ut ſine ejus animi offenſione, illis liceat in Siciliam reverti, quòd juſſi naves conſcendere, dicto non forent audientes. Huc addit multa, quibus Omedem flecti poſſe conjiceret. At Omedes, ut hunc ab animi conſternatione erigeret, affirmabat certò ſibi conſtare, Tripolim militum virtute Protegi poſſe, alioqui ſe non eſſe rem in dubium devocaturum; eos enim, quorum præſidio caſtrum tenebatur, & Valerium præfectum, optimè de ſe meritum, virum ſingulari virtute preditum, cur amitteret? Poſtremò in hac ſe eſſe ſententia, ut id caſtrum ſine auxiliaribus copiis defendi poſſet: ſed à Prorege miſſis neceſſariò utendum eſſe ſibi, ne ejus autoritatem & conſilium deſpexiſſe videretur: eamque ob rem ab ſe illos non dimitti. His Tribuno oſtenſis, id muneris injungit, ut affectos metu bona ſpe reficiat. Sed ubi militibus ſpem miſſionis Præfectus adimebat, maximam formidinem & terrorem inferebat: qua animi dejectione, Omedi flentes ad pedes procumbunt: & obteſtantur ne ſe inſontes hoſtibus ad ſupplicium dedat. Hujus movendi cauſa, etiam adjiciunt, ſe ruſticos homines ab officio vitæque inſtituto per fraudem abductos, ut Meſſanam accederent, inermes prodiviſſe, quo mitterentur loco, nulli uſui futuros. Quum apud eum querelis & precibus nihil proficerent, rebus deſperatis, inde ſe proripiunt, & in tabernaculis abditi, commune & inſtans fatum miſerantur. Eo cognito, quum eſſet ſuſpicio ducem cum manipulis conſentire, ejus ſigniferum, virum fortem atque interritum, Omedes per hominem idoneum ſollicitat, & edocet quanta cum ignominia fieret, ut ad ſolam hoſtium mentionem, timore milites ſic opprimerentur, ut deſpecta ſacramenti religione, apertè militiam defugerent; hoc non ſolùm eorum exiſtimationi, cujus eſſet in primis habenda ratio, ſed etiam vitæ fortuniſque fore periculoſum: quòd fugam cognitam Prorex eſſet ſupplicio crudeliſſimo vindicaturus. Tum orationis adhibitis illecebris, addit, de ſignifero nunquam ſe dubitaſſe, quin imperata facere paratus eſſet: ſed ſtudium ejus, tarditate & timore ducis impediri: cui incommodo facilè præverti poſſet, ſi ſignifer ſingulos milites adiret qui quandam animi fortitudinem præ ſe ferrent: ac, quantum poſſet efficere, inani metu eos explicaret, faceretque ut iter conficere non dubitarent. Hoc ſi eſſet aſſequutus, Tribuno miſſo, militum præfectura ſuo nomine fungeretur. Ea ſpe ſignifer delinitus, negotium aggreditur: ſingulos ſeparatim ambit milites, & quibus poteſt rationibus, ab obſidionis opinione deducit. Hoc animadverſo Tribunus, veritus ne cum ignominia mitteretur, & nihilo ſecius manipulares præſcriptum officium exequerentur, ſigniferum aditu ad Omedem antevertit, & quorumdam factioſorum contumacia, culpam prætexens, unà cum ſuis omnibus, ubi primùm juſſus fuerit, ſe viam ingreſſurum profitetur. Id tamen omnibus precibus poſtulabat, ut certus equitum numerus, perterritis militibus, adjiceretur: quorum ductu ac virtute, illi animum reciperent. His ab Omede in conſilio relatis, deliberatur, quot & quales Equites tyronibus admiſceri placeret. Qui Ioco, ob ejus infirmitatem, diffidebant, in priori ſententia permanebant, & centum addi oportere contendebant; quibus tamen Omedes, his quæ ſunt demonſtratæ rationibus, non acquieſcere: ſed eum numerum ad quinque & viginti reducendum eſſe dictitare, quos ſolutis ergaſtulis, ex eis qui maleficii convicti erant, expleri juſſit: ne de Melitæ cuſtodia quicquam imminueretur. His rebus conſtitutis, duæ triremes impoſitum ſubſidium Tripolim important: quo in terram expoſito, ut mandatum erat, Melitam revehuntur. Non ita multò poſt fit Omedes certior, hoſtilem claſſem ad Siciliam applicuiſſe: & ejus principem, cum Prorege, de oppido Africano recuperando, uti Cæſari cum Solimano convenerat, per interpretem multis verbis egiſſe. Sed illum poſtquam ſe ad Cæſarem fallendi cauſa rejici cognoviſſet, ad oppidum Auguſti progreſſum, arcem vi captam militibus diripiendam conceſſiſſe. Hoc ſatis erat Cauſæ, ad omnem de Turcharum itinere tollendam dubitationem. Omedes tamen à pertinacia non modò non deſiſtit: ſed etiam affirmat Meridianum Siciliæ litus prætervehi, ut breviore uſæ itinere naves, citius in Franciam perveniant: quod ut perſuaſum habeant, naucleris accitis, ex maritimis dimenſionibus oſtendit, ducentis paſſuum millibus, curſum ea parte breviari. Goſirani, ubi ſpe auxiliorum ſe depulſos eſſe cognoverunt, fœminas & pueros in tutum cenſent eſſe transferendos. Itaque duas naviculas onuſtas Melitam traducunt: quarum appulſu Omedi renuntiatur, Goſiranos ſui tuendi animum abjeciſſe, atque fuga cogitaſſe: reſque ſuas cum uxoribus & liberis abigere cœpiſſe: quibus ablatis, dimicandi etiam cogitationem deponerent. Si ſalvam cuperet rem Goſiranam, naves Goſiram remitteret, ut propinquorum miſericordia, ad pugnandum alacriores redderentur. Quæ ſententia quum illi valde probaretur, naviculas, antequam onus exponerent, revehi juſſit: magniſque cavit pœnis, ne abſque venia res ulla exportaretur. Biduo quo hæc geſta ſunt, leni vento claſſis Melitam appulit, portumque petiit, portui, qui arcem ſubluit, conjunctum, anguſto collis jugo interjecto. Ad ejus conſpectum tantus repente metus Melitenſium mentes occupavit, tantaque ſequuta eſt perturbatio, ut quid potiſſimum agendum eſſet, rationem iniri non daretur. Omnino duo erant oppida, quibus inſulani ab hoſtium periculo ex agris ſeſe reciperent: unum ſub arcis radicibus, alterum diſtans ſex paſſuum millibus. Huc viis pleniſſimis omnia importantur, pecuſque cogitur quoad ejus fieri poteſt. Oppidum ſub arce poſitum, collibus utrinque mediocri maris ſpatio intermiſſo, continetur. Ex his collibus magna altitudine impendentibus, quia hoſtes ab aperto latere muro cuſtodias facilè ac penè nullo labore deturbarent, & iis, qui muro dejecto in oppidum irrumperent, reſiſtendi facultatem adimere poſſent, oppidum defendi non placebat. Arx unicum omnibus, & ex agris confugientibus, & oppidanis perfugium relinquebatur: tametſi vix antea caperet Equites, & qui ſub Equitibus ſtipendia merebant. Alteram plebis partem urbs recipiebat. Ad has anguſtias hoc etiam accedebat incommodi, quòd quum tanta multitudo admitti tecto non poſſet, verùm ei neceſſario foret, flagrante Canicula, ſub ſolis ardoribus interdiu, & ſub dio noctu, permanendum: hæc, neque corpore laborem tuliſſet, neque ab odore tetro, quem ſitus & excrementorum colluvies generaſſet, erant morbi longè abſuturi. Calamitatem quoque non parum augebat difficultas aquæ maxima: cujus quum nulla extra pluviam eſſet copia, neque ad bibendum, ſed ne quidem illa ad lavandum ſuppeteret, aut erat deditio ſequutura, aut populus miſerè excludendus, & hoſtium crudelitati exponendus. Subductis & ad terram deligatis navibus, hoſtes ad prædam emittuntur: hi latè pervagati, regionem quæ ad arcem vergit, depopulantur: ædificia, & quicquid in agris reliquum erat, vel incendunt, vel diripiunt: pecus, quod repentino eorum incurſu in oppidum cogi non potuerat, ſuffodiunt: nullum denique perniciei genus prætermittunt. Conſtat inſula tota unâ & continenti petrâ: ea re fit, ut quibus locis terra exurgit, lapidibus conſperſa ſit. Hinc accidit, ut illic agri quidquid eſt, hoc totum incolæ ſeu purgando, ſeu dividendo, lapidibus ſine luto in muri ſpeciem aggeſtis incluſerint: quæ res vias publicas uſque adeò anguſtas & obliquas reddidit, ut illinc niſi magno labore non liceat evagari. Adverſus hoſtium incurſiones ea commoditate noſtri ſublevati, hæc remedia comparabant. Coactis navium propugnatoribus, nonnullis admiſtis remigibus, Guimeranus eques Hiſpanus regionum peritos adhibet: quorum ductu, occulto itinere profectus, opportuno loco ſuos in inſidiis diſponit, ut diſperſos hoſtes, ſine metu ad prædam properantes, excipiat. In hunc incidunt pauci, qui elati prædæ ſtudio, ab agmine longius proceſſerant: neque ulla alia rei gerendæ facultas oblata eſt. Interim claſſis princeps, arcis naturam contemplatus, eam præſentis occaſionis non eſſe judicat. Hoſtes vexandis regionibus biduo conſumpto, naves ſolvunt: & ſex millibus paſſuum progreſſi, conſiſtunt, ac denuo milites effundunt: &, ne ulla pars inſulæ immunis à calamitate relinqueretur, profligato eo ſpatio quod à mari ad urbem intercedit, ad eam ſe incitant. Eò tanta utriuſque ſexûs multitudo ſeſe concluſerat, ut nullus vacaret locus: ſed qui bello apti eſſent, quive hoſtium vel aciem oculorum ferre poſſent, admodum pauci erant. In eos imperium gerebat Georgius Adorneus, vir probatæ eximiæque fortitudinis, qui denegato ſibi ab Omede militum auxilio, rejectus ad multitudinis præſidium, triginta ex navium defenſoribus ad ſui cuſtodiam aſciverat. Conſpectis hoſtibus, eos exhortatus, nonnullis ex paſtorum & oppidanorum multitudine nominatim evocatis & interjectis, in hoſtium occurſum eduxit: ut hoſtes, locis aſperis, in collem in quo oppidum poſitum eſt enitentes, morarentur: quod ad oſtentationem potius faciebat, quàm quòd vim hoſtium reprimere poſſe ſperaret. Noſtri, urbis propinquitati & ænearum cannarum adminiculo confiſi, audacter ſe illis opponebant, & quandiu æqua ratione pugnari potuit, pauci multos aſcenſu prohibebant. At ubi illos circunfundi, & longo circuitu montem ſuperare conſpiciunt, ne circunventi reditu excludantur, accepto ſigno, paucis utrinque deſideratis, pedem referunt: diſceſſu noſtrorum, illi jugum collis adepti, ſimul nullis reſiſtentibus, ſuburbiis potiti, conſidunt & caſtra faciunt. Inter ſuburbia & oppidum tantum eſt intervalli, quantum cannæ tueri poſſunt. Hi explorandi cauſa rari & diſperſi, ne cannarum injuriæ paterent, incitato curſu percurrunt: muroque ſuccedentes, ſclopetis noſtros tentare & laceſſere. Hos quoque noſtri ſclopetis ſummovebant, ſed ob eorum mobilitatem non multùm proficiebant. Nox prælium diremit. Explorato urbis ſitu, duabus partibus, colle prærupto & directo, hanc hoſtes extare conſpiciunt. Hujus collis tertia pars aſpera quidem & ardua, ſed longè declivior, in vallem ducentis paſſibus latam deſinit. Hanc tranſeuntes, mons urbi contrarius excipit aſcenſu aſpero, præcipiti & circunciſo, cujus montis faſtigium urbem exequat. Municipes huic parti minus diffidentes, nullas turres, nullaque propugnacula excitârant, quibus irruentes hoſtes à latere propellerent: ſed in ſpeciem, muro lapidibus luto compactis extructo, fuerant contenti: qui quum per ſe infirmus ſit, atque adeò vetuſtate corruptus, ſua ſponte collabitur. Quo ab hoſtibus animadverſo, partem, unde à ſuburbiis ad urbem eſt aditus, quòd ſit operibus valde munita, omittunt: atque ab infirmiori loco rem ſibi gerendam eſſe conſtituunt. Huc delati, aream cannis muralibus noctu ſubſternere, atque aggerem jacere parabant: & quum propter arborum raritatem materia deeſſet, valvis, omnique ligni genere, à tectis ſuburbiorum ereptis, ad opus utebantur. Hoc, ex ſtrepitu cognito, tantus mœror municipes excepit, ut ſuæ vitæ durius conſulere plerique inciperent, ac ſe de muro dare præcipites, omni intentionis opinione remiſſa. Adorneus tamen non ſe deſerit; hos verbis confirmat, & ſpe auxiliorum objecta, à metu erigere conatur. At ubi ſe fruſtrà niti intelligit, à periculi magnitudine ſibi timens, ad Omedem nuntium allegat, ut eum doceat, qui multitudinem verſaret timor, & ad quas ipſe anguſtias redactus eſſet: niſi ſummiſſis auxiliis, formidine municipes liberarentur, ultimam perniciem quinque & viginti millibus capitum mox ſubeundam eſſe. Nuntius, quum ad arcis oppidum perveniſſet, & obſeratis portis, ingreſſu tardaretur, ad eum locum ſe contulit, qui Francorum cuſtodiæ commiſſus erat, ut per mare intromitteretur. Tum ad opus excubabat Villagagno, & vigilias circuibat: is ad equorum fremitum exclamat quis adventaret? Nuntius, patefacto nomine, reſpondet maximi ſe momenti mandata afferre: rogare ut continuò ad Omedem trajiciatur. Exceptus lenunculo, ad Omedem feſtinat; hoc audito, magna illum invaſit ſollicitudo: neque illi ſatis animo ſuccurrit, periculo tam præſenti quem maximè opponeret. Quum in hoc explicando ſe exerceret, nuntius Villagagnonem commemorat. Hunc approbatum, eo ipſo temporis puncto, accerſit. Adeuntem verbis & oratione liberaliter proſequitur. Narrat, quantum ei ſemper tribuiſſet: Rempublicam tempore maximè difficili, ejus operam & diligentiam vehementer expoſcere; hoſtes enim urbem obſidione cinxiſſe, quibus id fieri poterat locis: in ea tamen, qui arma ferre poſſent, magnum numerum incluſum, quorum præſidio urbs planè teneri poſſet, ſi viri idonei imperio regeretur, quibus ubi uſus incidiſſet, remedia compararet. Eis Georgium Adorneum præeſſe, ſed omnia per ſe negotia obire non poſſe. Villagagno reſpondet, Reipublicæ commoda, prima ſemper apud ſe fuiſſe, ſuaque vita potiora: neque quicquam optatiùs ſibi poſſe contingere, quàm vitam profundere, cujus rei cauſa in lucem editus fuiſſet. Verùm ſe uſu rerum didiciſſe, plebem vigiliis & periculis inſuetam, facilè inſolenti labori ſuccumbere, ac pariter viribus & animo concidere; hinc fieri ut quamdiu munitionibus contecta ſit, ſeque à periculo abeſſe credat, æquo animo omnes acerbitates perpetiatur: ſed ubi tormentis murus diſcuti cœperit, & ab animi fortitudine præſidium petendum ſit, projecta ſalutis cura, protinus deficiat. In eum caſum defenſoribus opus eſſe, non ignavis, ſed ſtrenuis, ac laboris patientiſſimis, & qui non metu, ſed gloriâ promoveantur: neque pauciores centenis ad eum uſum eſſe neceſſarios; hos ſibi ex Equitibus Omedes adjungeret, ſi rem ſalvam eſſe vellet. Huic Omedes oſtendit, Equites & navium propugnatores arcis cuſtodiæ à concilio aſſignatos eſſe, cujus decretum non poſſet immutare. Attamen id ad ſe recepturum, ut in præſentem occaſionem, alio conſulto non expectato, ei ſex Equites concederentur. Quibus opponit Villagagno, ſex viros, everſo muro, non eſſe erumpentes hoſtes repulſuros: neque aliò ſex virorum ſubſidium pertinere, quàm ut eos ad certam ſine honore perniciem perduceret. Reſpondet Omedes, eam rem non eſſe diſputationis, ſed inſtantis periculi; propterea ſi ille animo ita paratus eſſet, ſine cunctatione eam operam Reipublicæ navaret; quòd ſi metu periculum defugeret, ſe alium rogaturum. Ille, ubi rem in exiſtimationis diſcrimen pertrahi videt: Non ſum, inquit, Princeps, tam acuto ſtimulo urgendus: faciam ut intelligas ad ignaviam, hanc meam rationem non ſpectare: & jam viæ me committam, ne in lucem extractus, ingreſſu prohibear. Excedens igitur Villagagno, ſex è notis & domeſticis evocatis, jumenta nactus quæ ex gregibus caſu obvenerant, viam ingreditur: tantumque omnibus profectionis fuit ſtudium, ut pars gravi armorum pondere onuſti, abſque ephippiis jumenta conſcenderent: & frænis deficientibus, in os immiſſo funiculo, viam conficerent. In hunc modum progreſſi, albente cœlo, quà erat curſus commodiſſimus, concitatis equis, ad urbem perveniunt: & occluſis hoſtium vicinitate portis, in foſſam ſe proruunt, ac feneſtris quæ in uſum tormentorum relictæ ſunt, ad munitiones enituntur. Hos introductos, magna hominum turba circunſiſtit, & de auxiliis, quid afferrent ſpei ſciſcitantur: quos bono animo eſſe jubet Villagagno, & ſpe auxiliorum injecta confirmat. Deinde, ad Adorneum ſe confert. Hunc docet quem cum Omede ſermonem de propugnationis ratione habuerit: quidque aſſequutus eo fuerit; denique, huc ſe redactos eſſe, ut ab alieni ſubſidii expectatione depulſi, in animi virtute ſalutis fiduciam conſtituant. Huc etiam curam omnem profundi oportere, ut à terrore populi mentes explicarentur: & quibus locis ab hoſtibus noceri poſſit, proviſo remedio anteverteretur. Communi deinde conſilio res geritur: & perſpecto muri vitio, quò hoſtes animum appellebant, quoniam obſiſti non poterat, ne murus cannis tentatus brevi corrueret: hac ratione occuritur. Poſt murum foſſam ſexdecim pedes latam, altam decem, directis lateribus perducunt. Hujus interiori labro maceriam tres pedes eminentem, in ſex pedum latitudinem, extruunt: quam amplius extare conſultò noluerunt, ne globi murum trajicientes, ſimul maceriam labefacerent, atque foſſam implerent. Ad extremas foſſas ex duobus tectis à ſummo decurtatis, & maceriæ adæquatis, cæca propugnacula conſtituerunt: ut hoſtes foſſam ingreſſos, in maceriam connitentes, ab latere, ſine ullo periculo, tormentis deturbarent. Quæ munitiones, tantæ multitudinis labore non intermiſſo, breviſſimo tempore perfectæ ſunt. At hoſtes hæc difficultas morabatur. Cannæ murales ſex millibus paſſuum erant eis ducendæ, via aſperrima, magnis & arduis rupibus, nulla jumentorum facultate. Hoc ſervorum robore ſupplere conati, labore continenti, aliquandiu proceſſerunt. Nam quum viarum anguſtiæ & aſperitates, cannas rotis impoſitas non admitterent, rotis eximebant, ac nudas efferebant. Mox æquum locum aſſequuti, rotas admovebant, & magno conatu onus trahebant; ſed quoniam id erat ſæpius repetendum, & ob vehementem æſtum pleroſque animus reliquerat: rotis aliquot effractis, ab itinere ſuperſederunt: revocatiſque qui obſidioni incumbebant, ad naves ſunt reverſi. Ex perfugis cognitum ex his cauſis hoc quoq; acceſſiſſe, quòd naves erant longo intervallo defenſoribus vacuæ relinquendæ, aut copiis perexiguis urbs oppugnanda. Quorum utrumque recipere caſum poſſet; ſi enim, navibus inanibus, Cæſariana claſſis occurriſſet: & ea conſpecta, hi ad ſuas conſervandas naves ſe incitaſſent: tùmque obſeſſi ad pugnam erupiſſent, copiis ab Omede miſſis confirmati: ea itinerum aſperitate, quum referre non potuiſſent, cannas amiſiſſent. Quæ cogitatio certiſſimam obſeſſis ſalutem attulit. Quamvis enim accidiſſet ut obſeſſi ab hoſtibus ſe protegerent, tamen ob aquæ inopiam, obſidionem diutius non tuliſſent. Ubi ſuburbia eſſe indicavimus, plures optimi ſaporis fontes largiter ſcatent. Huic copiæ municipes confiſi, fodiendis puteis animum non intenderant: paucis exceptis, qui aliunde aquam eſſe ſibi colligendam non ducentes, effoſſis domi ciſternis, pluvia uti maluerant. Harum inito numero, & capitum cenſu relato, compertum eſt, ad duos cyathos cuique quotidie vix ſex dierum aquam ſuppetere. Hoſtes reductis tormentis, ad inſulam Goſiram contendunt. In Caſtellum incolæ ad unum ſe incluſerant. Hoc quia à mari parum abeſt, expugnationi opportunius eſſe judicatum eſt. Itaque cannis muralibus productis, tertia inita vigilia, murum percutere incipiunt. Hunc impetu continenti nullis prohibentibus incutientes, brevi tempore labefaciunt; ſed ea eſt loci natura, ut ſi vel murus dejectus eſſet, paucis tamen defendentibus, maximæ quæque copiæ aſcenſu prohiberentur. Nam in rupe editiſſima quoquoverſus abrupta caſtellum eſt poſitum, inflexo, acclivi & anguſto ſpatio, quà vix ſinguli carri trahi poſſint, ad introitum relicto. Municipes, hoſtium adventu, principem, cui tantùm ab Omede tribui demonſtravimus, adeunt: atque animo perturbatum obteſtantur, ut Rempublicam fortiter ſuſcipiat, neu ſe deſerat: ſed audacter, quid cuique ſit agendum, imperet. Is ſpe auxiliorum lapſus, profitetur ſe nihil habere quod tantò malo opponat: atque omiſſa ſuorum cura, tecto ſuccedit ac deliteſcit: ſic paratus, ut quem caſum fortuna obtuliſſet, quàm æquiſſimo animo ferret. Ubi populus ſe deſtitutum perſpicit, tantò metu corripitur, ut unà corporis & animi viribus caderet: & ab propugnationis artibus, ad lacrymas, inſtantiſque calamitatis commiſerationem averſus, murum defenſoribus nudaret. Neque dum nocte pugna intermittitur, aut demolitionem obſtruere, aut omnino rem ullam adminiſtrare quæ ad ſuam ſalutem pertineret, animum induxerunt. Poſtridie, quum prima luce ad opus hoſtes redirent, ſed iniquitate loci non ita multum promoverent: vir Anglus, cannarum Magiſter, animo revocato, honeſtam mortem turpi ſervituti anteferens, ad pugnam ſe inſtituit. Profectus quò negotium poſtulabat; aptatis machinis, hoſtes globis impetit, & illato damno cogit ut remiſſius & lenius deinde opus agerent; ſed hunc paulò poſt, tranſlatis cannis, globis aſſequuti, hoſtes interficiunt. Qui viſum eò ſe intulerant, caſu exterriti, quum reliquum haberent neminem, quem huic muneri præficerent; animi inopes & conſilii, ad principem recurrunt: ut ſecum rationem iniret, quid potiſſimum adminiſtrandum eſſet. Hîc magno animorum & ſententiarum congreſſu decertatur, nec inter eos de pugna convenit. Poſtremò, re in deſperationem adducta, à pugnæ ſubſidio ad deditionis conſilium recurrunt. Tum de conditionibus agitur, & qui eas perferat, eligitur. Cujus legationis hic erat exitus, ſi omnibus incolumibus effugium pateret, arcem hoſtibus relictum iri. Legatus, de muro fune demiſſus, ad claſſis præfectum deducitur, quæque habet mandata pronuntiat: atque demiſſiſſimè obſecrat, ut miſericordiæ locus relinquatur. Ad hæc reſpondet Princeps, priuſquam globi murum attigiſſent, ad aliquam æquitatem deſcendi potuiſſe: re verò ad extremam deditionis neceſſitatem perducta, à victis conditiones ferri non debere, ſed hos eis uti, quas victor præſcriberet; ſe tamen naturæ lenitate ad miſericordiam propenſum, non eſſe pro eorum meritis, qui viſis Solimani ſignis portas ſuas obſtruxiſſent, pœnas exacturum, ſi ſe ſuaque omnia ſtatim dederent, & ejus miſericordiam experirentur. Atque hunc ita dimittit. Hoc reſponſo incluſis denuntiato, animus fluctuare, atque in diverſum trahi cœpit. Tandem ſuperat eorum ſententia, qui morti ſervitutem prætuliſſent: ſed dux eorum ſibi conandum adhuc eſſe arbitratus, ducenta capita, quæ ipſe nominaſſet, neceſſitate ſervitutis liberare, remiſſo interprete, id enixè contendebat. Sed is ad quadraginta redactis, Baſcianus comminatur, niſi ſtatim mandatis paruiſſent, nullam eis poſtea colloquii fore poteſtatem. Qua denuntiatione perculſi municipes, quum aliunde nulla eſſet evaſio, imperata faciunt, & portas obſtructas aperiunt. Erat in eorum numero vir Siculus, cujus inſignem animi (dicamne fortitudinem, an crudelitatem ?) prætereundam eſſe non putavi. Hic contracto apud Goſiranos domicilio, uxore ducta, duas ex ea filias ſuſtulerat: quas viro maturas, ne, quum in poteſtatem hoſtium incidiſſent, oculis ſuſtinere cogeretur, quod animus ferre non poſſet, ambas gladio trajicit: eandem fortunam tulit mater, ad filiarum necem accurrens. Hoc facto, baliſtam & ſclopetam inſtruit; fores domus aſſervat, ac hoſtibus ad prædam feſtinantibus ſe obtrudit: duoſque audacius progredientes miſſilibus appetit & perimit: deinde ſtricto gladio reliquos irruentes moratur: donec circunventus confoditur; hoc modo ſe & familiam ſervituti præripuit. Caſtrum hoſtes diripiunt, habentque univerſam ad unum multitudinem prædæ loco, captivamque ad naves abducunt. Ea ſex millium trecentorum numerum explebat. Baſcianus, ut fidem de quadraginta liberandis præſtitiſſe videretur, quos ſenium & adverſo valetudo viribus confecerat, à vinculis eximi ac manumitti juſſit. Eorum principem injuriam ſibi fieri querentem, quòd unà emiſſus non eſſet, expoliatum addixit remigio. His rebus biduo conſumpto, caſtro incenſo, totaque inſula exinanita, ad reliquam belli adminiſtrationem properantes, nacti idoneam tempeſtatem, ad Africam vela dirigunt. Poſt eorum digreſſum, Omedes de caſu Goſiranorum, & detrimento Melitenſibus illato, Proregem Siciliæ certiorem facit. Sed ut deditionis turpitudinem elueret, evocatis autoribus ſibi notis, edixit, ut per totam Europam dimiſſis litteris, hanc opinionem in animos hominum infunderent. Quandiu caſtri præfectus anima exuperaſſet, caſtrum à periculo longè abfuiſſe: ſed quando ſe egiſſet quò uſus inciderat, & ictu tormentorum elatus eſſet, perculſam deſtitutamque multitudinem, ad deditionis conſilium deveniſſe. Hæc diſſipata fama adeò valuit temporis opportunitate, ut, quum deinceps exponeretur, quo modo res eveniſſet, fides fieri non poſſet. Aliquo poſt dierum interjectu, Aramo Legatus orator regius, ad Solimanum Imperatorem iter habens, Melitam duabus triremibus & una biremi advehitur, & jactis anchoris Omedem convenit, eique in concilio exponit, quæ à Rege ad eum haberet mandata, ſuamque operam ex Regis præſcripto ad omnes caſus pollicetur. Omedes huic actis gratiis, quanta ad id uſque tempus perpeſſus eſſet, quidque adhuc periculi in arcem Tripolitanam immineret, ampliſſimè narravit. Hæc autem periculi erat ſuſpicio, quòd ex quo Cæſar Tripolim Equitibus attribuerat, ob ſummam ærarii tenuitatem, hi, quæ deeſſent munitionibus, perficere non potuiſſent. Ea de re, Æneobarbi in Franciam trajectione, Cæſarem certiorem factum, omnibuſque precibus rogatum fuiſſe, ut hujus loci curam Equitibus adimeret, ac in ſe reciperet; ſed hoc eum reſponſum dediſſe, Tripolim ſine Melita ſervari non poſſe, atque unius ſalutem in alterius ſalute conſiſtere: Equites, aut Melita excederent, aut utramque ſuſtentarent. Poſtremò, per excellens Regis in Equites ſtudium, & ſingularem benevolentiam, Aramo rogatur, ut labantem atque inclinatam fulciret militiam: totoque animo inſiſteret, ut ab itinere ad hoſtes diverteret, & ab oppugnatione Tripolitana eos deduceret. Quòd ſi ſuo nomine adipiſci non poſſet, id autoritate regia niteretur. Hoc & honori ſibi, & Reipublicæ Chriſtianæ commodo futurum. Ut Aramo heri ſui fidem tam intimè implorari perſpicit, cujus inſignem charitatem erga eum ordinem paulò ante ad concilium pertulerat: etſi multis rationibus ad iter inſtitutum trahebatur, ne tamen Omedes queri poſſet, tali tempore projectum ſe & deſertum fuiſſe, precibus aſſentit, & quantum gratia apud Baſcianum valeret, ſe conaturum pollicetur: deque eo quod conſequi poſſet, ſi celox ad hunc uſum tribueretur, quamprimùm ſignificaturum. His rebus agitatis, accepta celoce, ad Tripolim curſum inſtituit. Eò devectus, cernit cannas murales jam in terram expoſitas, foſſaſque duci cœptas, quibus hæ ſine periculo ad muros producerentur. Non tamen ſe abſtinuit quin ſummis precibus, totoque animi conatu, ab oppugnationis ſententia Baſcianum deducere contenderet, ſed hoc reſponſum tulit, Equites, amiſſa Rhodo, fidem ſuam Solimano obſtrinxiſſe, contra Turchas arma ſe nunquam eſſe laturos: ſed eos, ſpreta juris jurandi religione, quum à Carolo Cæſare Solimano bellum inferretur, non ſolùm operam conferre, ſed etiam ipſo quieſcente, quantum poſſent efficere, ſuo nomine Turchis moleſtiam exhibere. Hos noviſſimè ad Africanum oppidum, magnum Dorguto incommodum attuliſſe: quam injuriam bello perſequi Solimanus decreviſſet: eamque ob rem maximè claſſem inſtruxiſſet, ut eos Africa expelleret: hujus non poſſe mandatum negligi. Aramo, quum propoſitum non obtinuiſſet, in animo defigit, nullam temporis partem intermiſſa navigatione, Solimanum eſſe ſibi adeundum, ut ab hoc impetraret quod Legatus concedere non poterat. Itaque à Legato petit, ut ſua voluntate id ſibi liceat. Hoc ipſe abnuit, & paucorum dierum moram poſtulat, dum expectatur quis eventus obſeſſos excipiat, Aramo ſpe profectionis depulſus, quatuor à claſſe paſſuum millibus naves ſuas promovit: atque ad nutum Baſciani, in anchoris oppugnationis exitum operitur. Noſtri, ut conſpiciunt operibus hoſtes animum intendiſſe, cannis fortiſſimè rem gerunt, ita ut inſolentius progredientes, & machinas incautius proferentes, earum aliquibus effractis, regredi ultra pilarum jactum compellerent: & mediocri latitudine foſſas agere, noſtriſque obducere, quibus tecti ſine periculo in opere verſarentur, machinaſque promoverent. Erat hoc eis non difficile, quòd & caſtro magna objecta ſit planities ſoli arenacei, & ſervorum maxima copia valeant. Hoc artificio, uſus tormentorum, quibus omnia noſtri ſperaviſſent, interiit. Quin imò hoſtes effecerunt, ut viis cæcis occulti, foſſæ caſtri ſuccedentes, cannas maximas ſex & triginta, nullo ſuo malo, contra arcem collocarent: tum fuit uſquequaque noſtris iniqua contentio. Caſtelli murus cæmentis luto compactis conſtructus eſt: turribus ab angulis, anguſto ſpatio ulterius exporrectis, ſabuloque refertis congeſto. Murum quoque vetuſtas ſic affecerat, ut ariditate lutum in pulverem deſinens, penitus deflueret: atque coagmenta lapidum glutino deſtituta dehiſcerent, antequam Brachamondus eques Hiſpanus, hujus loci procurationem adeptus, animadverſum vitium calce obduceret, totumque murum dealbaret. Operibus perfectis, hoſtes hoc ordine in adverſum murum cannas ſtatuerunt. Duodecim eodem temporis articulo ignem concipientes, unum omnes impetum faciebant. Mox, dum inanes referciuntur, ſequentes duodecim, flamma pariter comprehenſa, globos ad eandem contuſionem, quam priores, eodem veſtigio ejaculabantur. Protinus ordo tertius hoc exemplo erumpebat. Ita eveniebat, quum nulla pars temporis à pugna intermitteretur, ut & murum afflictum muniendi, & omnino in eo conſiſtendi facultas eriperetur. Fœlicitate maxima contigerat, ut quam muri partem hoſtes appeterent, ea eſſet ſubſtructionibus & aggere objecto firmiſſima: quibus munitionibus, globi quum murum trajeciſſent, tardabantur. Accedebat, quòd globi, ſupremum foſſæ labrum tranſvolantes, muri faſtigium quaſi ad amuſſim abradebant, tanta inferius altitudine relicta, quanta ab imo ſumma foſſæ extabant labra: quæ altitudo, quòd ſcalas non admittebat, noſtris maximum ſolatium præbebat. Erat incluſorum in numero, Provincialis Cavaglionenſis, qui longa motus ejus regionis conſuetudine, à Chriſtiana religione defecerat: & mercede jamdiu noſtrorum conſilia hoſtibus efferebat. Hic ſeu loco timeret, ſeu pactione cum hoſtibus ita conveniſſet, ad eos transfugit: cognitiſque antea caſtelli omnibus incommodis, quid in munitionibus perfectum non eſſet, quaque murus attentandus eſſet, hoſtibus enuntiat: illi hoc audito, quò is indicaverat, tormenta provexerunt. Partem indicio cognitam Principis habitatio imbecillam reddiderat; hæc enim caſtri mœnia contingit, eundemque cum caſtro murum habet. Supremum domus tabulatum, receptui Principis erat accommodatum. Cui ſubjectum ſpatium, uſui cellæ promptuariæ erat attributum: hinc fiebat, ut nullis ſtructionibus, aut aggeſta terra, ea pars mœnium firmaretur. Oſtendimus ſumma foſſæ labra ab imo ſolo tantùm exurgere, ut quum globi tranſmiſſi murum ad libram diſcuterent, ipſius tamen labefactati ſummitatem ſcalæ productæ pertingere non poſſent. Hoc, ne hoſtium, muri infimi ſubruendi propoſitum impediret, ii, effoſſa quantum ſibi ſatis eſſe viſum eſt terra, & egeſta, uſque eò cannas demiſerunt, ut certiſſimè locum à perfuga notatum attingerent. Intentos operi tegebat foſſæ paries olim à Cæſarianis adverſo caſtro tranſductus, ut arenas in foſſam profluentes ſiſteret; hic paries, ut ignis cannis admovetur, dejicitur, & ad muros globi perveniunt, eoſque brevi tempore perfodiunt: pars muri ſuperior, habitatione principis, cellæque teſtudine muro innitente aggravata, frequenti commotione cœpit procumbere. Huic periculo quum noſtri milites nullum remedium invenirent, tantus eis timor, tantaque animi perturbatio inceſſit, ut palàm & apertè, projectis armis, ab officio diſcederent: & ſpem extremam ſalutis in deditionis ſubſidio collocantes, ita per honeſtiſſimos ſui generis inter ſe colloquerentur, debere ſe ſuæ ſalutis rationem habere: quoad licuerat, ſe ſatis officio feciſſe; re verò deſperata & perdita, non eis eſſe ſuccenſendum, ſi ſibi conſilium caperent. Gaſpar Valerius Allobrox, vir à prima pubertate, ob animi præſtantiam perpetuamque vitæ fœlicitatem, ab Equitibus maximo in honore ſemper habitus, & propterea gravi hoc tempore, caſtelli imperio præfectus fuerat. Is re cognita, advocato ſacerdote, in templum conceſſerat, ut confeſſionis religione conſcientiam ſuam expiaret, & inde ſecurius periculum iniret, ſuoque exemplo milites in officio contineret, in hoc occupatum nonnulli eorum qui inter milites primas tenebant interrumpunt. Exponunt, milites ſic animis cecidiſſe, ut priſtinæ virtutis immemores, neque vi, neque pudore retineri potuiſſent, quominus murum cuſtodiis vacuum contra imperium deſeruiſſent: eorumque rem rediiſſe, ut ſervi quatuor, catenis vincti, quà murus ſuffoſſus erat, ad hoſtes transfugiſſent. Valerius rei iniquitate permotus Equites accerſit, apud quos ſe in tantis malis derelictum queritur, ac de ſalute communi orat & obſecrat, ut operum aliquam rationem inſtituant, quibus averſo periculo milites ſe colligerent, & ad dimicandum animum reciperent. Poëſius Francus, maximi vir animi, uſu rerum & temporis prærogativa cæteris anteibat. Hic pro ſociis verba facit, & militibus contumelioſis vocibus caſtigatis, quòd tam leviter animo defecerant, oſtendit rem non ita profligatam eſſe, ſi ad ſe redirent, ut ſpes nulla ſalutis ſupereſſet. Inde advenire ſe, quò eſſet illatum damnum: cellam promptuariam, quamvis magno labore, citò tamen refici poſſe, ſi ſtudium adhiberetur: & fornicem, cujus caſum præcipuè formidarent, aſſeribus & ſublicis ſubjectis ſuffulciri, dum cella compleretur. Præterea turrim non è longinquo ad eam partem ſpectare, qua hoſtibus eſſet in arcem invadendum. Inde ad fornicem foſſam ducere licere, & hanc ab labris vallo intercludere, ne proruentes hoſtes ſe diffunderent: ſed conferti, & intra foſſæ anguſtias coacti, ad turrim rectà pervenirent. Huc, ſi quicquid erat tormentorum, conferretur, & in adverſos hoſtes objiceretur, certiſſimo fore ad eos propulſandos remedio. Quinetiam ſi ad ipſas muri ruinas res gerenda eſſet, virtuti tamen locum non defore: quòd quandiu hoſtes cum noſtris manum conſererent, eorum cannæ à pugna ſuperſederent, ne utrique pariter protererentur. Denique præſtare, fortiter pugnando, vita cum honore defungi, quàm hoſtium crudeliſſimorum arbitrio deditos, ad ſupplicium ſummoſque cruciatus trahi. In eam ſententiam, hoc, Equitum, ſuoque nomine profitetur, ſi ſe milites ad priſtinam alacritatem revocarent, & Equitibus pugna defeſſis vellent ſuccedere, ſeſe primum hoſtium impetum laturos. Hunc dicentem arcis Argozilus Hiſpanus, maximæ inter milites autoritatis, interpellat, Francorum & Hiſpanorum longè diverſam eſſe rationem: Francos amicitia & fœdere cum Turchis conjunctos, quibuſcum bella continentia Hiſpanis intercederent. Item quotquot eſſent caſtro concluſi, Hiſpanos, aut aliunde ex Cæſaris eſſe ditione, paucis exceptis Francis, quibus regiæ naves hoſtilibus admixtæ profugio paterent. Ea fiducia, Poëſium hanc animi præſentiam oſtentare, ſed Cæſarianis certam eſſe perniciem paratam, niſi tempori ſibi proſpicerent. Brevem eſſe conſulendi occaſionem, quum uſque ad veſperam murus ſtare non poſſet, niſi hoſtes pugnæ finem facerent. Quòd ſi vel diutius oppugnatio ſuſtineretur, ſpe tamen auxiliorum militibus adempta, hoſtibus tandem cedendum eſſe, atque invitam deditionem ſubeundam. Aſſentiunt qui aderant Equites Hiſpani, Tribunus militum & Quæſtor: quique militum nomine convenerant. Quibus iratus Poëſius, convitiis Argozilum proſequutus, à concilio ſe ſubducit: atque, Agite, inquit, Equites ut lubet: hac certè re calamitatem meam conſolabar, quòd me militiæ noſtræ officium integerrimè præſtitiſſe affirmare potero. Hunc reliqui Franci, & unicus Germanus, qui cum eo advenerant, conſequuntur. Eorum diſceſſu his de rebus agitur liberius. Quæ Argozilus propoſuerat, plenius & uberius repetit: ac tot virorum, fœminarum & puerorum periculo Valerium ad miſerationem cohortatur: quibus omnibus, ſi caſtrum irruptione caperetur, miſeram ſervitutem aut mortem crudeliſſimam pati neceſſe eſſet. Dum adhuc aliquid ſpei reſtabat, ad aliquam compoſitionis æquitatem hoſtes adduci poſſe: qui, ſi expectaretur, dum radicitus murus convulſus eſſet, nulla erant poſthac uſuri pacis conditione. Valerium Poëſii oratio anxium detinebat, & à concionis judicio diſtractum ad pugnæ cogitationem revocabat. Sed eò acrius commemoratione periculi, ex militum metu, à perterritis urgetur. In eam occaſionem dux novorum delectuum dejerat, ſuæ non eſſe poteſtatis, ut vel unum ex ſuis ad muri cuſtodiam adigeret. Qua periculi repræſentatione Valerius adducitur, ut mittendum eſſe putet, qui murum dirutum, quæque de operum ratione Poëſius diſſeruiſſet, diligenter inſpiceret. Huic rei Guivarrus Hiſpanus præficitur, cui propter ætatem, & rei militaris ſcientiam milites plurimùm tribuebant. Is refert damnum opinione majus acceptum eſſe, neque contra talem tormentorum impetum, ad noctem murum poſſe conſiſtere: longum & impeditum ſibi videri quod Poëſius oſtenderat. His in concilio agitatis, ut jam omnia Valerium deficere viderentur, hunc impellunt, ut è muro facta ſignificatione, hoſtes ad colloquium evocentur. Accurrentes interrogantur, an liceret obſeſſis ad Baſcianum de compoſitione legatos mittere. Dum affertur reſponſum, de conditionibus deditionis in concilio diſputatur. Hic tandem omnium ſententiarum fuit exitus, ſi omnibus ad unum pax eſſet, atque incolumibus excedere concederetur, & ad tranſmittendum naves attribuerentur, caſtrum relictum iri. His cum Baſciano tractandis conditionibus Hiſpani duo delegantur, unus Eques, qui ſuorum nomine promitteret: alter Guivarrus, cujus ſuprà mentionem habuimus. Hi facta poteſtate, ad hoſtes proficiſcuntur, quæque habeant mandata, exponunt. Baſcianus his auditis, hac lege quò cuperent ſe deſcenſurum eſſe pronuntiat, ſi de omnibus impenſis ſibi ſatisfieret. Legati, multis rationibus propoſitis, quibus ſumptuum rationem non habendam eſſe contendebant, expenſas reſtitui poſſe negant: quumque Baſcianum minimè moverent, re infecta ad caſtrum ſe referunt. Hos Dorgutus Raiſius conſpicatus, vana deluſos pollicitatione remoratur, dum à Baſciano rediret. Ad quem quum ſe contuliſſet, monet ne ſua ſponte deditionem maturantes repelleret, eis omnia liberaliter promitteret, & quum ſibi liceret, ad libitum concederet: ne à præciſa ſpe miſericordiæ ad animi fortitudinem recurrentes, ultimam neceſſitatem experirentur. Murorum magna jam parte dejecta, ſi reliquam labefacere perſeveraret, caſtrum expugnatum maximo labore refectum iri; & periculum fore, ne poſt claſſis perfectionem, ejus reſtituendi facultatem Cæſar præriperet. Hac monitione, mutata ſententia, Baſcianus Legatos revocari jubet. Reverſos verborum illecebris irretit, ut credant Salaraiſio & Dorguto ſe remiſiſſe quod de ſumptibus repræſentandis antè conſtituerat: atque horum gratia, quam obſeſſi pacis conditionem obtuliſſent, ratam habere: utque magis falleret, vanam jurisjurandi religionem per caput heri Solimani, dictis adjungit, atque in fraudem illectos ita dimittit. Hos cominus inſequitur homo inter Baſciani domeſticos exquiſitus, qui Valerium advocaret, ut cum Baſciano de navibus pro capitum numero præparandis tranſigeret; quòd ſi Valerius hæſitaret, atque egredi dubitaret, affingeret exquiſitus ille, ſe obſidis loco remanſurum: interim ſingulorum obſervaret vultus, quid fiduciæ præ ſe ferrent. Intromiſſus, Valerio legationem exponit, & cunctanti verbis affert confidentiam, ac de Baſciano docet non eſſe metuendum, ne promiſſo non ſatisfaceret, quum fidem jurejurando per caput heri aſtrinxiſſet, quod ei nationi omnium graviſſimum & ſanctiſſimum eſſe ſolet. Sumpto ad reſpondendum ſpatio, Valerius rem ad concilium defert: variæ dicuntur ſententiæ: huc tamen omnium ſpectabat exitus, ex temporis & rerum iniquitate conſilium capi oportere. Eò calamitatis ſe redactos eſſe, ut hoſtium manus effugere non poſſent, ſed eorum navibus ſibi eſſe tranſeundum. Itaque præſtare unius periculo experiri quid eſſet in eis conſtantiæ & fidei, quàm expectare dum univerſi poteſtatem ſui facientes fide non ſervata perirent. Eos, homines barbaros, iracundos & ſuperbos eſſe. Si Valerius ad colloquium invitatus prodire recuſaret, hoc occaſionis loco ſumptum iri fidei violandæ, cui credendum eſſe non duxiſſent. Secundum hæc Valerius diſcrimini ſe committit, & Equitem ex domeſticis viæ comitem adſciſcit; ut ſi quid contra fidem accidiſſet, per hunc reliqui facti certiores ſibi conſulerent. Quem obſidiis loco retinere poterat, noluit: ut majorem fiduciæ ſignificationem ederet. Sed ubi ad Baſciani tabernaculum appropinquarunt, præcurrit ille, & enuntiat, unde veniret, omnes eſſe perturbatos: ut quum vultu metum non tegerent, non fuerit judicare difficile, eis videri nihil longius, quàm ex quibus premerentur anguſtiis evadere: ſi Baſcianus pergeret, quæ cuperet, omnia conſequuturum. Hoc intellecto Baſcianus, Valerium acri excipit objurgatione, quòd in tantum contemptum ipſi veniſſet Solimani claſſis, ut inſtar alicujus ſtabuli caſtrum contra hanc armis tueri in animo habuiſſet; hoc eum facto extrema omnia commeruiſſe: verumtamen ſi ſumptus qui in caſtelli oppugnatione facti eſſent, rependeret, ipſi ignotum iri: id ſi non faceret, obſeſſos impenſarum loco haberi oportere. Hoc edicto Valerius perturbatus, pactionem initam proponit, fidemque ſibi datam requirit: cujus ſi Baſcianum pœniteat, ut rem infectam eſſe velit, hoc ſe contentum eſſe, ſibi modò reverti liceat, unde fide publica vocatus advenerat. Hoc ei negato, ægrè permittitur, ut viæ comitem ad ſuos remitteret rei nuntiandæ cauſa: quo miſſo, ipſe ad naves traducitur, & in vincula conjicitur. Qua re per nuntium cognita, varius obſeſſis inceſſit dolor. Quumque non ſatis animo complecterentur, quò ſe à tam repentina & acerba calamitate averterent, luctu & querelis diem conſumentes, ſui muniendi diligentiam omittebant: atque ab Equitibus milites incitati vexatique convitiis, defixo ad terram vultu, flentes in tabernaculis cum uxoribus & liberis abditi, ſuam perniciem miſerebantur: neque ulla ratione obtineri potuit, ut ad dimicandi propoſitum animum adverterent. Poſtero die, prima luce, idem qui nuntium infauſtum attulerat, ad hoſtes remittitur, ut intelligeretur an Baſcianus de duritia quicquam imminuiſſet: ſimul Valerius à Baſciano accerſitus interrogatur, an probaret diei ſuperioris edictum de obſidionis ſumptibus repræſentandis. Cui Valerius capitis diminutionem objectans, oſtendit nullam ſe poſſe ſententiam dicere, niſi quam juſſus eſſet, ſeque cum libertate caſtri præfecturam & imperium amiſiſſe, parvique referre, Baſcianam ſanctiorem probaret, an improbaret, quum amplius nullus ſui reſpectus haberetur: ſi tamen adhuc ſibi quicquam juris reliquum eſſet, impelli ſe nunquam poſſe, ut cenſeret aut ſuaderet aliam deditionis legem ſubeundam, atque legatorum pactionibus conveniſſet. Ne hæc ſententiæ conſtantia ad obſeſſos perlata, eos ab inſtituto conſilio deterreret, remque ad priſtinam belli rationem revocaret, pauca Baſcianus cum ſuis colloquutus, eadem uſus ſimulatione de omnibus liberandis, huic dexteram prehendit, atque arridens: Nunc, inquit, extra omnem exceptionem, pollicita confirmamus: diuturna obſeſſione, & animi ſuſpenſione languentes tandem ad libertatem evoca. Valerius ſemel deceptus, fluxæ fidei parum credens, hanc in ſe provinciam non recepit, ſed vocato incluſorum nuntio: Huic, inquit, here, quæ jubes, præcipe, imperio fortuna me dejecit. Quod ergo per Valerium facere non poteſt Baſcianus, per nuntium exequitur. Illos advocat, eiſque nihil nocitum iri fide ſua eſſe jubet, atque per caput Solimani dejerat. Nuntius hac onuſtus vanitate, ad ſuos properat, & nuntium effundit. Hoc audito, metu ſe milites expediunt, ac lætitia geſtientes exitum parare incipiunt. Quumque Equites conſideratius exitum fieri oportere pronuntiaſſent, milites quicquid temporis intercederet, hoc libertatem ſuam morari & impedire arbitrati, concurſu ad portas facto, conferti cum uxoribus & liberis, caſtro ſe præcipites agunt. Hoſtes turmatim ante portas diſpoſiti, ut emigrantes exciperent & deprædarentur: id faciunt, omnibuſque rebus, quas quiſque chariſſimas abſtuliſſet, expoliatos, prædæ loco ad naves abducunt. Mauros ducentos, qui, ex quo tempore Tripolim Equites adepti fuerant, horum fidem ſemper erant ſequuti, interficiunt; pars Equitum expoliata, ad Baſcianum deducitur, reliquis ad naves abreptis: quibus viſis Valerius Baſciano fidem objicit: ſed hic cum canibus fidem ſe non colere reſpondet: tamque ſibi liberum eſſe promiſſa non exolvere, quam illis fidem Solimano Rhodi juratam fefelliſſe. Hoſtes caſtro potiti, acclamationibus, ſuo more, & cannarum ſtrepitu in cœlum editis, victoriam concelebrant. Huc Aramo accedit, & Equites humi proſtratos inſpectans, miſericordia commotus, ad Valerium procedit, eumque quibus poteſt verbis ex tempore conſolatur. Hoc peracto, fidem à Baſciano violatam intelligit, & obnixè rogatur, ut ab eo contendat, ſi fidem integrè non ſervaret, numerum tamen à ſe præſcriptum impleret. E ducentis, quibus initio pactionum ultrò miſſionem ſpoponderat, perpaucos vinculis exemerat. Aramo huic operam ſuam profeſſus, ad Baſcianum ſe confert, narrat quæ de fide non ſervata Valerius opponeret. Hic item fide ad Equitibus Solimano fracta ſe protegit. Vix tandem obtinetur, ut ducentis catenæ demerentur. Quin etiam ut ad Goſiram factum demonſtravimus, ſenio confecti, & ad rem gerendam inutiles abſolvuntur, Equitibus Hiſpanis aſſervatis, aliquot Francis adoleſcentibus admixtis. Qui ut vinculis ſolverentur, pecunia Baſcianum Aramo expugnavit, atque illos ſolutos ſuis navibus impoſuit. Ad portus introitum, mediocri ab arce intervallo, olim Cæſariani poſt urbem à ſe captam turrim excitaverant; hæc uni ex Francis Equitibus triginta militum præſidio cuſtodienda commiſſa fuerat. Hoſtes, caſtro potiti, hanc etiam quum expugnare pararent, ad eaſdem artes, quibus Valerium fefellerant, confugiunt; ſed is eorum fidei minimè confiſus, rem conſultò tractandis conditionibus extrahit, dum naviculam nanciſcitur, in quam univerſo contubernio impoſito, ad Aramonis naves perveniret. His rebus geſtis, Aramo facta poteſtate, naves ſolvit, & Tripolis reliquias Melitam trajicit. Harum appulſu, caſu Tripolis cognito, & cum Goſiranorum pernicie collato, Omedes animo graviter laborare cœpit, & rationem inire quo modo iis de rebus Cæſari ſe purgaret, ut culpa vacare crederetur; hunc verò quæ angebat ratio potiſſima erat, quòd annis ſuperioribus, quum relatum eſſet, Cæſar, te nolle Tripolis cuſtodiam Equitibus remittere, indictis & peractis comitiis ſolennibus, omnibus cautionibus ſancitum fuerat, ut reliquis curis poſthabitis, in unam rem Tripolitanam incumberetur, & ſtatim ac per opportunitatem liceret, eò militia transferretur; interim quotannis Equites quinquaginta tranſmitterentur, donec ad univerſitatem deventum eſſet: quod tamen Omede prohibente fieri non potuerat: Pontificis maximi beneficio conceſſum eſt militiæ principibus, ut ſingulis quinquenniis, cujuſque provinciæ definitas poſſeſſiones vacuas, quibus viſum ſit commendare, & ab eo qui fuerit auctus ea liberalitate, anni unius proventum exigere. Hac tamen lege id eſt impetratum, ut exactam pecuniam ex æquo Princeps cum ærario partiatur, & æqua pars in caſtrorum munitionibus collocetur. Novemdecim provinciis militiam conſtare planum eſt, triaque poſt initum principatum quinquennia Omedi affluxiſſe, quibus & rem ſuam familiarem genuſque auxit ampliſſimè, & facultates magnas ærario fraudato comparavit, domumque avertit. Ei rei Tripolitanæ munitiones magnum impedimentum attuliſſent: ſed ne, Cæſar, ipſi Tripolitanum excidium aſcriberes, hoc ille modo præcurrendum eſſe putavit. Familiaribus aliquot nominatim evocatis, & in cellam ædium occultiorem retruſis, quòd aliis præſentibus ſermones ſuos jactari nollet, graviter apud eos factum ſuum queritur, quòd Aramonis animo non ita probè ſibi perſpecto & cognito, hunc tamen ad Turchas allegaſſet, qui tametſi à militiæ rationibus alienum animum non gereret, erat nihilominus ſola præſentia deditionis cauſam præbiturus: quòd incluſi navium ejus ſubſidio confiſi, erant contentionis pertinaciam & ſtudium depoſituri. Quin etiam credibile eſſe, Aramonem ſuæ gentis fœdere cum Turcharum natione, rerumque communicatione ſollicitatum, Valerio Franco defectionis autorem fuiſſe, atque ita ejus alacritatem repreſſiſſe; (cujus torpore & tarditate milites adducti, ad deditionis conditiones deſcendiſſent) hoc percontationibus elici & ſciri poſſe. Etenim omnibus mirum videri quinque omnino diebus, quibus eò ventum ſit, arcem validiſſimam expugnatam eſſe. Hoc ſeu diceret, quòd fraudem admiſſam eſſe crederet, ſeu verecundia ductus, quòd deſpecto concilii judicio maturè Tripolis periculo prævertere recuſaſſet, quoniam compertum non habeo, pro certo ponere nolui. Qui ei ſermoni intererant, ut ſe aſſentiri comprobarent, de ſuo quiſque addit, quæ ad rem pertinere arbitratur, denique ratiocinationibus in multam noctem extractis concluditur, in Valerium quæſtionem decerni oportere: ſed hoc negotium in Aramonis diſceſſum eſſe differendum: interim dum ipſe navibus portum occupat, clauſis caſtri januis toto muro cuſtodias diffundi, ne quid clàm cum Francis commolitus, ex inſidiis caſtrum occuparet. Hæc occultè ſtructa techna ſerpere cœpit latius, atque alteri ab altero quaſi per manus tradita certo autore occultato, quum plures autores eſſe viderentur, ac de ſuo quiſque ſemper aliquid adderet, ſic aucta eſt, ut caſtri muniendi cauſa animo diſſimulato magnus poſtridie ad Omedem Equitum & militum fieret concurſus. Hæc ad Aramonem amicorum indicio pervenerant; is tamen animi conſcientia & domeſtico fretus judicio, in concilium ſe conferre deliberat, ut redderet à ſe ſuſceptæ procurationis rationem. Adeuntem Omedes magna hominum frequentia excipit, & juxta ſe aſſidere facit. Tum Aramo exponit, ut ſuprà oſtendimus, de caſtro expugnando quæ Baſcianus à Solimano mandata habuiſſet, &, ut hunc ab inſtituto deduceret, quantum ipſe conatus eſſet: quidve reſponſi abſtuliſſet; deinde ejus perfidia memorata, aſſerit ſe omnino aſſequi non potuiſſe, ut alia lege, qui in vinculis erant Equites, abſolverentur, quàm ut triginta, qui ad Melitam intercepti fuerant Turchæ, itidem libertate donarentur: cujus rei à Valerio promiſſæ Equitum precibus fidejuſſor extitiſſet. Proinde rogare ut apud ſe bona fide deponerentur, ne Baſcianus de eo queri poſſet: multa addit ad Equitum excuſationem, debilitati loci culpam calamitatis attribuens. Qua oratione ſuam indiligentiam tangi Omedes ſuſpicatus, paucis, & ſubfrigidè agit ei gratias, & confeſtim ſpe recipiendorum captivorum repellit ad Valerium & ſocios hac excuſatione rejectum, quòd captivi præda eorum eſſent, à quibus capti fuerant: nec aliter haberi eos poſſe, quàm pecunia redemptos. Miſſo ad veſperam concilio, qui pridie ſecreti fuerant participes, in conclave ab eo ſevocantur; ubi de ſuſpicionibus & ratione perficiendi plenius agitur & liberius: ſed de Francis laboratur, qua arte capi poſſint, ut dolos non ſentiant; hæc enim natio numero plurimùm valet, quæ ſi illorum propoſito adverſa fuiſſet, magnam difficultatem attuliſſet. In eam rem hic munitur aditus. Homines idonei deliguntur, qui viros primarios ſingulatim prenſent & doceant, niſi in dedititios ſumma ſeveritate exemplum ederetur, quantum militiæ dedecus allatura eſſet Tripolis deditio. Francorum nationem ſic ſemper meruiſſe, ut nullam unquam ignominiam ſuſtinuerit. Nunc vero magno Reipublicæ Chriſtianæ detrimento accidiſſe, ut qui Tripolis imperium obtinebat Francus, relicto loco ſibi demandato, ab hoſte vocatus: quo ex facto arcis deditio ſequuta ſit. Quum in primis laudi ſtudeant Franci, eorum eſſe hoc acrius inſtare, ut cauſa cognita de eo ſtatueretur: ne ea parte neglecta aut impedita, admiſſæ turpitudinis conſcii fuiſſe crederentur. Rem concionis arbitrio permittere,

mittere, unicum ad omnem tollendam ſuſpicionem eſſe remedium, ut ſi neceſſitate, quod quidem credibile eſt, locum deſertum fuiſſe conſtitiſſet, deſertores optimatum ſententiis abſolverentur. His rebus ita concinnatis, primùm invaduntur aulici, quòd Omedis gratiam præ cæteris omnibus rebus ſectari crederentur; hi capti laudis imagine, & pollicitationibus circunventi flectuntur, ut ſpe principes fore ad Valerii noxam perſequendam profiteantur. Qui apud eum ordinem Francorum nomine appellantur, diligentiæ laudem reliquis præripiunt, procurant ut ſuorum provincialium concio indicatur. Quumque permulti conveniſſent, & princeps eorum non adeſſet, quæritur à ſenioribus quo impulſore, & qua de re coiviſſent. Ad hoc quum nemo reſpondiſſet, re infecta congregati, dilabi è concione incipiebant: ſed illi quæſita & illata cauſa recedentes retinent, & cæteros feſtivos, & jocis intentos, ut cujuſque natura & ingenium ferebat, ad excidii Tripolitani mentionem convertunt. Commemorant edicto principali ſtatutum eſſe, ut univerſæ provinciæ generatim cogerentur, & unaquæque certum quempiam deligeret, qui Valerium Tripolis deſertorem ad ſupplicium depoſceret; non ſibi committendum eſſe, ut poſtremi ad eam rem fuiſſe dicerentur, ne deſertionis crimen protegere viderentur. Hoc univerſi non probant, quòd accuſationes ejuſmodi & expoſtulationes ad actorem publicum potius pertineant; eſſetque adhuc inauditum, Equites ſuo nomine eo munere functos eſſe. Huc tamen vario ſermone pervenitur, eligi certè poſſe, non qui actoris partes impleret, ſed qui ab Omede poſtularet, ut Valerium in concilio cauſam dicere cogeret, cur hoſtibus ceſſiſſet, locumque dereliquiſſet; hoc quidem ſummis precibus Valerium contendere, ſed ei minimè reſponderi. Rem novam non temerè tentandam eſſe: Francorum nationem ab omni criminis ſuſpicione ſemper integram extitiſſe: quam laudem non omnes reliquæ nationes poſſent uſurpare. Rhodi contigiſſe, ut ex Hiſpanis unus proditionis inſimulatus, eoque nomine damnatus, pœnas daret; non fortaſſe fore omnibus injucundum, Francos famæ jactura Hiſpanis exæquari: ſecundum hanc ſententiam ſuffragiis adlegitur qui deliberata ad Omedem perferat. Hoc ille audito Francorum diligentiam pluribus extollit verbis: verùm id negotii in Aramonis diſceſſum prorogat. Aramo rem frumentariam expediebat, cui rei inſumpta tridui mora, ab iniquis dicebatur conſultò tempus extrahere, dum Turchæ adventarent, ut rem Melitanam cum Tripolitana conjungeret. Poſt ejus profectionem, Omedis præcepto, nationes generatim congregatæ, ſingulos accuſatores nuncupant, qui deſertionis crimine Valerium accerſerent, & pœnas expeterent. Hoc autem cauſa cognita fieri, petentibus Francis, Octavii Ferneſi exemplum de Colorgnæ arcis præfecto opponitur; quem poſt arcem amiſſam Ferneſius ad ſuſpendium indicta cauſa adegerat. Auditis omnium expoſtulationibus decernitur, ut Valerius, & qui aſſenſu conſilium ejus comprobaſſent, cauſam dicerent è vinculis. Quæſtioni tribus Equitibus nominatis adjungitur Auguſtinus Combus Melitenſis, quem ex infima fortuna & vili plebe ad honeſtum dignitatis gradum Omedes evexerat. Qui actoris publici officio fungeretur, & in reos teſtes conſtitueret, ac delegatos inſtigaret, ex Omedis animo conquiſitus Hiſpanus præficitur. Hoc urgente Valerius in vincula conjicitur, Cæſareæ ditionis Equitibus armatis undique confluentibus, & ne ſpiculatoris manus effugeret, ſimul carceri cuſtodes admoventur. Jam non ut prius ulla modeſtia; ſed aguntur omnia raptim atque turbatè: palamque Valerius proditionis inſimulatur. Franci, etſi hanc in ſe calumniam cudi perſpiciebant, armis tamen jus ſuum exequi nolebant: ne diceretur eorum contentio huc ſpectaſſe, ut res examini demandata & permiſſa, teſtibus non conficeretur. Cum Piglino Italorum duce vetus Villagagnoni intercedebat amicitiæ neceſſitudo. Is Piglinus, quòd ære alieno plurimùm premeretur, militiæ legibus à dignitatibus arcebatur: reque in controverſiam adducta, quem nunc tenet dignitatis gradum, ab Omedis liberalitate acceperat; ob quæ merita & ei plurimum fidit Omedes, & propter amoris affectum plurimùm tribuit. Villagagno antiquam ſuam conſuetudinem ſatis eſſe cauſæ ad eum adeundum judicans, docet quàm inſolenter, quantoque ſeditionis cum periculo geſta res eſſet: viſos fuiſſe qui non ſolùm Valerium malè haberent, ſed etiam Regem, ejuſque Legatum probris eſſent inſectati. Hoc quoniam eſt ab omni ingenuitatis & honeſtatis officio alienum, priuſquam res magis ad perniciem inclinaret, ab Omede reprimi debere. Quumque apud eum gratia tantùm poſſet, eumque amicitiæ locum teneret, petit,

tit, ut pro ſua in Francos benevolentia, & publica concordia, in hanc rem, ſuam autoritatem interponere non gravetur. Afferebat inſuper Villagagno multas ſui judicii rationes, cur in Valerium decreta improbaret: quarum hæc erat juſtiſſima. Quum caſtelli infirmitas militibus timoris cauſam præbuiſſet, atque hinc accepta calamitas prorſus emanaret, tamen in Equites, quibus ad virtutem nulla res defuerat, omnis ignominia intactis militibus devolveretur, præſtare, utut res eſſet, ſic evulgare, quàm Equitibus, viris fortiſſimis, labem turpitudinis immeritam inurere. Etenim munitionis imbecillitatem & vitium, ærarii tenuitate & paupertate excuſari, at injuſtam Equitibus maculam elui nunquam poſſe. Neque etiam accideret quin Principum Chriſtianorum animos in Equites hoc factum irritaret, Regis præcipuè: quòd ſibi ſuæque genti per calumniam & fraudem tantam infamiam irrogari graviter laturus eſſet: ſimul Cæſarem, qui ſuo nomine jam Francos odiſſet, perfidiæ delationibus aurem libenter accommodaturum, eaque oblata cauſa odio majore in eos exarſurum. Quorum principum iracundia, ut erant militiæ res inter ſe communes & confuſæ, communi quoque damno erat omnes pariter affectura: neque uni parti noceri poſſe, quin id alterius fieret incommodo. Piglinus, ubi amiſſi caſtelli culpam in deſidioſam & inertem adminiſtrationem, aut per avaritiam opera negata averti ſenſit, hoc telum in Omedem intendi conjectura colligens iracundiam non tenuit. Illum quoque veteres inimicitiæ ex judicialis controverſiæ moleſtia ſuſceptæ incitabant. Poſt Rhodi cladem, uſque ad Omedis tempora triremium imperii ſumma ad Italos reſpexerat, ut diutina poſſeſſione, quaſi ſuo jure hoc honoris ſibi vendicarent: atque vetante & contradicente Omede quæſitum eſſe defenderent. Re ad Pontificem delata, multis ultrò citróque expoſitis rationibus, agente Valerio, & Romæ ob eam procurationem conſidente, Itali cauſa ceciderunt; hujus diligentiæ memoria & incommodo Piglinus vehementius incendebatur, & hac temporis opportunitate ſpem doloris ulciſcendi oblatam è manibus amitti dolebat, ut in has voces ferretur: Non, inquit, ei culpæ, cui tu cladem impingis, ſed uni Valerio acceptam feras. Tum apud ſuos glorians: Nos Rhodi muros penè dejectos, urbe etiam capta dimidia, objectis tamen cratibus ac paucis ſudibus animo infracto defendimus: ſi ſic faciendum Valerius ſibi propoſuiſſet, nunc tanto noſtro incommodo hoſtes caſtro non potirentur; ſed hic nonnulla ſpe fretus, hoſtem ad colloquium aſcivit, & fortuna pugnæ non tentata, turpiter ſe dedidit. In hunc animadverti neceſſe eſt, ſi Cæſari, ad quem maximè pertinet cladis incommodum, velimus eſſe purgati. Huic reſpondet Villagagno, quòd Rhodum penè everſam, fortiſſimè tamen defenſam eſſe objectaret: ea re militum virtutem & animi conſtantiam patefacere. At Equitibus ad Tripolim longè aliter eveniſſe, qui à militibus deſtituti, vix ad triginta redacti, hoſtibus pares eſſe non potuiſſent. Quod verò de ſatisfaciendo Cæſari ſubjiceret, à ſe non improbari, ſi modeſtia & æquitas adhibeatur: ſed inſontem pro noxio pœnas dare, aut qui per ignaviam & animi imbecillitatem offendiſſet, proditionis crimine damnari, rem eſſe improbi & iniqui judicii: atque adeò hoc injuſtioris, quòd ex Aramonis Legati præſentia confiсto crimine, Regis quoque optimi, optimè de militia meriti, exiſtimatio læderetur. Hoc reſponſo Piglinus excandeſcens, ad jurgia ſe comparabat: cujus rei vitandæ cauſa inde Villagagno ſe ſubduxit. Jam rumoribus percrebuerat Julium Pontificem & Cæſarem junctis copiis Parmam & Mirandulam obſidere, atque Henricum Regem bello laceſſere; hinc occaſionem nonnulli captantes quoquoverſus dimiſſis litteris, exponunt Aramonem Francos Tripolim imperio præfectos corrupiſſe, ut ex convento Turchis arcem proderent: ipſumque poſtea Melitam rediiſſe, ut hanc ſimilem ad caſum adigeret: Omedem de proditoribus ſupplicium ſumere conantem, à Francis clauſum & obſeſſum teneri. Hæ litteræ in vulgus editæ, maximi ad odia in Francos excitanda momenti fuerunt: adeóque res proceſſit, ut per imperii provincias, Francum aliquem dici, ad ſupplicium ſatis eſſe cauſæ crederetur. Eas impoſturas fovebat judicii in Valerium conſtituti formula. Omedes gravibus pœnis edixerat nequis ante ſententiam pronuntiatam pro Valerio ſupplicaret, aut ejus cauſam ageret: ſed in eum cujuſque generis teſtes admitterentur, neque ullus eſſet famæ reſpectus. Atque ut major eſſet ad ſtruendam calumniam licentia, violatis legibus, obtinetur, ne dicturi teſtimonium reo præſente jurare cogerentur, neve lato teſtimonio revocarentur, ut id repeterent atque confirmarent.

marent. Præterea ſiquis, quòd cum eo privatas gereret inimicitias, aut alia cauſa à judicio legibus arcebatur, ille de hoc ſupplicans, expulſis tamen propter benevolentiæ opinionem nonnullis, rejicitur. His rebus actor publicus confirmatus ad facinus audendum impellitur. Ex omnibus qui Tripoli fuerant exportati, paucorum egentium & perditorum delectum habet, eoſque doctos quid pro teſtimonio dicendum eſſet, pollicitationibus ad id ferendum perlicit. Dominicus Cubillanus, Hiſpanus, cui aliquando falſi damnato brachiis poſt tergum religatis præcipitii pœna erat irrogata, teſtis cooptatur; Vanegas item Hiſpanus, qui, abjurata religione, filios matrimonio ſuſceptos vendiderat. Præterea cannarum magiſter, ad hoſtes transfugiens ex itinere reprehenſus, eoque nomine condemnatus, Valerii clementia mortem effugerat, aliique ejuſmodi aliquot ad teſtimonium dicendum coacti, affirmant lenunculo noctu ad arcem appulſo, ſecreta colloquia cum Valerio Turcham habuiſſe, ac die poſtero Valerium Cavaglionem, quem ad hoſtes transfugiſſe demonſtravimus, cum argenti muneribus ad Baſcianum miſiſſe, arcemque biduo poſt hoſtibus tradidiſſe. Sed quum de rerum temporibus & ordine interrogarentur, tam perturbatè & variè quæ docti erant effutiebant, ut ſua ſponte vanitas appareret. Villagagno ubi animadvertit talibus teſtibus quæſtionem haberi, judices datos Equites convenit; his oſtendit ſui eſſe officii, ſi refellendorum teſtium, quæ omnibus eſſet facultas, Valerio negaretur, ut ipſi nullos niſi integræ famæ teſtes admitterent. Reſpondet reorum litem ſuam ſe non facturos, ſuumque officium his finibus contineri, ut quos actor publicus teſtes produceret, interrogarent; ille uſu eorum teſtium fretus, & Omedani edicti licentia quatuor inſuper teſtes ſubornaverat, quibus probaret Aramonem, cannis in terram emiſſis, arcem cum Turchis pariter concuſſiſſe, idque ex vexillis regiis deprehenſum eſſe; veruntamen quum ſtulta teſtium loquacitate fraus effluxiſſet, iniquitatis & calumniæ pudore victus ſeſe continuit. Teſtibus ejus officio functis, reorum teſtibus adducendis & audiendis octo dies indicuntur, quamvis actori publico duo ceſſiſſent menſes. Æquitate tamen cauſæ perfectum eſt, ut ſexaginta virorum integrorum teſtimonio, reorum innocentia confirmata ſit; his de rebus paulò poſt ad concilium refertur, & teſtificata recitantur. Magna quippe videbantur quæ actoris teſtes afferebant, ſed iis, quæ ſunt adductæ, rationibus eſt fides abrogata. Itaque omnium ad unum judicio pronuntiatur, in deditione Tripolitana neque dolum, neque fraudem, aut ullam penitus malitiam interveniſſe: ſed animorum nimia remiſſione è timore nata, peccatum eſſe; quo nomine nullum in eos legibus Imperatoriis ſupplicium eſſe conſtitutum, à judicibus datis oſtenditur; ſed Equitum ſanctionibus caveri, ut qui hoſtibus ceſſerit, locumve ſibi commiſſum injuſſu principis reliquerit, quique deſertionis participes & conſcii extiterint, concilii arbitrio exaugurentur. Hac lege cum Valerio Soſam Luſitanum, Herreram Tarraconenſem, & Fuſterum Majoricanum noxios pariter deprehenſos unum & idem ſupplicium luere oportere. Ex qua lege, Omedes Hiſpanos communi cum Valerio pœnæ deſtinari intelligens, & Poëſium, cui ob vetus odium peſſimè cupiebat, omnium ſententiis eripi, è temporis exiguitate ſumpta occaſione cauſam dividere conatur, atque in præſentia Valerio damnato, Hiſpanos ad aliam opportunitatem reſervare. Hoc probare incipit Combus, qui Quæſitoris vice functus erat, & ex Omedis animo ſententiam corrigere, magnaque animi contentione Hiſpanorum culpam extenuare; qua verſutia Schilingus Germanus permotus: Tu, inquit, homo es improbus, qui te tam leviter inflectas; tu nunc affirmabas, quum unà & æqualiter omnes deliquiſſent, non poſſe admiſſum ſcelus expiari, niſi pœnas pariter penderent: at è veſtigio ad levem principis, propoſitiunculam te immutaſti; tu ſanè ipſe maximo cruciatu dignus es. Ad hanc ſententiam Perus Nugneus eques Hiſpanus accedit, atque adjungit: Tu, ut rei nullius hominem decet, eloquutus es; tum ab hoc converſus ad Omedem, ſe non paſſurum eſſe pronunciat, de Valerio decerni, niſi qui eadem culpa eſſent obſtricti, idem quoque ſubirent judicium. Reliqui, Combo convitiis graviter correpto, in Nugnei ſententiam pedibus iverunt. Tandem quum altercatione nulla Omedi ſpes evaſionis eſſet, reliquorum ſententiis ſe accommodat. Addit tamen atque inſtat, de Valerio & Fuſtero aliquanto gravius eſſe ſtatuendum, quòd hic illius poſtulata ad hoſtes pertuliſſet: ille ab hoſte vocatus, paruiſſet, locumque fidei ſuæ creditum deſeruiſſet; ſed quia religione à capitis judicio arcentur Equites, laïcorum arbitrio exauguratos relinqui oportere. Atque ad eam rem judicem proponit Combum; hic verò, his de cauſis quæ de ipſius levitate demonſtratæ ſunt, non probatur: quamvis acriter Omedes contra inſiſteret; ſed ipſe pudore victus, onus excutit, hoc prætextu quòd jam partibus judicis functus eſſet, atque ſententiam ſuam declaraſſet. Qua demonſtratione Omedes non contentus, rem ad Scribam rejicit, atque ita concilium dimittit. Brevi tempore interjecto, in hanc ſententiam litteras à Rege nuntius attulit: Quoniam multorum ſermonibus comperiſſet ſuam famam de re Tripolitana per exteras nationes traduci & conflictari, & ea de re Melitenſes omnium certiſſimum teſtimonium ferre poſſent, pro ſuis in eos perpetuis meritis poſtulare, ut ad ſe rem veriſſimè perſcriberent, ut ſiquid Aramo peccati concepiſſet, aut omnino rem Legato Chriſtianiſſimi principis indignam conatus eſſet, ſceleris daret; ſi verò nihil perſona, quam ſuſtinebat, in dignum feciſſet, publico militiæ teſtimonio injuſta privatis ſcriptis macula detergeretur. Litteris in conſilio recitatis, & poſtulatorum æquitate perſpecta, ſtatuitur, Regi quod peteret, concedi oportere; ſiquidem in Aramone nihil culpæ deprehenſum erat: ſed eum potius maxima pietatis officia, tum regio, tum proprio nomine præſtitiſſe. Atque ea de re arctiſſima obligatione militiam ipſi devinctam eſſe ad unum omnes ingenuè confitentur, in eamque declarationem Scribæ litteras imperant. At Omedes, miſſo concilio, hunc ad ſe venire jubet, & aliquantum temporis ſuperſedere, dum de ratione conficiendarum litterarum conſideratius deliberatur. Eas tanti ac talis momenti emitti non debere, niſi optimè digeſtas & concoctas. Quum ad ſcribendum ſatis temporis effluxiſſe Villagagnoni viſum eſſet, à Scriba litteras requirit. Ille verò magnis quibuſdam occupationibus tarditatem ſuam tegit, atque in diem ſequentem extendit. Ea mora intermiſſa, iiſdem quibus uſus ante fuerat artibus, diem extrahebat. Quam prolationem Villagagno non abſque ratione fieri arbitratus, inquirendum eſſe putavit, quid aleret hoc mali. Id quum feciſſet, reperit cum Combo Omedem ſecretò de re Valerii diu loquutum eſſe, eique cunctanti quingentorum aureorum pœna conſtituta edixiſſe, ut illius judicium ſuſciperet, atque ſi uſus eſſet, cruciatibus extorqueret, Aramonem ſecum de caſtri deditione tranſegiſſe per hominem noctu miſſum, ut hoc expreſſo, & in acta redacto, æquiſſima Regis poſtulata criminis confeſſione deluderet. Ea re Villagagno provocatus, coacto concilio, Scribæ negligentiam accuſare cœpit, quòd ſerius quàm ipſi præſcriptum eſſet, litteras conficeret; ſi quid obſtaret quominus hæ darentur, omitterentur: ne moræ illatione ab idonea ad navigandum tempeſtate in hyemem Regis nuntius produceretur. Regem fore contentum declaratione ſecundum reos facta: hos, neque dolum, neque fraudem in tradendo Tripolis caſtro commiſiſſe, ſed per ignaviam oppreſſos formidine hoſtibus ceſſiſſe. Cum ipſo hæc dicente altercari cœpit Laboretus Eques, Aquitanus, Omedanæ gratiæ ſectatur, à Rege teſtimonium Aramonis innocentiæ petitum ſolùm eſſe, non autem in reos dictata. Villagagnonem reſpondere exorſum Omedes interpellat, ad quem ipſe converſus: Ut, inquit, Princeps, intelligas quibus cauſis adductus judicum pronuntiata efflagitaverim, conſilii mei rationem, ſi per te mihi licuerit, paucis expromam. Jam percrebuit, tibi cum Auguſtino Combo conveniſſe, ut is in Valerium capitis judicium aggrediatur, teque ei præſcripſiſſe quid ab eo inquirat: atque ſi Valerius diffiteatur, id tormentis exprimat & exculpat. Hanc tuam cunctationem, moramque litteris interjectam, huc pertinere plerique arbitrantur, ut ſpecie probabili illata cauſa Regem poſtulatis dejicias. Etenim Valerius, præter ætatem in multum ſenium provectam, eſt ea corporis habitudine, & virium imbecillitate, ut ab ipſo quæque vanitas facilè pro re vera tormentis extorqueatur. Ubi arcanum Omedes proditum eſſe ſentit, ita correptus, Villagagnonem increpat, jubetque patefacere à quo hæc accepiſſet. Is autoris nomen minimè quærendum eſſe, ſed an verum eſſet judicium, reſpondit. Hoc cùm Omedes falſum eſſe pronuntiaſſet: Ergo Combum, inquit Villagagno, abſolve, Princeps, quingentorum aureorum pœna ipſi à te irrogata, niſi capitis judicium in Valerium à te conſtitutum ſuſciperet. Ipſe in tuo concilio ignominia notatus, quòd in ferenda ſententia parum ſibi conſtitiſſet, non amplius eſt rogandus, ſed arcendus, atque ejus loco alter integræ famæ, ſi rem rectè judicatam velis, ſurrogandus. His dictis, ira ſimul & pudore Omedes æſtuans, verbis in Villagagnonem irrumpere incipiebat. Sed ille ejus rei vitandæ gratia è concilio ſe recepit. Eò tamen res rediit, ut alius à Combo judex Valerio fuerit datus, ac Scribæ imperatum, ut, nulla mora interpoſita, teſtimonium conſcriberetur. Sed hoc ita fabricatum eſt, ut reprehenſioni locum relinqueret. Nam ubi aſſertum eſſe debuerat, Aramonem nihil prorſus contra viri boni officium feciſſe, id definito tempore, & quodam verborum aucupio coarctabatur. In eum nempe diem compertum non fuiſſe, hunc ſecus ac virum bonum decuerit, ſe geſſiſſe denuntiabatur, perinde ac ſi ejus rei certitudo diuturnitati temporis reſervaretur. Itaque hujuſmodi teſtimonium delaturum ſe eſſe Villagagno negat, quod dubitationem non tolleret, ſed hominum animos futuri temporis expectatione ſuſpenderet. De hoc iterum ad concilium refertur, atque Omedi vehementer reclamanti expugnatur, ut litteræ omni dubitationis adempta materia reficerentur. Harum exemplum in Franciam mari proficiſcens Villagagno, à tuis Cæſar, interceptus, ad te miſit. De Valerio autem contigit, ut is à Joanne Vaſſallo, ductiſſimo atque integerrimo viro, modis omnibus renitente Combo, abſolutus ſit: quòd dolum fraudemque ab arcis deditione abfuiſſe cognitum & perſpectum eſſet, ſine quibus cauſis Imperatoriam Majeſtatem non poſſe lædi Julius Cæſar lege promulgata definivit. Hic tamen carcere concluſus ſubterraneo, cæco, atque ſolis, omniſque lucis prorſus experte, miſerrimam & inopem vitam ab Omede bonis omnibus expoliatus traducit: uſque eò, dum tu ejus ærumnas miſeratus, Omedis mentem ad lenitatem & miſericordiam revocaveris.

Hic fuit belli Melitenſibus illati exitus. Nunc tuum ac bonorum omnium, Carole Cæſar, erit judicare, ad quem arcium deditarum dedecus pertineat: quámque iniqui & improbi fuerint, qui eam cladem in Francos avertere ſunt conati.

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